

THE
MYTHOLOGY
AND
FABLES
OF THE
ANCIENTS,

Explain'd from

HISTORY.

By the Abbé ^{Ant. T. de} BANIER,

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INSCRIPTIONS and BELLES-LETTRES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Translator has endeavour'd to transfuse into our Language the Spirit as well as the Sense of his Author, and that in a plain simple Style, suitable to the Original, which is mostly narrative. A disagreeable Repetition of Words is avoided, without a scrupulous Nicety to vary the Phrase ; when it might have served no other purpose but to betray a childish Affectation. Most of the Authors referred to, have been consulted in the Originals, and the marginal References fill'd up when wanting, or corrected where, through error of the Press or otherwise, they had been wrong quoted. The Reader will also find some

iv *ADVERTISEMENT.*

few Notes occasionally added, which are distinguished either by an Asterism, or Cross, from those of the Author, which are generally marked by Letters or Figures.





The AUTHOR's PREFACE.

THOUGH 'tis our happiness not to live in one of those Ages, when almost the whole World was plunged in an Abyss of Idolatry, yet 'tis far from being unnecessary to know the History of the Pagan Gods and Fables; Mythology, which teaches us to be acquainted with those Gods and Fables, makes so considerable a Part of the *Belles-Lettres*, that it cannot well be neglected. And indeed, we are daily conversant in the Works of *Greeks* and *Romans*, in those of their Poets especially, which we should often be at a loss to understand, were we not acquainted with the Fables to which they are eternally alluding.

Besides, every thing concurs to remind us of those ancient Fictions; such as Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Monuments of all sorts; and to be short, what do the Books of the Antiquaries, and the Cabinets of the Curious contain, but Figures of the Pagan Divinities, Instruments used in their Sacrifices, and what other Remains we have of the Pagan Superstition? Our Galleries, our Ceilings, our Pictures, our Statues are continually representing to us the same Objects: and as if History, sacred and profane, did not furnish out to us a sufficient number of important Facts, and such as are capable of inspiring us with virtuous Sentiments, we borrow our Arguments from *Fable*, in our Dramatick Poetry especially.

Our Theatres are every day resounding with the Complaints of *Iphigenia* and *Andromache*, the Outrages of *Orestes*, the Wrath of *Achilles*, and the unbridled Lust of *Clytemnestra*; nor are we ashamed to own, that we see those Heroes and Heroines daily upon our Stage, with new delight, while we can hardly bear a Representation of other Personages, that are more proper to awaken in us a noble Emulation.

Thus the Knowledge of Mythology is useful, and in some sort necessary, insomuch that one cannot be ignorant of it, but he must pass for a Man of narrow Education, deficient in the more essential Branches of polite Learning. But what makes Mythology still of greater Importance, and at the same time gives it a juster Claim to be the Object of our Curiosity, is to consider, that Fables are not mere Fictions, as I prove in the Introduction to this Work, but that they have a real Connection with the History of the first Ages, comprehend some of their considerable Transactions, and that most of the Gods had been Men, whose History makes a part of that of the particular Nations, from whom they had divine Honour.

To bring to light this Treasure of History, that lies hid under the Disguise of Fable, is the thing I had principally in my eye, when I entered into the Study of Mythology, and published a first Essay upon the Subject, under the Title of, *An Historical Explication of Fables* (1), which met with a favourable Reception from the Publick; but at the same time they seemed to wish for a Mythology more extensive, and that went deeper into the Subject. Such a Work, I have been often told by Persons of good Understanding, is wanting in our Language; for not to insist on the antiquated Style of any thing we have of the kind in *French*, we find none of them done in a systematical Way; they have not reduced Fables to any Source, nor to any determined time; they have not unfolded the Origin of the

(1) In two Vols. in 12mo. Anno 1710. To which was added, a third Vol. Anno 1715. There will soon be published a new Edition of it, by *Briasson*, for the benefit of Youth, to whom this Abridgment will be of great use.

the Gods, nor do they distinguish those Gods, who were often the same under different Names. In a word, if one meets with some Passages of History in them, they are buried under a heap of Allegory and arbitrary Moralizing (1). Farther, the Authors of these Books of Mythology, for want of the learned Discoveries that have since been made, followed uncertain Guides; and we are now better furnished than they were for handling this Subject. What Light has been cast upon it by *Meziriac*, *Bochart*, *Vossius*, and several others? Had these learned Men gone on in explaining all the Fables, as they have done those that had any Connection with the Subjects they had undertaken to explain, we should have had no need of a new Mythology. 'Twas to answer what was expected from me that I set about this Work, which now comes abroad. My Dissertations upon different Subjects of Fable, which are printed in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, and the explanatory Notes I have added to my Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, are a proof that I had it always in my eye.

I had reap'd considerable Advantage before, in my Historical Explication, from the Discoveries made by the Learned of the last Age; and it will easily appear from this Mythology, that I have read them over carefully a second time, and that I have made the same use of some other Books, relating to my Subject, that have since been published; especially of the *Critical Reflections upon ancient Nations*; a Work of deep Learning, where the Author (*), who is compleatly Master of all the learned Languages, discovers no less Penetration than Learning thro' the whole. And indeed whether he be engaged in proving the Authentickness of a precious Fragment, so as to leave no room for calling it in question hereafter; or in tracing the Original of ancient Nations; or, in fine, in reducing most of the Fables to their primitive Source, it is always with an uncom-

(1) See in the first Chapter the Judgment I pass upon the Mythologies that have preceded this.

(*) M. *Fourmont* the elder.

mon Erudition, and often by Discoveries that had escaped other Men of Learning.

Besides these Discoveries, being guided in my Enquiries by the Lights of a Society, in whom the deepest Learning is united with the most judicious Criticism, I have equally improved by the valuable Collection of their elaborate Works, and by the learned Conversations in which their Meetings are sometimes taken up.

With these helps, and by a continual Study for several Years, I have now made this Mythology ready for the Press; and in order to adapt it to every one's Taste, I have avoided, as much as possible, those intricate Questions, which are commonly disgusting to the greater number of Readers, and have said no more upon each Subject than what is most useful and of greatest concern; and it will be easy for the Reader to observe, that I have frequently had greater Regard to him than to my own Reputation: For an Author certainly pays him a considerable Compliment, when, for his sake, he suppresses learned Quotations that come in his way, and which would cost him but the bare trouble of transcribing.

This then is the Method I have followed. When I have recourse to the Testimony of an Author, I generally quote his words, and give a Translation of them; and where this Translation is abrupt, the Reasoning which goes before or comes after the Quotation, sufficiently supplies the Sense. I take all possible care, to quote those that are more ancient, in preference to others that are later; thus *Homer* and *Hesiod* among the Poets, *Herodotus* and some others among the Historians, are always preferred to those that followed them. Not that I neglect the last: They had access to consult Traditions, or Works that were extant in their own time; and the first to be sure left room for them to say somewhat new; but I am only speaking now of giving preference to the one above the other. The Poets who have transmitted to us so many Fictions, are for all that, whatever we may say of them, the first Depositories of the ancient Traditions of *Greece*, and her

her first Historians, since it was very late before Prose-writing was there introduced. To the Poets and Historians, I have sometimes joined Medals and Inscriptions, because these are so many Monuments to vouch for ancient Tradition.

As for Moderns who have written upon this Subject, I only give their Opinion in general, and such of their Arguments as to me appeared the most conclusive. When they have made particular Dissertations upon these Subjects, I have only taken the Substance of them, and referred such as may have the Curiosity to read them, to the Dissertations themselves.

For what remains, I believe none will be able to reproach me, as if I had used the Discoveries of others without doing them at least the justice to acknowledge it. I always look'd upon Plagiarism as a very odious Crime: and to be sure, none would be a greater Plagiary than my self, had I not carefully acquainted my Reader with the Originals whence I borrowed, and whence every Author must of necessity borrow, who publishes such a Work as mine: A Work, which, in truth, brings less honour than a new System; tho' at the same time it is generally more useful to the Publick. They who will take the trouble to read the first Chapter of this Mythology, which is a Continuation of this Preface, will see to how many meer Suppositions those are obliged to have recourse, who have attempted to reduce Fables to one general System. For, in short, tho' every Nation had Fictions of its own, they are not so much the Result of a well-concerted Scheme, as the Production of human Fancy, that has a continual Bias towards the Marvellous.

My Design in this Work is to prove, that notwithstanding all the Ornaments which accompany Fables, yet it is no difficult matter to see, that they contain a Part of the History of primitive Times; and that neither the Allegory nor Moral were the primary Intention of those who invented them: an Opinion I am so far from having alter'd, that my late Studies do but establish me in it the more. Not as if there were not
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some particular Fictions, where it would be in vain to look for any Footsteps of History (*); but in general all of them almost have some relation to it, or are connected with Events that are supported by the best Authority of Antiquity.

Mythologists formerly thought they had unravel'd the Meaning of a Fable, whenever they had the Art to find out in it a Moral or an Allegory ; and this is the Amount of almost all their Explanations. The Learned of this Age, from a persuasion that the History of the Period after the Deluge lies hid under the ingenious Mask of Fable, have set themselves to take off the mysterious Mask which concealed the Truths that were under them from Persons of less Discernment. There are times which favour certain Opinions, and this of the Truth of Fables has so far prevailed, that from henceforth we must either frankly give up all Pretensions to make tolerable Sense of them, or reduce them to History.

There is however one Objection may be raised against this Opinion, which at first sight appears very solid. How shall we reduce to History, what the *Greeks*, for instance, tell us of their Gods, when these very Gods lived in that Period of time which they themselves call Unknown? What History can be drawn from an unknown Period, which would cease to be so, if we had any knowledge of it ?

That we may see where the stress of this Objection lies, we must call to mind *Varro's* famous Distribution of Times, into the Unknown, the Fabulous, and the Historical. The first includes all that happen'd in the World till *Ogyges* ; and in this Interval lived the Gods. The second carries you down from *Ogyges* to the Establishment of the *Olympiads* ; in which space of time appeared the Heroes and Demi-Gods. Lastly, from the *Olympiads* begins the Date of the historical Times.

In answer then to this Objection, I say, in the first place, that this Distinction had a Respect only to the *Greeks* ; for those times which they called unknown, were

(*) See the first Chapter.

were by no means so, either in respect of *Asia* or *Egypt*, where powerful Monarchies subsisted, and a System of Religion was established from the most ancient times. The *Greeks* were not yet in being, or at least were but a rude and vagrant Multitude, that had neither Laws, Politeness, nor hardly any Religion, at a time when the eastern Nations were enjoying all the Advantages that accrue from Arts and Sciences.

2dly, Before we will allow this Objection to have any weight, it must be proved that those Gods, of whom we undertake to give the History, were originally *Greeks*; for it might then be alledg'd, that the *Greeks*, who knew nothing certain as to the times when their Gods, according to them, had lived, were utterly incapable to transmit the History of them to Posterity: but those Gods were originally Strangers to them. The Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, that came at several times to settle in *Greece*, brought thither the Religion and Gods of their Country. This is a Truth that cannot be denied; and *Herodotus*, who was instructed in the *Egyptian* Religion by their own Priests, positively affirms it. The Gods of the *Greeks* were therefore originally from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, and had been the Objects of religious Worship in those two Countries, long before the Colonies I speak of, had arrived in *Greece*. The *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, who had cultivated the Arts and Sciences from the earliest Ages, had written the History of their Religion; and nothing is more famous in all Antiquity, than the Books composed by *Mercury Trismegistus* upon that Subject. It is true, the Language in which they were writ, was a sacred Language, understood only by the Priests. But may we not suppose, that the Leaders of the Colonies, who came in quest of Settlements in the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, the *Archipelago*, and in *Greece*, brought with them some of those Priests to take care of things that concerned Religion; and that these Priests instructed the *Greeks*, upon their adopting the Worship of Gods whom those Strangers were come to establish in their Country?

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This Supposition will not be deny'd, since 'tis agreed; that *Inachus*, who conducted the first Colony into *Greece*, communicated to it the Knowledge of that sacred Language; that is to say, the Hieroglyphicks in which it was expressed. Even long before the Arrival of that Colony, the *Egyptians* had begun to instruct the *Greeks* in Matters of Religion. “ The *Pelasgi*,
 “ who are to be reckoned among the most ancient In-
 “ habitants of *Greece*, honour'd Gods, says *Herodotus*,
 “ of whom they had no Knowledge, offering up their
 “ Prayers and Sacrifices to them in general. Being
 “ desirous at last to know their Names, they consulted
 “ the Oracle of *Dodona*, the only one which was then in
 “ *Greece*, where they received Satisfaction from Stran-
 “ gers, who served the Oracle.” Now the Oracle of *Dodona*, according to the same Author, had been founded by an *Egyptian* Woman, and these Strangers who instructed the *Pelasgi*, could be no other than *Egyptians*.

But altho' even some of the Gods had derived their Original from *Greece*, or had made a Conquest of it, as *Jupiter* and the *Titan* Princes? and tho' upon account of that Conquest they had been deify'd in that Period, when the *Greeks* knew not the use of Letters; are there not however several ways of handing down to Posterity signal Facts? Festivals, Games, Hymns, Songs, Columns, Mounds of Earth, a Pile of Stones, or, in fine, a Tradition delivered down from Father to Son: By all these, the World might have come to the knowledge of those famous Men, who had merited divine Honours: And consequently it is not impossible to know their History; and the historical Explications we give of the Fables, that are intermixed with it, are not without foundation.

Sometimes Events fall out in the World so remarkable, that they are not liable to be forgot. Of this kind in old times were the Conquests of the *Titan* Princes, who are said in the sacred Writings to have had dominion over the Earth; and those of *Bacchus* and *Osiris*: and in whatever way the Remembrance of them

them has been continued to Posterity, it is certain that the World has not been quite in the dark about them, nor were they invented by *Diodorus Siculus* and other Ancients, who have written their History.

That the Pagan Gods were the Jewish Patriarchs, as several learned Men pretend ; or that they had been ancient Kings of *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, and other neighbouring Nations, is what I am not now to enquire into : But still it is unquestionable that their History was known, and that Traditions about them were delivered down to Posterity, which might be depended upon.

If it is true, after what I have been advancing, that the Fables of the Gods may be reduced to History, no body, I presume, will doubt but the same may be done as to those of the Heroes and Demi-Gods, since the *Greeks* were able to transmit their History to us in writing. We need not enquire at present how long they continued without the use of Letters : this at least is beyond doubt, that they learned it from *Cadmus*, who brought them the *Phenician* Alphabet, as I shall prove in its proper place. Now the Heroes of *Greece*, and the Events which gave rise to their Heroism, are posterior to the planting of that Colony, which came and settled in *Bæotia* under the Conduct of that Leader ; consequently they happened at a time when the *Greeks* wanted not helps sufficient for writing their History. The name of the fabulous Times, which *Varro* gives to those Ages when the Heroes appeared, and which (according to *Scaliger*) ought to have been stiled the Heroick Times, by no means determines us to believe, that they knew nothing certain about them, since the Conquests of the *Argonauts*, the War of the *Centaur*s and *Lapithæ*, the Labours of *Hercules*, the two Wars of *Thebes* and that of *Troy*, are Events that cannot be called in question : that learned *Roman* therefore has called them fabulous, for no other reason but because the History of those Events is mingled with an infinite deal of Fictions, which needs not appear surprizing. For if the *Greeks* are so often accused of
having

having sacrificed Truth to their Propensity towards the Marvellous, even in their more known and later Histories, how much less would they pay a Regard to it, when they were treating of remote Ages, when it was not easy to refute them?

Let us set this Answer yet in another light. The *Greeks* were instructed by the Eastern People, and particularly by the *Egyptians*, in the History of the Gods who lived in that space of time, which *Varro* called the Unknown Times. *Cadmus* taught them the Use of Letters, and enabled them to write the History of their own Heroes, that is to say, the History of the fabulous Times. The Works in which it was contained, were probably subsisting in the time of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who borrowed from thence the Ground-work of their Poems, or at least gathered it from a Tradition which would then be fresh enough. I am persuaded, that those Poems occasion'd the loss of most other Works of greater Antiquity; for it has happen'd oftner than once, that one good Book has made those that preceded it be first forgot, and then be quite extinct. But as *Homer* and *Hesiod* had not employed all the Traditions that were current in their time, the other Poets who came after made use of them; and hence we find such Diversity of them in *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and other tragical Writers. As for the Prose Writers, who made historical Collections afterwards of those ancient Events, such as *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, and some others, they have taken their Accounts of them, either from that same Tradition, or from Works which were extant in their time, and which had likewise been composed upon others of greater Antiquity.

Thus it is that the History of the Gods and Heroes was delivered down from one Age to another; and this at the same time is the Foundation of the historical Explications of Fables. But let us suppose for once, that the *Greeks* did not write till very late; that *Homer* was their first Author, and that their first Production in Poetry was a Master-piece, which would be a very extraordinary

ordinary case to be sure ; yet I maintain, that that Poet would have had sufficient Materials for his two Poems. *Greece* esteemed nothing more sacred than the Fables, which made a part of her Religion ; and that they should be lost was impossible, if I may be allowed the Expression. The Pictures, Statues, Games and Feasts, were continually bringing them into remembrance ; and *Athens*, which, according to *Pausanias*, had some of those Statues and Pictures in every Quarter of the City, and in all the Temples, was able herself alone to preserve the Tradition of them.

Then add to this, that some Sages of *Greece*, not satisfied with the Informations they had received from the Colonies that had come into their Country at different times, went themselves into *Egypt*, to fetch new Discoveries from thence ; some such there were who undertook this Journey even before the *Trojan War*, that is in that very time which *Varro* calls Fabulous. *Diodorus*, who had also travelled into that Country, is positive in asserting this, and enters into a Detail of the particular Discoveries which those Sages had fetched from thence, and afterwards communicated to the *Greeks*. “ The Priests read in their Annals, says this “ Author (a), that their Country had been visited by “ *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Melampus*, and *Dædalus*, (for I “ make no mention of *Homer*, nor of others who “ performed the same Expedition in the times later “ than the *Trojan War*) and there is none of them, of “ whose Passage and Abode in their Country they have “ not some Marks to shew ; such as their Picture, or “ some Work of theirs, or even some Place which bears “ their Name. They give besides several Proofs, to “ evince that all those Sages borrowed from *Egypt* “ whatever was most wonderful in the Sciences they “ profess’d. *Orpheus*, say the *Egyptians*, brought back “ from this Expedition his Mysteries, his Orgies, and “ the whole Fable of the infernal Regions.

“ They say, it was *Melampus* who brought from the “ same

(a) L. i. c. 36.

“ same Country into Greece the Festivals of *Bacchus*,
 “ the Fable of *Saturn*, the Battle of the *Titans*, the
 “ Dangers and Distresses of the Gods, &c.”

There is no occasion at present for tracing this Author in the other Particulars he relates upon this Subject; I have taken notice of them elsewhere: But still it is certain, that those Sages gathered several Informations from *Egypt*, concerning its Religion and Mysteries.

Herodotus agrees (a), that this same *Melampus*, a Man of eminent Wisdom and Knowledge, had learned from the *Egyptians*, and afterwards taught the *Greeks*, what belong'd to the Worship and Mysteries of *Bacchus*, bating a few Alterations he had introduced out of his own head. There is indeed this difference between these two Authors, that *Diodorus Siculus* affirms *Melampus* to have got his Discoveries from *Egypt*, whether he had travell'd; whereas *Herodotus* says, he had them from *Cadmus*; but that comes to the same thing for my purpose.

The *Greeks* then had sufficient means of knowing and transmitting to us the History of the Gods; and still greater Assistances for that of the Heroes; and consequently the Objection I propose falls to the ground.

As a Mythology ought to contain not only all that regards the Gods and the Heroes, explain their Fables, and reduce them to their Sources; but as it ought also to comprehend the System of Idolatry, its Rise, its Advances, and whatever concerns the Pagan Worship and Ceremonies, I have taken into this of mine, all these different Subjects; and here is the Order I thought fit to range them in.

After I have examined in the first Chapter, what Parts of Learning a Mythologist ought to be master of, and delivered my Sentiments concerning the several Works we have upon Mythology, I endeavour to prove the Truth of the Fables in the following Chapters: I give account of their different Sources, Classes, &c. and these

(a) L. 2. c. 49.

these are the Contents of the first Book, which is a kind of necessary Introduction to the understanding of the whole. The second contains the different Theogonies of the known Nations; whether *Chaldeans*, *Phenicians*, *Egyptians*, *Atlantidæ*, *Greeks*, *Indians*, *Chinese*, or Savages of *America*; and here you will see what were their Opinions about the Formation of the World, and about the Origin of their Gods. In the third, I treat of the Rise and Progress of Idolatry: there I shew to what excess it was carried, and the infinite number of Gods it adopted. Passing from thence to the Worship of those Gods, I speak of the Victims, Sacrifices, and the Instruments they made use of in that Act of Religion; of the Priests, Temples, Altars, consecrated Groves, Sanctuaries or Asyla, Festivals, &c. In the fourth, which is a Continuation of the third, I consider the Superstitions that were justified by Idolatry; which leads me to speak of the Oracles, the Sibyls, the different sorts of Divination, the *Auspices*, *Aruspices*, *Auguries*, judicial Astrology, Magick, Presages, Prodigies, Expiations, Forms of Devoting, Evocations, &c.

In the fifth, I lay open the Opinions of the Philosophers, Historians, and Poets, about the Nature of the Gods and *Genii*, which the Pagan World introduc'd; and after I have divided those Gods and *Genii* into their different Classes, I close this Treatise of Idolatry, with some general Reflections, that serve equally to shew its Absurdity, and the Extremity to which it was carried.

But because it is not enough that I have given an Account of those Gods in general, and it being farther requisite that I give a more distinct Idea and fuller History of them, I come next to consider, first the Gods of the *Egyptians*, then of the *Arabians* their Neighbours, then of the *Ethiopians*. From thence I go on to those of the *Carthaginians* and other *African* Nations, of whose Religion we have any Knowledge; and this is the Subject of the sixth Book. In the seventh, I treat of the Gods of the *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Per-*
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sians,

sians, Cappadocians, and other Asiatics ; and I carry on my Enquiries even to those of the *Scythians, the Sarmatians, and other People in the North of Asia.*

The Sequel contains the History of the *European* Deities ; those I mean of the *Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, &c.* an immense Field, which I have distributed into several Books.

Last of all, I come to the Heroes and Demi-Gods ; and in order to give a more particular Account of them, I dive into the bottom of the ancient History of *Greece*, of the several Nations by whom it was peopled, and of all the Events that rendered that Country so famous ; and I have closed this Work with an Explication of the Fables that have no Connection with the Facts related in the several Volumes.

You will find at the beginning of every Volume, a Table of the Chapters, shewing more particularly all the Subjects I treat of ; and at the end of the last Volume, a general Table, which I have endeavour'd to make as comprehensive as possible.

Some Persons may wish I had inserted into this Work the Figures of the Gods, and I acknowledge they would have conduced to make them be more easily understood, and frequently have saved me long Details ; but besides that they would have considerably raised the Price of the Book, I thought it might suffice to direct to the Books where they are to be found ; Books now very common, and well enough known.





CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

C ontaining preliminary Questions necessary to be understood in the Study of Mythology.	pag. 1
Chap. I. General Reflections upon Mythology. —	2
Art. I. What Learning a Mythologist ought to be master of. —	3
Art. II. What Extremes he ought to avoid. —	8
Art. III. Of the Manner how one ought to proceed in the Explnation of Fable. —	17
Chap. II. In which'tis proved that the Fables are not mere Allegories, but comprehend several ancient Facts.	20
Chap. III. Division of Fables. —	20
Chap. IV. Conjectures about the Origin of Fables. —	32
Chap. V. A Continuation of the Enquiry into the Origin of Fables. —	48
Chap. VI. Continuation of the same Subject. —	65
Chap. VII. In which the Origin of Ovid's Metamorphoies, and of some other Poets, is examined.	76

B O O K II.

O*F the different Theogonies whereof we have any Remains in Antiquity; or the Sentiments of the Ancients about the Origin of the World and of the Gods.*

	79
Chap. I. <i>The Tradition of the Chaldeans.</i> ———	80
Chap. II. <i>The Theogony of the Phenicians.</i> ———	88
Chap. III. <i>The Theogony of the Egyptians.</i>	102
Chap. IV. <i>The Theogony of the Atlantidæ.</i>	106
Chap. V. <i>The Theogony of the Greeks.</i> ———	109
Chap. VI. <i>The Cosmogony and Theogony of Ovid.</i>	125
Chap. VII. <i>The Theogony of the Chinese and Indians.</i>	130
Chap. VIII. <i>The Theogony of the Indian Brachmans.</i>	138
Chap. IX. <i>The Theogony of the Americans.</i> ———	140
Chap. X. <i>Of the Pagan Theology, and in particular of that of the Poets.</i> ——— ———	148

B O O K III.

Which treats of Idolatry.

A <i>Preliminary Remark.</i> ———	160
Chap. I. <i>Of the Origin and Progress of Idolatry.</i>	161
Chap. II. <i>At what Period of time Idolatry began.</i>	172
Chap. III. <i>Idolatry proved to have begun with the Worship of the Heavenly Bodies.</i> ———	182
Chap. IV. <i>Of the Progress of Idolatry.</i>	192
Chap. V. <i>Of the Temples of the Pagans.</i>	210
Chap. VI. <i>Of Altars.</i> ——— ———	233
Chap. VII. <i>Of Consecrated Groves.</i> ———	239
Chap. VIII. <i>Of the Asyla.</i> ———	242
Chap.	

CONTENTS.

xxi

Chap. IX. <i>Of the Statues of the Gods, and of the Manner in which they were represented.</i>	— 246
Chap. X. <i>Of the Sacrifices and Victims.</i>	254
Chap. XI. <i>Of the Instruments that were made use of in the Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies of Religion.</i>	276
Chap. XII. <i>Of the Priests and other Ministers of the Sacrifices.</i>	— 280
Chap. XIII. <i>Of the Festivals of the Greeks and Romans.</i>	— 297
Chap. XIV. <i>Of the publick Supplications, the Lectisternia, Evocations, and Forms of Devoting.</i>	— 316
Chap. XV. <i>Of the religious Ceremonies practised at the founding of Cities.</i>	— 323

* BOOK IV.

Which treats of the Superstitions authorized by Idolatry.

C hap. I. <i>Of the Oracles.</i>	— 325
Art. I. <i>The Oracle of Dodona.</i>	— 329
Art. II. <i>The Oracle of Jupiter Hammon.</i>	332
Art. III. <i>The Oracle of Delphi.</i>	— 334
Art. IV. <i>The Oracle of Trophonius.</i>	— 340
Art. V. <i>Of other Oracles.</i>	— 344
Chap. II. <i>History of the Sibyls.</i>	— 360
Art. I. <i>If there were Sibyls.</i>	361
Art. II. <i>Of the Number of the Sibyls.</i>	— 364
Art. III. <i>What Ground there was to believe that the Sibyls were endued with the Gift of Prophecy.</i>	369
Art. IV. <i>Of the Collection of the Sibylline Verses.</i>	372
Art. V. <i>In what manner the Sibyls delivered their Oracles, and what we are to think of the long Life that was attributed to them.</i>	382
Art. VI. <i>Of the Worship paid to the Sibyls.</i>	387
Chap. III. <i>Of Divination.</i>	— 391
Chap. IV. <i>Of Auguries, Auspices, and Aruspices.</i>	396
Chap.	

* Here begin the Contents of the second Volume of the Original.

Chap. V. <i>Of Presages and Prodigies.</i>	409
Chap. VI. <i>Of Expiations.</i>	417
Chap. VII. <i>Of Magick.</i>	424
Chap. VIII. <i>Of Astrology.</i>	433

B O O K V.

O <i>F the Nature of the Gods; of their Division into several Classes.</i>	437
Chap. I. <i>Of the Nature of the Gods.</i>	438
Chap. II. <i>Wherein the Nature of the Pagan Gods is more particularly examined.</i>	442
Chap. III. <i>Wherein Answers are given to the Objections that may be raised against the Opinion, that several of the Pagan Deities had been Men; with new Proofs to confirm it.</i>	449
Chap. IV. <i>Of the Progeny of the Gods.</i>	458
Chap. V. <i>Distribution of the Pagan Gods into several Classes.</i>	460
Chap. 6. <i>Of the Nature of the Genii or Demons.</i>	466
Chap. VII. <i>General Reflections upon Idolatry.</i>	474

B O O K VI.

Of the Gods worship'd in the Eastern Countries.

C Hap. I. <i>Of the Gods of the Egyptians.</i>	486
Art. I. <i>The History of Osiris and Isis.</i>	494
Art. II. <i>The History of Typhon.</i>	503
Art. III. <i>History of the Worship paid to Isis and Osiris.</i>	516
Chap. II. <i>Of the other Gods of Egypt.</i>	524
Art. I. <i>Serapis or Sarapis.</i>	ibid.
Art. II. <i>Orus.</i>	527

C O N T E N T S.

xxii

Art. III. Harpocrates.	529
Art. IV. Macedo, Anubis.	532
Art. V. Canopus.	534
Art. VI. Pan.	536
Chap. III. <i>Of the Worship paid by the Egyptians to Animals.</i>	542
Chap. IV. <i>Of what nature that Animal Worship was.</i>	547
Chap. V. <i>Of some other Gods of the Egyptians.</i>	555
Chap. VI. <i>Of the Pageants and publick Ceremonies of the Egyptians, and some other People.</i>	556
Chap. VII. <i>Explanation of the Ifiac Table.</i>	561
Chap. VIII. <i>Of the Gods of the Arabians.</i>	567
Chap. IX. <i>Of the Gods of the Ethiopians.</i>	572
Chap. X. <i>Of the Gods of the Carthaginians, and some other People in Africa.</i>	574

E R R A T A.

- P. 33. In the Note l. ult. for *Epistles*, read *Epitaphs*.
 P. 41. l. (21) del. *the Troops of*.
 P. 62. l. 4. for 1600, read 1800.



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK I.

Containing some preliminary Questions, necessary to be understood in the Study of Mythology.

BEFORE we enter upon a particular Account of Mythology, and an Explication of the Fables it contains, I judg'd it previously necessary to examine several general Questions ; the Knowledge whereof will be of very great use to our Readers.

CHAP. I.

General Reflections on Mythology.

THE Knowledge of Mythology is not, to be sure, so necessary at present, as it appear'd to the primitive Fathers of the Church, whose Design was to establish Christianity upon the ruin of Idolatry, or by learned Apologies to vindicate their Religion from the Calumnies publish'd against it. They were obliged to unfold the darkest Mysteries of Paganism, to represent it in its blackest Colours ; they had to answer subtle Philosophers, who, in order to take off from the Absurdity charged upon their Worship, had recourse to allegorical Explanations, that seem to give a plausible Meaning to their most impious

B

Rites.

Rites. On the one side, were the Works of *Porphyry*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, *Photinus*, and several other *Platonic* Philosophers ; on the other, the Apologies of the Fathers of the first Centuries, *Justin*, *Arnobius*, *Theodoret*, *Lactantius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *St. Austin*, &c.

Truth at length has triumphed over Error ; and if there are still found among gross and ignorant Nations some Remains of the ancient Superstition, it is not Religion that authorizes them ; and they too dwindle away in proportion as the World becomes more enlighten'd.

I am confident however, that the Knowledge of Mythology is still very beneficial. It is a Part of the *Belles-Lettres*, and is of infinite use to our understanding the Poets, and some of the Historians, who recite the ancient Fables, or make frequent Allusions to them. We find every where these Fables of theirs ; and they continue to be the Subject of our Dramatick and Lyrick Pieces, and of our Pictures. Now it must be own'd, 1°. That in reading the Poets, where we find these ancient Fictions so skilfully managed, we have a strong Curiosity to penetrate into their Meaning. 2°. That Explanations, when happy and detach'd from moralizing and trivial Allegories, which was the farthest length our first Mythologists went, cast a great Light upon these ancient Authors, and make them much easier to be understood. And within these just Bounds I confine the Usefulness of Mythology.

I am not ignorant, that we have already a vast number of both ancient and modern Books upon this Subject ; and yet I thought we still wanted one more compleat and methodical than any has been hitherto. How far I am in the right, will appear when I come to consider such of them as I am acquainted with ; but I must first premise, that none ought to be discouraged by what I have done, from exercising their Talents upon the same Subject. For I am far from thinking, that I have exhausted it ; and I hope none, who know me, will judge me capable of that mean Jealousy we are apt to

to conceive against those who put their Sickle to a Harvest we thought reserv'd for ourselves alone: the Field I have been cultivating for so many Years, is large enough to admit of many Labourers.

As these Reflections might carry me too far, I shall confine myself in this Chapter to an Examination of these principal Heads. First, What Learning a Mythologist should be master of, and what Books he must have read. Secondly, What Advantage he may draw from Systems already devised for explaining Fable. Lastly, How he ought to proceed in that Explanation he himself makes choice of.

ARTICLE I.

What Learning a Mythologist ought to be master of.

By Mythology, I understand the Knowledge of Fable, and at the same time of the Pagan Religion, its Mysteries, Ceremonies, and the Worship paid to its false Divinities.

'Tis obvious, that one who would be skill'd in Fable, must have read with care *Homer* and *Hesiod*, more especially the Poets of the Tragick kind, who have drawn from them the Subjects of their Poems, and such as have made Collections of them, either in Verse, as *Ovid*; or in Prose, as *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, *Hyginus*, and some others.

When a Mythologist is thoroughly acquainted with the Fable, he has, properly speaking, advanced but the first step. As Fables are capable of several Senses, and are as it were so many Veils, under which the Ancients concealed a number of Truths; they who set themselves to explain them, have taken different sides, each imagining, he discovered in them what the Turn of his Genius, or the Plan of his Studies made him desirous to find out. There the Naturalist has perceived the Mysteries of Nature; the Politician, Maxims of Government; the Philosopher, Morality; the Chymist, the Secrets of his Art; and so others. Hence so many different Systems, not so much as one of them

capable of solving all the Difficulties that occur upon this Subject, as we shall see in the Course of these Reflections.

Fables are of several sorts. There are the historical, physical, allegorical, and moral ones; and others, which are no more than mere Apologues. The first are ancient Histories intermix'd with a great deal of Fiction: these I take to be by far the more numerous. The physical Fables are such, as were invented by some philosophical Poets; as when they said, the Ocean was the Father of the Rivers; the Moon match'd with the Air, and became Mother of the Dew, and almost the whole *Cosmogonies* of ancient Nations, which I am to give account of afterwards. The allegorical ones were a kind of Parables, that had a secret mystical Sense, as that which we find in *Plato*, of *Porus* and *Penia*, or Riches and Poverty, whose Offspring was Love. The moral Fables, are such as were invented to convey Lessons of Morality under an insinuating Veil; as the Story of *Narcissus*, design'd to expose the Folly of Self-love, when it exceeds due Bounds. Under the Fables of the moral kind, I comprehend all Apologues, where the Beasts are commonly the Speakers, to teach Men their Duty, or to censure their Faults. There are Fables that seem to aim at no other End but to amuse, as the *Milesian* Tales, and those of the *Sybarites*. In fine, there are others of a mix'd nature, which are built upon an historical Bottom, and at the same time carry a manifest Allusion either to Physicks or Morality.

The Mythologist must give the greatest Attention to unfold and penetrate into all these Senses, neither presuming that a Fable is purely physical or moral, because it glances at Physicks or Morality; nor yet that it is entirely historical, because he may discover in it some Event in History: this is a Rock which the Bulk of those who essay'd to explain the Fables have split upon.

As for the Knowledge of the Pagan Religion and Mysteries, which are chiefly founded on Fables, what

a vast stock of Learning must a Mythologist acquire, before he can be master of it? Besides all the Poets and Historians, he must be particularly well read in the Works of the Philosophers, who lived at the beginning of Christianity; and in those of the Fathers and Apologists for Christianity, who attacked them, or defended themselves from their Calumnies: the Works I mean of *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, *Theodoret*, *Arnobius*, more especially *St. Augustin de Civitate Dei*.

I have singled out to a Mythologist these ancient Authors, not as if there was no necessity for him to read an infinity of other Works: for a good Mythology, such as would answer the Conception I have of it, ought to contain not only the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Pagan Religion, but all the other Branches of this Theology; the Priests and their Vestments, the Temples, the peculiar Attributes of their Gods, the Sacrifices, different Victims, Mysteries, Auguries and Divinations at the Altars, the Oracles, Lots, Games, Festivals, Altars, &c. And for these I am to direct him to the Authors he is to consult, without pretending however to give him a compleat List of them. For the Temples, Soothsayers and Oracles, he ought to read *Van-Dale*, and the Treatise of *Julius Cæsar Bulengerus*; for the Festivals, *Fasoldus*, *Castellanus*, *John Johnston*, and *Meursius*; for the Games with which Religion was mix'd, the same *Meursius*; for the Altars, a Treatise upon them by *Father Berthold*; for the Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, *John-Henry*; and for the *Bacchanalia* in particular, *John-Nicholas Eggelins*; for those of *Ceres*, or the Mysteries of *Eleusis*, *Meursius*, and *M. Le Clerc*, who has reduced him to a clearer Method; for those of *Mithras*, *M. della Torre*, Bishop of *Adria*; for those of *Atys* and *Cybele*, *Laurentius Pignorius*; for those of *Isis* and *Osiris*, *Plutarch* upon that Subject, and the same *Pignorius*; for the Oracle of *Dodona* in particular, he may consult *Herodotus*, the Fragment of *Stephen of Byzantium* the Grammarian, with *James Trig-*

landius's Notes, and what the Abbé *Sallier* has publish'd in our *Memoirs* (1); for the *Asyla*, *John Osiander*, and the late Abbé *Boissi*; for the Lots, the Auguries, and other Methods of Divining, *Bulengerus*; in general for several Ceremonies and religious Customs, *Pitiscus* and *Rosinus*; provided, as *Reinesius* has remark'd, we give no credit to the latter but when he quotes the Ancients; for the Vows and votive Tables, the Treatise of *James-Philip Thomassinus*: With regard to the Oaths, always connected with Religion, the small Treatise of *J. B. Hansenius*; for the Sacrifices and Priests, *Merula*. In fine, he may read what *Montfaucon* has collected from these and several other Authors, in his *Antiquity explain'd in Sculptures*: and a great number of other Pieces scatter'd up and down in the *The-saurus* of *Grævius* and *Gronovius*, and in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*.

No doubt it will be objected to me, that we have compleat Mythologies already, and numbers of Authors who have given us laborious Treatises on Fable. 'Tis true, and I shall now endeavour by a short Examination of these Works to estimate their Merit. I am not to speak of *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Apollodorus*, nor *Hyginus*, because they have done no more than barely to collect Fables, as *Ovid*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, and others, without giving any just Explanation of them. *Palephatus*, who attempted to explain them, is a Guide not to be relied on. *Conon's* fifty Narrations are hardly of any greater use. *Heraclides*, and an Anonymous Author, who has given us two Treatises *de Rebus incredibilibus*, have indeed reduced to History the Fables they relate; but these Works, or rather these Fragments, are too short, and cite no Authority for the Facts they advance. The Catasterisms of *Eratostratus* the *Cyrenian*, a much shorter Work than that of *Hyginus*, contains the History of the Constellations and of some Stars; and one who would be acquainted with the poetical and astronomical Heavens, must give them a reading, as well as the Treatise of *Cæsius*

(1) *Mém. of the Acad. of Belles-Lettres*, v. r.

Chap. I. *Explain'd by History.* 7

Cæsius or *Bleau*, not neglecting even what the Abbé *Artigaut* has done upon the same Subject. *Phurnutus's* Book upon the Nature of the Gods is merely stuffed with Allegories, and is of very little use to a Mythologist. The Work of the Philosopher *Sallust* is a very succinct Treatise, where you have a mixture of Moralizing and Physicks, but nothing instructive or particular. As for *Heracrides* of *Pontus's* Book, one may judge from the bare Title of it, *The Allegories of Homer*, whether we ought to have any great Opinion of the Work. The three first Books of *Planciades Fulgentius*, the *Latin* Mythologist, are well worth the reading. The Work of *Lactantius Placidus* contains nothing but the Arguments of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* abridg'd, and that of the Philosopher *Albricus* the Manner of representing the Gods with their Attributes. What we have now extant of *Ptolemy Hephestion*, is but a Summary of the seven Books he had composed upon Mythology; and all that now remains serves but to make us lament the loss of the Work itself. That of *Parthenius* of *Nice* has this to recommend it, that he draws from ancient Authors the fabulous Stories he relates; but it takes in too few of them. The *Metamorphoses* of *Antoninus Liberalis* are much inferiour in merit to *Ovid's*; but then he has some which the *Latin* Poet wants.

To come now to the modern Mythologists, I shall speak my Opinion of such of them as I have seen. In the Front of them I place *Natalis Comes*, a learned Author, who perhaps had render'd our Labours on the same Subject superfluous, if his too great Prejudice in favour of the allegorical and moral Sense had allowed him to give a little more Application only to find out the History of the Fable. Besides he wanted the Helps, which *Vossius*, *Bochart*, and others since his time, have furnished us with by their learned Discoveries. The Mythology of *Cartari*, and its Continuation by *Du Verdier*, has nothing very instructive, nor well digested. The Genealogy of the Gods by *Boccace* has this Peculiarity, that the Author had been

8. MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book I.

acquainted with, and cites Books, which at present are not to be had. The Work of *Lylio Gyraldi* is extremely well done, so far as it goes; but besides that all the Subjects we look for in a Book of Mythology are not to be found there, he has quite overlook'd the History couch'd under the ancient Fictions; what he has done better, is the List of the Surnames of the Gods he mentions: it appears to have been composed with a great deal of care, though he frequently neglects to explain these Names. The Commentary of *Vigenere* on *Philostratus's* Pictures is full of Learning, but has too great a mixture of Physicks and Moralizing; and that in a Language which is now grown obsolete.

ARTICLE II.

What Extremes be ought to avoid.

Having considered the preliminary Knowledge a Mythologist ought to acquire, I shall now shew him the Errors he ought to shun, with respect to the Systems that have been contrived for explaining Fable: for though there is not one of them that can answer all Objections; no general Rules that will serve for all Occasions; yet I am confident, that there is none of them but what some Advantage may be drawn from.

*Examination
of the Systems
offer'd by the
Learned for ex-
plaining Fables.*

One of the principal and most ancient is that of the *Platonick* Philosophers, who being hard put to it by the Objections of the Defenders of Christianity, whose Design was to prove the Absurdity of Paganism from that of the Fables it was founded upon, pretended that these Fables were but Allegories, that wrap'd up grand Mysteries, and especially that of the different Productions of second Causes, animated by the same Spirit that had disintangled and extracted them from the Chaos where they were blended in confusion: That the Multiplicity of Gods, with worshipping whom they were reproach'd, were only *Genii*, of an inferiour Order to the first Mover, who had committed to them the Government

of

of the World ; and in fine, that the things, which appear'd either absurd or obscene, were only Mysteries under which the Generation of Plants and Animals lay conceal'd.

My Intention is not to transcribe here the Answers of the Fathers, who demonstrated to these Philosophers, that the Fables were the true Histories of their Gods, to palliate whose Crimes, they had recourse to ingenious Allegories, when too late ; nor am I to insist upon their Replies to the *Stoicks*, who abandon'd the Establish'd Religion only by embracing Atheism, and owning no other Divinity but an universal Spirit, extended like Matter which it animated : This is what *Virgil* (1) has express'd in these celebrated Lines.

*Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

This in effect, was the favourite Doctrine of the *Stoicks* (2), of *Strato*, *Protagoras*, *Pliny*, and has since been revived by *Spinoza*. But the System I have been now explaining, though false in general, because Fables never were a Work of deep Design, nor composed with a view to one Whole, does yet explain in a very ingenious manner the Allegories they sometimes contain ; and *Plato* himself, the Master of the Philosophers, who framed this System, explain'd some of them upon this Principle.

Some learned Men of the last Age have taken another Method to investigate the Sense of Fable. *Kircher* alledg'd, he had found out the Solution of them in the Explanation of the Hieroglyphicks, or of the sacred Language of the *Egyptians* ; an Hypothesis false in general, and exceeding precarious, by reason of our being little acquainted with this mysterious Language ; and because the Fables happen not to be all of *Egyptian* Production. However, this Country having been peopled among the first, even soon after the Dispersion of the Sons of *Ncab*, and there being Fables that appear as old as this primitive Separation, since Idolatry with which they are connected then arose, nothing conduces

(1) *Æn.* L. 6. V. 126.

(2) *Cic.* L. 1. *De Nat. Deor.*

conduces more towards their being understood, and to put the Mythologist in a way of explaining them, than Knowledge of the Religion and Ceremonies of this ancient People; and therefore it may be of use to read the *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* of this learned Jesuit.

The celebrated *Bochart* thought most of the Fables might be explain'd, by the equivocal Words of the ancient *Phœnician* Language; but his Hypothesis would not be tenable, was it to be carried any great length. The Fables were not all invented by the *Phœnicians*; nor can we be sure of understanding their Language so fully as to succeed in explaining those that were. It is certain however, that these People were the first who carried on Traffick and Navigation. Besides, it is undeniable, that there have been found in almost every Island in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coasts of *Asia Minor*, in *Greece*, and as far as the inmost Recesses of *Spain*, Marks of their Residence in these several Countries, and Vestiges of their Religion: consequently, what Light must an Insight into Languages throw upon the Fables, and what vast Assistance may one derive from the Works of this learned Author? What a world of ingenious Explications has he either given himself, or enabled so many others, particularly *Le Clerc*, to give?

The System of those who are for referring all the Fables to Scripture misunderstood, or to corrupted Traditions, is certainly false when taken in general. There are a world of things in the Fables, that have no manner of Connection with the Facts recorded in the sacred Books; nay more, these Books were in the custody of a People jealous of their Religion, far from being communicative, much despised, and but little known till the Conquests of *Alexander*. However, we may be easily convinced, by reading the Works of *Pere Thémassin*, *Huetius*, the Author of *Homer Hebraizing*, *Daniel Clazenius's* Book, intitled, *Theologia Gentilis*, the *Comparison of Fable with Scripture*, and still more by perusing the Reflections of *M. Fourmont* the elder upon ancient Nations, that one may have

the good fortune to discover, among these ancient Fictions, some Remains of the *Hebrew* Traditions. But to give here my Opinion upon this Subject, there is not one of the Authors I have been naming, but has gone to an Extreme. Dangerous it is for a Person to allow himself to be dazzled by the first Glimpses of Resemblance that strike the Sight; this is a Rock which Men of Parts have split upon. If the late Bishop of *Avanches* had contented himself with saying, that there was no difficulty in tracing some Affinity between *Moses* and the *Mercury* of the *Greeks*; such an Affinity as might indeed very naturally be found between two Persons, either in Character, or some one of their Actions, he had merited Praise for running the parallel between them; but to suffer the Charm of this Discovery to transport him into an Opinion, that the Legislator of the *Hebrews* had been the Model of almost all the *Pagan* Gods, as also his Sister *Miriam*, or his Wife *Zippora*, of all their Goddesses; this is one of those Sallies, into which Men are sometimes carried by too much Learning. (a)

That the Pagans had been informed of the Travels both of *Abraham* and *Moses*, is a Fact that could easily be proved; but that these Travels, and the Prodigies that accompanied them, were intended by the ancient Poets in the History of *Jasen*, and of the *Argonautick* Expedition, is an Hypothesis, which all the Efforts of a modern Author have never been able to render probable (1).

In like manner, however, certain it is, that Truth did not rise out of Error, but that Truth itself, by being misunderstood, gave rise to that multitude of Fables, by which almost the whole World has been seduced for many Ages; and consequently, however they may deserve Praise who have search'd into the Bosom of Error itself for a Discovery of this ancient Truth, yet we cannot choose but blame them for carrying

(a) See the fourteenth Source of Fables, C. 5. where this Thought is explain'd at more length.

(1) Comparison of Fable with Scripture, T. 2.

rying their Conjectures too far : for instance, when they advance, that one may find Traces of the Mystery of the Trinity, either in the Works of *Plato*, as *Justin*, *Eusebius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and some others have imagin'd ; or in the hieroglyphical Figures of the *Isiack* Table (1), according to others ; or in the Divinities of the ancient *Germans*, as *Cluverius* alledges ; or in the three principal Gods of the *East-Indies*, *Brama*, *Vichneu*, and *Routren* ; or in the three-headed Idol of *Japan* ; or in fine, in that of *Peru*, named *Tanga-Tanga*, which, according to *Acosta*, signifies *One in three, or three in one* ; what is this but an Affectation of learned Singularity, at the expence of that very Truth they value themselves on searching after ? Would God reveal this ineffable Mystery to these People in a clearer manner than he had done even to the *Hebrews* ?

That all the Inhabitants of this Globe are sprung from one common Stock, is a Truth we are oblig'd by Religion to believe ; that some of them, even after a long Separation, preserv'd the Memory of those sorts of Events which are not liable to be forgot, such as the Deluge ; this too is a thing hardly to be question'd, notwithstanding the different manner in which People most remote from us have told the Story to their first Discoverers : but to think to find among them Remains of our Mysteries ; a visible Conformity in their Manners to those of our primitive Patriarchs ; to suppose they had a Notion, and that pretty exact, of the Orgies of *Bacchus*, the Mysteries of *Isis* and *Osiris*, the Fable of *Jason* and *Medea*, &c. this is one of those Extravagancies they must unavoidably fall into, who, the moment they are struck with some faint Appearance of Probability, begin by forming a Scheme, and afterwards endeavour to establish it upon forc'd Comparisons.

The System of those, who reduce Fables to ancient History, though disfigur'd by the Poets, who were the first Historians ; a System that appears most relish'd at this day, and which I have been encourag'd

(1) See *Montfaucon's* Antiq. Vol. 2. P. 2. C. 1.

to embrace, by the Success of some learned Men of the last Age, who have so happily explained some particular Fables, even this would have its Inconveniences, was one to reduce all to History; since it is certain that some Fables are no more than pure Allegories, either upon some Virtue, or Vice, or else on some of the Productions of Nature: others, whose foundation is in History, tho' the Ancients have chose to transmit them to us allegorically, as in the Fable of *Niobe's* Children, who were cut off by the Contagion that raged in *Thebes*, and are said poetically to have been slain by *Apollo* and *Diana*, because they attributed Death, if it was sudden or occasioned by Pestilence, to *Apollo* for Males, and to *Diana* for Females, as may be seen in an hundred Passages of *Homer*; and all from an Opinion that contagious Distempers were owing to the Influences of the Sun and Moon, represented by the Arrows of these two Divinities.

This System, taken with these and some other Restrictions, is the most rational, and will be found most satisfactory, when apply'd to Particulars: but then we must not attempt to explain all the Circumstances of every Fable, and if we would explain them to the purpose, we must take them from the Poets of greatest Antiquity, such as *Homer* and *Hesiod*, where they are much more simple, and express more naturally the Facts to which they refer; and that sometimes, without all those Ornaments that were superadded to them by After-ages, either to make them more venerable, because they were a part of Religion, or more surprising, because it is natural for Man to delight in the Marvellous. Several Examples of this might be given, but I shall content my self with that of *Bellerophon*, whose History is very fully told in the *Iliad* (1), without making the least mention of the Horse *Pegasus*, who is said by later Authors to have been broke by *Minerva* for the use of this Hero. This ancient Poet says as little of the *Centaurs*, according to the Idea they had of them in After-times: He represents them indeed as a Race of brutal Savages,

(1) L. 6. v. 221.

Savages, but by no means Monsters, Half-men and Half-horses: If I am not mistaken, *Pindar* was the first who painted them in that form.

I don't say that a Fable was not invented in the time of these ancient Poets, because they have it not. They neither had occasion nor intention to mention every one: but all I plead for is this, whenever they relate a Fable, such Circumstances as they want appear to be the Invention of after-times: Thus for instance, *Hesiod* tells us, that *Jason* had by *Medea*, *Medus*, without saying any more; whence I conclude, the Circumstance of *Medus's* being the Father of the *Medes*, to have been only added to this Fable after his time. *Hesiod* could never say such a thing, since the *Medes*, who only begun to appear about 750 Years before Christ, could not possibly be known to a Poet who liv'd 900 Years before this *Æra*. When the same Poet speaks of *Maia*, one of the *Pleiades*, and Mother of *Mercury*, he says nothing of the six other Sisters, who together with her formed the Constellation of that Name; much less would he mention the seventh, named *Merope*, who, as the later Poets tell us, is never to be seen, because she alone had matched with a Mortal, while her Sisters had been married to Gods. This Physical Fable, whereby we are taught that this Star has been sunk for a long time in the unfathomable depths of *Æther*, and which is told both by *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, was undoubtedly neither known to *Homer* nor *Hesiod*.

Another Rule to be observed by such as adopt the Historical System, is still to bear in mind that Fables are a Whole ill-match'd, which was never a Work of Meditation, invented at one time, in one Country, or by the same Persons. This Reflection I made in the Preface to my Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. I proved too in my Explication of Fables, that neither *Egypt* nor *Phenicia* had given birth to them all, altho' the greater number came from thence; that many of them were invented in *Greece* and *Italy*, and others of them but of modern Invention: such was that of *Æneas's* Ships, transformed by *Cybele* into Sea-Nymphs; a Fable which

which *Ovid* has copied from *Virgil*, nor are we able to trace this Tradition higher than the time of *Augustus*.

I add, it is easy for one to fall into mistakes; sometimes a Fable may be look'd upon as modern, when it is of great antiquity; and thus for preventing mistakes in examining it, he must try, if possible, to discover its Original: and as to that, I take the Names of the Personages of these Fables to be very proper to mark out the Country where they had their birth. Whenever these Names are related to the Languages of the East, we may be sure they are the Product of *Egypt* or *Phenicia*. When they are *Greek*, as those of *Daphne*, the *Heliades*, the *Myrmidons*, *Alopi*, *Galanthis*, one may take it for granted that the Fables concerning these Personages are of *Grecian* Extraction; and in fine, when the Names are *Latin*, such as *Carmenta*, *Flora*, and *Anna Perenna*, we may conclude, the Fables delivered concerning them to have been invented in *Italy*. As a Confirmation of this Rule, these last Fictions are never to be met with out of the *Latin* Territory, nor the others out of *Greece*.

But this Rule too has its inconvenience; for if, because *Matuta* and *Portumnus* are *Latin* Names, we should infer that the Fable about them had its rise in *Italy*, we should be in a mistake; since we find it in *Greece* under the names of *Leucothoe* and *Palemon*, and this same *Palemon*, *Selden* has fully made out (1) to be the *Melicertus* of the *Phenicians*. Thus it is, one may sometimes discover the Original of Fables, and their Transportation from *Egypt* or from *Phenicia*, into *Greece*, *Italy*, and other Countries; for perhaps there is not one where they have not been found.

We must not however imagine, that these People I now named had invented all of them: *Asia minor*, the *Isles*, *Greece*, the *Gauls* and *Spain*, were undoubtedly peopled by the Descendants of *Japhet*, from the earliest Ages; and these as well as others had a Religion and Fables of their own, when the first *Phenician* and *Egyptian* Colonies arrived amongst them: and if these Colonies introduced thither their Gods and Worship, the

(1) Synt. de Diis Syriis.

others were not behind in their turn to communicate to them the Knowledge of Divinities they had worshipped before a Stranger had come amongst them. *Hamon* and *Belus*, for example, were the leading Deities of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, as *Jupiter* was the greatest of the Gods of *Greece*. We find however in the earliest Antiquity, that *Hamon* and *Belus* had also the Appellation of *Jupiter*; which could be the Effect of nothing else but that Communication of Religion I have mentioned.

The People who adopted foreign Divinities, in process of time made so considerable Alterations in the Worship they paid them, and even in their Names, that it was frequently impossible to know their true Original; insomuch that Colonies were no longer acquainted with their own Gods when they met with them in Countries, where their Worship had been introduced by others before them, and never dream'd but the Deities worshipped there, were different from theirs; which to be sure occasioned no small Confusion in the ancient *Mythology*. Some learned Men of the last Age (1) have in great measure cleared up this so essential an Article. They have, for example, found out that the *Thentat* of the *Gauls*, the *Hermes* of the *Greeks*, and the *Mercury* of the *Latins*, were the same with the *Tbot* or *Tbau* of the *Egyptians*; that the *Belenus* of the *Celtæ*, the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, and the *Mithras* of the *Persians*, were the *Osiris* and *Orus* of the same *Egyptians*; that *Diana* and *Lucina* were their *Isis*; and the *Alilat* of the *Arabians*, the *Astarté* of the *Syrians*, and the celestial *Venus* of the *Greeks*, were the Planet we call the *Hesperus* or *Evening-Star*. Some, even Authors of Learning, among whom we may reckon *Bochart*, *Father Thomassin*, *Cumberland*, *Vossius*, *M. Huet*, *M. Fourmont*, and others, think they have found out these ancient Gods in the Patriarchs; *Saturn* in *Noah* or *Abraham*; *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, in *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and so of others: But this Article still requires to be more fully considered, and perhaps we shall be able in the course of this Work, to discover a Resemblance, or rather

(1) *Bochart*, *Selden*, *M. le Clerc*, *Perizonius*, and several others.

rather an Identity, between the eight or twelve great Gods, mentioned in *Herodotus*, and those of the Greeks and other Nations.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Manner how one ought to proceed in the Explanation of Fable.

Before I put an end to these Reflections, it will not be amiss to shew those for whose use they are designed, in what manner they are to proceed in explaining the Fables. To understand them fully, it is necessary first to examine from the Contexture of the Fable, whether it exhibits the Idea of some historical Fact, or whether it be only an Allusion to some of Nature's Operations, or to some Virtue; and the most simple Reflection is often sufficient to unfold this Mystery. Whenever the Fable appears to be Historical, we must first clear away any Circumstances that are out of Nature: A Poet in describing Events, does not tell them simply and as an Historian would do, but intermixes Machinery, *Ambages Deorumque ministeria*, as *Petronius* has it. We must then set aside this Interposition of the Gods, and ascribe either to Valour, Prudence or Address, what the Poet attributes to *Mars*, *Minerva*, or *Mercury*. We must also examine in what Language the Fable to be examined is written, and we shall often find a meer Ambiguity in that Language has given rise to the Fiction; of this *Bochart* furnishes us with numbers of Examples. It is impracticable, nor could it be of great use to explain all the Circumstances of the Fables, most of which were the late Invention of Poets as they had occasion to use them; so that we must take them from the most ancient Poets, where they are commonly more simple, as has been already remarked. It is also necessary to be acquainted with the Ancients, to see if the Fact contained in the Fable, be connected with some other Incident in History; for then it will be easy to strip it of the Marvellous. The Expedition of the *Argonauts*, for example, and the Labours of *Hercules*, are historical Truths:

With how many fictitious Embellishments have they been set off? The most perplexing Difficulty in the way of a Mythologist consists in unravelling the Intricacy of different Opinions about one and the same Fable, which is told in so many ways, and so different from one another, that it is impossible to reconcile them all.

Let us suppose, for instance, we were to examine the Partition of the World among the three Sons of *Saturn*; at first we shall be astonished at the diversity of Sentiments there is among the Learned about this Subject.

The Historians (1) we shall find delivering quite opposite Traditions, tho' of equal Antiquity. While the bulk of them shall suppose this Partition to have really happened, others will give a relation of Facts that destroy it. We shall be told, for example, that *Neptune* came out of *Libye*, and *Minerva* from the Banks of the Lake *Triton* in the same Country; so that they could have nothing in common with *Jupiter*, to whom they could not so much as be Relations. The first thing is to examine these different Traditions, and abandon such as appear contradictory, and inconsistent with Facts for which we have the Authority of good Authors.

This is the Method, which has been observed by our best Mythologists, and I know none of them has adopted this Fable, without having first enquired what might have given rise to it. The most Judicious, such as *Gerard Vossius*, *Marsham*, *Bochart*, and Father *Thomassin*, are of opinion that the Partition of the World among the Sons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, was the Original of the Tradition of the same Partition among *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; and considering it in this light, they have not been wanting to draw very curious Comparisons, between the three fabulous Princes, and the three Sons of the Patriarch. However, these same Authors vary amongst themselves in tracing the Resemblance between them, and where the Comparison is the same, the Persons compared are different. After all

(1) See *Dicæorus Sic.*

all, what Similitude can be found between *Shem* and *Jupiter*, *Ham* and *Pluto*? The only rational Inference one could draw from the Opinion of these great Men, is not, that the two Families, which cannot be confounded without receding from all the Ancients, make but one; but barely the Truth of this Proposition, that the *Greeks* often embellished the History of their fabulous times, with that of the Eastern Nations, whence they derived their Original.

The Empire of the *Titans*, according to the Ancients, was exceeding extensive. These Princes were possessed of *Phrygia*, *Thrace*, a part of *Greece*, the Island of *Crete*, and several other Provinces, to the inmost Recesses of *Spain*. To these *Sanchoniathon* (1) seems to join *Syria*; and *Diodorus* (2) adds a part of *Africa* and the Kingdoms of *Mauritania*. I am not now to enter upon the Proofs of this Fact, which is very fully discussed in Father *Pezron's* Treatise upon the Origin and Antiquity of the Language of the *Celtæ*. I shall only say here, that this learned Man contends that the Division which was made of this vast Empire, came in after-times to be taken for the Partition of the World: that *Asia* remaining in the hands of *Jupiter*, the most potent of the three Brothers, made him be looked upon as the God of *Olympus*, a celebrated Mountain where he had his Residence, and which was afterwards taken for Heaven itself: that the Sea and Islands, which fell to *Neptune*, occasioned their giving him the Title of God of the Sea: and that *Spain*, the extremity of the then known World, thought to be a very low Country in respect of *Asia*, and famous for its excellent Mines of Gold and Silver, falling to *Pluto*, occasioned him to be taken for the God of the infernal Regions.

A Mythologist should state and carefully canvass these different Opinions, to enable the Reader to judge of them; and he may determine himself in favour of that which appears to him the most probable, and support it if he can by new Arguments, without giving himself much trouble about the Objections that may be raised

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against

(1) In *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* (2) L. 3.

against him. For one may venture here to affirm, that nothing stronger will ever be advanced to disprove these three *Titan* Princes to have been Brothers, than what may be said in defence of it.

C H A P. II.

In which 'tis proved that Fables are not mere Allegories, but comprehend several ancient Facts.

FABLES are to be no otherwise accounted of than so many beautiful Veils, under which the Truths of ancient History are concealed; and however they may be disguised by the great number of Ornaments mixed with them, it is not absolutely impossible to unfold the historical Facts they contain. I grant there are some Circumstances, in the Fables which were merely of Poetical Invention; but there is a deal of Probability that they had a true Foundation (*a*): and tho' we are not to take all that they have said of their Gods and Heroes in the literal Sense, yet it would be as wrong to reject it altogether, and the rather that they frequently speak of Persons whose Deeds we have recorded in History; which gives *Pausanias* (1) occasion to say, “ In every Period of time, singular and extraordinary Events, in proportion as they were remote from the Memory of Men, so much the less did they retain the air of Credibility, thro' their fault who built Fables upon the foundation of Truth.”

I know the Poets have sometimes gone the length even of inventing the Personages they describe; but it is easy to discover these, and to be sure no reasonable man judges of *Saturn* or *Neptune*, as he does of *Fortune* and of *Destiny*. There is no impossibility to distinguish amongst all these Poetical Personages, the real from the figurative or allegorical. Learned Men have done it before me, nor did St. *Augustin*, *Lactantius*, and *Arnobius*

(*a*) Non enim res ipsas gestas finxerunt Poetæ, sed gestis addiderunt quemdam colorem rebus. *Lact. de falsa Rel.* lib. 1. c. 12.

(1) In Att. c. 2.

bius judge this Article unworthy their Consideration, believing they did no small service to Religion, by shewing to the World that the ancient Pagan Divinities had been no other than Men. I own, for my part, if there was nothing in all the Fables of the Poets but some Allegories, I don't see what great value we ought to have for their Works: nothing to me would appear more insipid. Whereas, if it is true that they comprize ancient Facts, their making use of such numbers of Fables has nothing at all surprizing; it gives us even a better opinion of the Genius of the *Greeks*, since we see that in spite of their invincible byas towards Fictions, they did not however feed themselves with Tales of mere Invention (*a*); and tho' they have embellished their Narratives, yet we know at least that they contain several Truths of Importance. Accordingly it is certain that the greatest Men of Antiquity, have always had a high Idea of the Poets, whom they looked upon as the earliest Historians. *Strabo* says (1), the Historians came nearer to the Character of *Homer*, in proportion as they were more ancient; which makes *Casaubon* say (*b*), that in reading *Herodotus*, he thought he was reading *Homer* himself. Shall we believe in good earnest, that *Alexander* would have held this Poet in such esteem, had he looked upon him only as a mere Relater of Fables? and would he have envied the happy Lot of *Achilles* in having such a one to sing his Praises? Where had been the sense of wishing for an Historian, who instead of describing the true Atchievements of that Prince, would have wrote none but fabulous ones? He well knew, that amidst those Fictions brought in by the Poet, to give a colouring to the Ground of his History, he preserved the Character of his Hero in perfection. *Pausanias* is of the same opinion with *Strabo*, as well as *Polybius*, *Herodotus*, and so many others. We know how *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who is so grave and so judicious an Author, explains the Adventures of *Æneas* and

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(*a*) See M. le Clerc Bibl. chois. Tom. 2.

(1) Lib. 2.

(*b*) Notæ in Strabon. lib. 1. Ac mihi quidem persæpe Herodotum eum lego, Homerum aliquem videor legere.

and the other *Trojans*. Nor are we ignorant that *Titus Livius*, in the Fables that relate to the Antiquity of *Rome*, brings back the Gods to Men, as in that about the Birth of *Romulus*, his Education, &c. Does he not reduce to History the Voyages of *Antenor* and *Æneas*, the Wars and Victories of the last, and his Apotheosis? Is not the Subject of the *Æneid* considered by him in the same light as *Polybius* and *Strabo* had done the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? When *Cicero* is enumerating the Sages, does he not bring in *Nestor* and *Ulysses*? would he have given mere Phantoms a place among them? Has he not explained the Fables of *Atlas*, *Cepheus*, and *Prometheus* (a)? Are we not taught by him, that what gave occasion to feign that the one supported the Heavens on his Shoulders, and the other was chained to Mount *Caucasus*, was their indefatigable Application to contemplate the Heavenly Bodies? I might bring in here the Authority of most of the Ancients: I might produce that of the primitive Fathers of the Church, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and several others, who looked upon Fables to be founded on true Histories; and I might finish this List with the Names of the most Illustrious of our Moderns, who have traced out in ancient Fictions, so many Remains of the Tradition of the primitive Ages.

But, say you, would not this be granting enough, to allow Fables to comprehend the Philosophy and Religion of the Ancients? I grant we have some Allegories mixed with them, which point that way; but still it was the primary Intention of the Poets, to comprize in these Fables the History of their Heroes; and we wander from their true Scope, when we confine our Views entirely to the Allegory. Is it really credible, that when they tell us *Bacchus* was clapped into *Jupiter's* Thigh, they only meant to let us know, that Wine, of which that God is the Symbol, must, in order to ripen, have a moderate Heat, as there is in that part of the

(a) Nec vero Cælum Atlas sustinere, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasus, nec Cepheus stellatus . . . nisi cælestium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem Fabulæ conduxisset. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 5.

the Body? That the Combat of the Gods in *Homer* signifies no more than the Struggle of our Passions, or the Conjunction of the Planets in the same Point of the Zodiac, according to the Reveries of some Scholiasts? That *Vulcan* is only represented lame, because Fire without Fuel, goes out, *Deficit; claudicat (a)*? Is it to be thought, that when they tell us how *Jupiter* decreed upon *Pluto's* carrying off *Proserpine*, that she should be six Months in Hell, and six Months with her Mother *Ceres*, they designed only to inform us that the Grain is lodged six Months in the Earth, and six Months out of it (*b*)? That they have made up a match between *Jupiter* and *Juno*, only because *Jupiter* is the Air, and *Juno* the Earth; and *Jupiter* by sending Showers upon the Earth, makes it fertile? That the bad understanding betwixt this married Couple, and the Jealousies of *Juno*, teach us nothing else, but that the Air put into commotion raises Storms which work such havock upon the Earth (*c*)? For my part, it is what I shall never be persuaded of, and I doubt not but *Homer* would be not a little surprized, was he to come into the World and know all that is attributed to him; in truth, would he cry out in the Words of the ingenious Author of *The Dialogues of the Dead (d)*, I was suspicious enough that some People of wonderful Penetration, would discover things that never came into my head: As it requires no great Cunning to make a Prophecy which some time or other shall hit on an Event, so it is a mighty easy thing to make a Fable that may chance to be turned to an ingenious Allegory. And if he should be ask'd, whether it was really so that he had wrapped up deep Mysteries in his Works. he would ingenuously acknowledge, he had not thought upon it; but, that knowing there was a strong Sympathy between Truth and Falshood, and that the Mind of Man does not always seek after Truth, he thought fit to borrow the Disguise of Fiction, to make Truth be the more relished.

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relished.

(a) *St. Augustin*, after the ancient Poets.

(b) *Sallust* *L. de Diis & Mundo.* (c) *Eusebius* after *Plutarch* explains it in this manner. (d) Dialogue of *Homer* and *Es.*

relished. It is no new thing to make Authors speak what they never thought; and if we must have recourse to Allegories, all we shall learn from it is, according to the Remark of a learned Modern (1), that the first Inhabitants of *Greece* made their whole Wisdom consist in expressing trivial things in a very obscure manner. Who knows not that Rain makes the Earth prolific? And yet according to the Patrons of Allegory, they could not tell us this, till of the Earth and Air they had made their *Jupiter* and *Juno*, whom they afterwards came to worship as Gods. The Ancients proceeded in a way of honest Simplicity; as they knew little about Virtue and Vice, when they reckoned their first Kings among their Gods, they recorded their Actions good or bad, as formerly; and after representing *Jupiter* striking the *Titans* with Thunder, they transformed him to a Goat, or a Satyr, to ensnare simple Shepherdesses.

But, it will be said, are there not things we meet with in the Poets that can only be understood allegorically? Are they not every moment taking *Jupiter* for the Air, *Ceres* for the Corn, *Bacchus* for Wine? *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus. Manet sub Jove frigido Venator, &c.* In like manner, when we read in one of *Nævius's* Verses, *Coquus dedit Neptunum, Venerem, Cereferem*, is not this his Meaning, *The Cook provided Fish, Herbs, and Bread?* as *Justus Lipsius* explains it (2). When they tell us, the *Ocean* is the Father of the Rivers, the *Sirens* are the Daughters of *Acheloüs*, &c. is not this evidently allegorizing Nature? It is so; but this is by no means the ancient state of Fables: Their *Bacchus* is considered as a conquering Prince; *Jupiter* as a King in *Crete*, renowned for his Conquests; *Ceres* as a Queen of *Sicily*, who taught her People Agriculture; and so for others: and it was only in after-times that they affixed to these ancient Fables, an Idea of the Elements and of universal Nature; which only proves that there is a great deal of Allegory intermixed with them, which is not denied; and this to be sure is the very thing that makes their Explanation so difficult, the Poets

(1) M. le Clerc.

(2) Nat. Lat. l. 2. c. 1.

Poets passing at once from History to Physicks. Thus we are to look upon those Allegories, as so many Metaphors and figurative Ways of speaking, that were added to denote the Characters of the Persons spoken of. The Arrival, for example, of *Cecrops* in *Greece*, the Laws he introduced, and the Care he took to polish the Inhabitants of *Attica*, are historical Facts, which one might tell in the natural way; and possibly they that wrote them first, blended no Fiction with them; however they gave out afterwards, that *Cecrops* was compounded of two Natures (*a*), the upper part of his Body that of a Man, and the other that of a Serpent: an Allegory teaching us, that this Prince ruled over two Nations; the *Egyptians*, a People justly denominated Men from their sweet and refined Manners; and the *Greeks*, who in their fierce unpolished Nature bore a resemblance to the Serpents, that dwelt like them in Dens and Forests. Thus every Fable almost has two Parts, the one historical, and the other metaphorical. *Atlas*, for example, was a Prince given to Astronomy, who made use of the Sphere in studying the Motion of the Stars; here is the History, which they thus express; he carried the Heavens upon his Shoulders, and this is the Parable. *Proteus* was a Prince of great Wisdom and Foresight, Eloquence and Cunning, this was his Character: it is happily enough expressed, by saying he turned himself into a great many Shapes. *Dedalus* was the Invention of Sails instead of the Oars that were formerly in use, and he happily made his escape out of the hands of *Minos*; this is the matter of fact: to inform us of it, we are told in a figurative Stile, that he had made himself Wings on which he flew away; a lively Expression that finely marks the Swiftneſs of a Ship under fail.

The Poets, to gain Admirers, have interwoven these amusing Fictions into the Histories they chose to relate. Something of this Disposition is natural to Men, especially to the Eastern People, from whom we have most of the Fables: this Temper still prevails amongst them; and

(*a*) *Gemino de corpore* is *Ovid's* Expression for it.

and we see from their Books so full of Parables, that they remain at this day what the *Greeks* were in the most fabulous Times.

But if on the other side the Poets thought themselves obliged to invent Fables that they might divert their Readers, yet they very well knew that we have no great Love to be fed with mere Chimæras. Thus it became necessary for them to seek some Foundation for these Fictions: and the History of the World supplying them with Events of an extraordinary and wondrous nature, which with a few Ornaments had all the Charm of Fable; what could hinder their making choice of them, to be the foundation of their Works, rather than invent Tales, with which one could not choose but soon be cloy'd?

Strabo's judicious remark upon the Voyages of *Ulysses*, where *Homer* has interspers'd so many Fables, is a good confirmation of what I have been saying.

“ When we have ancient History before us, says
 “ that Author, we must examine in this Light what
 “ is said by them, who maintain that *Ulysses* reach'd
 “ the Seas of *Italy* and *Sicily*, as *Homer* has said,
 “ and by others who deny it; for each of these
 “ Opinions has something good and something bad,
 “ and it is possible for one to be in the right, and
 “ also in the wrong, on either side of the Question.
 “ One is in the right to believe that *Homer* from a
 “ Persuasion of *Ulysses's* having actually sail'd to all
 “ those Places, has laid the Foundation of his Fable
 “ in a Subject undoubtedly true; though he has han-
 “ dled it in the poetical Way, that is, by mixing it with
 “ Fiction; for Tokens of his Voyages are to be seen
 “ in those Seas. But one would be in an error to
 “ take for circumstantiated History all the rest of the
 “ Fiction, as his Ocean, his infernal Regions, his
 “ Metamorphoses, the horrid Form of *Scylla*, the
 “ *Cyclops*, and so forth. He who should contend
 “ that all these Articles are so many Historical Truths,
 “ would be as little worth the refuting, as one who
 “ should maintain that *Ulysses* really arriv'd at *Ithaca*,
 “ just in the manner it is told by *Homer*.” Both
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the one and the other of these Opinions are ridiculous ; we are to hold the mean, and select what is historical from among the embellishments of Fiction. Thus to conjecture right upon this Subject, two Extremes are to be avoided. The Ground of the Fable must be considered as something historically true, and at the same time all the Ornaments believed fictitious : This Principle must be deeply rooted in the Mind, that Fables are not wholly of the nature of Fictions ; that they are Histories of the Times furthest back, which have been disfigured, either through the Ignorance of the People, the Artifice of the Priests, or the Genius of the Poets, who have always preferred the Gaudy and Sparkling to the Solid. But the question is, how to clear up all this ? One is liable to mistake for Truth what is nothing but a Fiction ; and the only Circumstance, perhaps, that has Truth in it, shall pass for Fable. Have we any Rules whereby to distinguish right in the Case ? Undoubtedly we have : The first thing to be done is to clear the Fable of all that appears in it supernatural, all that pompous Apparatus of Fictions, which are glaring and obvious. Thus, in all the Battles that *Homer* describes, whenever he brings his Gods into the Field, let them forthwith be set aside ; the Part he ascribes to *Minerva*, is to be attributed to Prudence and the good Conduct of the Generals ; to the Valour of *Hector*, what he places to the account of *Mars* ; Chance it is rather than *Pallas* that brought *Ulysses* to an interview with *Nausicaa*, *Alcinous's* Daughter, and by the mysterious Cloud, with which he was shrouded by the Goddess, we are to understand the Darkeness of the Night, under whose Protection the King of *Ithaca* entered the Town of the *Pheacians* without being discovered. We are not to think that *Priam* was really conducted by *Mercury* into the Tent of *Achilles*, as *Homer* describes it ; but only that this King set out by Night to recover *Hector's* Body from the *Greeks*, declaring upon his Arrival he had come with Gifts to mitigate the Conqueror of his Son. When you see

28 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book I.

a Hero carry'd off the Field by a Goddess, you are only to fancy this an Allegory to hide his Flight. If the Poets speak of Giants whose Head touch'd the Heavens, represent to yourself a Race of Men monstrous by reason of their Crimes, rather than any enormous Height of Stature. If we are told that *Hercules* with his Hands separated the two Mountains *Calpé* and *Abyla*, which lying between *Africa* and *Spain*, had stopt the Course of the Ocean, and that the Sea forthwith rush'd in with violence upon the Land, and formed that vast Gulf we call the *Mediterranean*; you may believe that in the time of some *Hercules*, (for there were several of them) the Ocean opened a Passage to itself, with the assistance, perhaps, of an Earthquake, and got between *Europe* and *Africa*: and then you will not be far from the Truth, and may boast of having found out the first Key to the Fables.

But you will say, when we have thus divested Fables of whatever is out of Nature, is all the rest true? Not so neither; before we can judge of that, we must, if possible, consult the ancient Historians; and where they fail us (for they don't always record such sorts of Events) we must have recourse to Medals, Inscriptions, and other antique Monuments; and where none of these are to be had, we must go to the Etymology of Words, and search into the antient Languages for unravelling most of those ancient Fictions. We must examine with attention, what may have given rise to them: Sometimes an equivocal Word in a Language the Poet did not understand, has led him to broach a Fable, while, according to his Taste, he preferred that meaning which had something of the Marvelous, before the other, where nothing offered but what was natural. It is true, one detracts a great deal from the Beauty of these Fictions, by explaining them; as soon as they come to be stript of their Ornaments, they produce the same effect with a Piece of Perspective in a Theatrical Decoration; they must not be look'd at too near. It gives one
pain

pain to find the Conquest of the Dragons which vomited Fire, and the subduing the brazen-footed Bulls that kept the golden Fleece, turn out to be nothing but a false Key which *Medea* gave *Jason* to carry off her Father's Treasures, which a good Wall with double Gates render'd inaccessible. Accustom'd as we are to form to ourselves the Idea of a great Hero, whenever we hear *Hercules* mention'd, it surprizes us to see all the Glory of so many illustrious Actions given away amongst some Merchants that traded in different Countries, where they settled a few Colonies : To see in *Ganymede* whom *Jupiter* carried off, and *Hyacinth* whom *Apollo* slew, only two young Princes, the one stolen away by a King of *Lydia*, and the other killed by an Accident : In the Wings of *Dedalus* and *Icarus*, a Ship under Sail : In all the Changes of *Achelous*, only frequent Inundations ; and in the Combat of *Hercules* with the God of that River, a Dyke that was rais'd to hinder its overflowing. I shall make it appear that the *Minotaur* with *Pasiphae*, and the rest of that Fable, contain nothing but an Intrigue of the Queen of *Crete* with a Captain named *Taurus* ; and the artifice of *Dedalus*, only a sly Confident : That *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, those two formidable Monsters that devoured Passengers, were only two Rocks near the Island of *Sicily*, where Ships were in danger : That the frightful Monster which ravaged the Plains of *Troy*, meant only the Inundations of the Sea ; and what occasion'd their saying, the fair *Hesione* was expos'd to this Monster, was, because she was to be given to him, who put a stop to these Inundations : That it was not really *Jupiter* who transformed himself into a Shower of Gold, but *Prætus* who corrupted the Fidelity of the Keepers, to get Access into the Tower where *Danae* was shut up : That the Fable of *Bellerophon* who combated the *Chimæra*, barely informs us that this Prince defeated some Troops of the *Lycians*. Instead of representing *Hercules* encountering the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, we shall shew you a Man that drained a marshy Country. That *Jupiter* thunder-

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ing against the Giants, is a Prince that quells a Sedition : *Atlas* bearing Heaven upon his Shoulders, a King that study'd Astronomy with a Globe in his hand : The Golden Apples of the delightful Garden of the *Hesperides* and their Dragon, Oranges watch'd by mastiff Dogs. Truth, let it be ever so simple, ought to appear more lovely, and give greater delight when divested of Ornaments, than when set off with all that marvellous Dress it wears in the the Poets (*a*).

C H A P. III.

Division of the Fables.

I Find among the Poets six kinds of Fables (*b*) ; Historical, Philosophical, Allegorical, Moral, Mix'd, or invented merely for the sake of the Fable.

The first are ancient Histories, mix'd with several Fictions ; such are those which speak of *Hercules*, *Jason*, &c. instead of telling us in the simple way, that the latter went to recover the Treasures which *Phrixus* had carried to *Colchis*, they have given us the Fable of the Golden Fleece.

The Philosophical Fables are those which the Ancients invented as apt Parables to wrap up the Mysteries of their Philosophy ; as when the Ocean is said to be the Father of the Rivers ; the Moon to have married the Air, and become the Mother of the Dew.

The Allegorical were likewise Parables where some Mystical Sense lay concealed, as that in *Plato* about *Porus* and *Penia*, or Riches and Poverty, whose Offspring was Pleasure.

The Moral Fables are those they have contrived for the conveyance of some Precepts of Morality, as that

(*a*) *Melius est quodcunque verum, quam omne quod ex arbitrio fingi potest.*

(*b*) The Word for Fable in Greek is *Μῦθος*, as much as to say, Discourse by way of Eminence.

which tells us (1) *Jupiter* sends the Stars upon this Earth in the day-time, to take notice of the Actions of Men: so the Fables of *Æsop*, and in general all Apologues.

There are also mix'd Fables, which are made up of Allegory and Morality, but have nothing Historical, such is the Fable of *Até*, related by *Homer* (2). *Até*, according to this Poet, was *Jupiter's* Daughter; her Name marks her Character, and her Inclinations; accordingly she thought upon nothing but doing mischief. Odious as she was to Gods and Men, *Jupiter* seized her by the Hair of the Head, and threw her down head-long from the height of Heaven, whither he made an Oath she should never enter more.

'Tis easy to see the Poet, under this Fable, design'd to represent the proneness we have to Evil, or Evil itself, under an Allegorical Figure; for having describ'd this mischievous Imp, who, according to him, traverses the whole Earth, with an incredible Celerity, doing all the mischief in her power; he adds, that her Sisters, likewise *Jupiter's* Daughters, whom he calls *αἰται*, *Prayers*, come always after her to repair, as far as lies in their power, the Evil done by her; but being lame, they move far slower than their Sister: as much as to say, Men are always more forward to sin, and more in earnest, than when they exercise Repentance, and make Reparation.

The Fables invented merely for the sake of Fable, have no other end, but to divert, as that of *Psyche* (3) and what we call the *Milesian* Tales, and those of the *Sybarites*.

Fables of the Historical kind, are easily distinguished, because mention is made in them of People we know elsewhere. Such as are composed for Amusement are likewise easy to be discovered, by the ridiculous Stories they tell of unknown Persons. The Sense of the Moral and Allegorical Fables is obvious; as for the Philosophical ones, they are full of *Prosopopœias* that animate Nature:

(1) *Plaut. Prol. de Rud.* (2) *Iliad. 19.* (3) See *Apuleius's Golden Ass.*

Nature: There Earth and Air are hid under the borrowed Names of *Jupiter* and *Juno*.

Generally speaking there are very few Fables in the ancient Poets, but contain some Passages of History; it is only they that came after that have added to them Circumstances of pure Invention. When *Homer*, for example, says, (1) *Æolus* gave *Ulysses* the Winds shut up in a Bag, whence his Companions let them out; this is a cover'd Piece of History, which informs us that this Prince foretold *Ulysses* what Wind was to blow for some days, and that the Shipwreck he suffer'd, was owing entirely to his neglecting to follow his Counsel. But when *Virgil* adds (2), that the same *Æolus*, at *Juno's* Request, raised a terrible Storm, which drove *Æneas's* Fleet upon the Coast of *Africa*, it is a mere Fable founded upon the Opinion of *Æolus's* being God of the Winds. Those Fables too which we have called Philosophical, were at first Historical, and it was after their invention they were join'd with the Idea of natural Things: Hence those mix'd Fables, if we may so call them, comprehending an Historical Fact, and a Piece of Natural Philosophy, like that of *Myrrha* and *Leucothoë*, changed into the Tree that bears Frankincense, and that of *Clytia* into the *Heliotrope*.

But before we enter upon an Explication of the Fables, it will be proper to lay open their Sources, and examine into their Origin; which shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

Conjectures about the Origin of Fables.

First Source of Fables, Vanity. VANITY has undoubtedly been the first Source of Fable (a); Men not having been always pleased with Truth in its own beautiful Simplicity, began to think it needed foreign Ornaments to set it off. Thus, they who first described

(1) *Odyss.* l. 10. (2) *Æn.* l. 1.

(a) See the Proposal of a Book upon that Subject, published by Father *Tournemine* in the Journals of *Trevoux*, *Ans.* 1720.

described the Actions of their Heroes, intermixed a thousand Fictions with them, whether it was their Intention to raise them to higher Esteem, or the more powerfully to incite others to Virtue by setting great Examples before them. But little did they know the Nature of true Virtue, since, to attract our Love, it must be represented in Patterns we can imitate, whereas those drawn by them were quite inimitable. I add, they were far from understanding wherein consists distinguished Worth, since they have inadvertently intermix'd their Accounts of these pretended illustrious Actions, with such derogating Circumstances, as take from their Heroes all the Merit, which might otherwise have accrued from them. If *Perseus* kills *Medusa*, he surprizes her sleeping: if he rescues *Andromeda*, he has *Mercury's* Wings. If *Bellerophon* vanquishes the *Chimæra*, he is mounted on *Pegasus*. *Achilles* is clad in Armour forged by *Vulcan*, and is invulnerable too. *Jason* kills the Dragon, but not till he has a Potion given him by *Medea* to lay the Monster asleep; and *Theseus* is beholden to *Ariadne's* Thread for getting out of the Labyrinth. We may conclude with Mr. *Boileau*, 'Tis Truth alone makes Beauty, nothing can charm when Truth is wanting; her Empire is universal, nor can even Fable please without her (a).

Let us come to a second Source. Before *Second Source*
the use of Letters was introduced, signal *of Fable*.
Events and glorious Deeds had no other Monuments
but the Memories of Men, or at most, some Hiero-
glyphicks, whose sense was always so undetermined as to
mean every thing they pleased (b); so that to perpetuate
the

(a) Rien n'est beau que le vrai, le vrai seul est aimable ;
Il doit regner par tout, & meme dans la Fable.

(b) There were some other means besides of preserving History ;
such as the Festivals established for perpetuating the Memory of some
signal Event. Of this we see several Examples among the *Hebrews*.
Heaps of Stones raised upon the same Occasion, as was done by *Jo-*
shua after he had passed thro' *Jordan*: Pillars, like those of *Hercules*,
Bacchus, and *Sesostris*: Songs and Hymns, such as we find not only
in the Books of *Moses*, but also in what we are told concerning the
Books of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and *Homer*: Seals and Intaglias, as are the
most part of our Antiques. Lastly, after the Invention of Letters,
Inscriptions, Epistles, Memoirs, &c.

the Memory of illustrious Atchievements, the Fathers related them to their Children; and as the Custom is never to say things to young People in a simple way, they intermixed in their Narratives, Circumstances that served to imprint them strongly on their Minds. They had the same way of acting towards Strangers. Thus the Memory and Imagination of Children were filled with high Notions, and they coming in course to relate the same Stories, added still some other Circumstances to them. When in after-times these Stories came to be put in writing to fill up their Annals, or when they had occasion to make them the Subject of their Poems, finding no other Monuments or Memorials but this confused distorted Tradition, they were obliged to make use of it; and by this means they have eternized Fables, by transferring them from the Memory, where they had been deposited, into Monuments which were to last for Ages. And wou'd to God this had only been the Disease of the earlier Ages, when for want of Letters and Chronology, so few things were accurately known; but by a kind of Contagion, it communicated it self even to the most famous Historians, who in writing the History of great Men, have often intermixed the most monstrous Fables, without the least Explication. What might possibly mislead them is this, and I offer it as the third Source:

Third Source, It was an ancient Custom to praise their
false Eloquence Heroes after their Death, and upon their
of Orators. festival Days, in studied Panegyricks, where the young Orators, whose Genius they wanted to prove by these first Essays, gave themselves full liberty to feign and invent, believing this would gain them a Character for sprightly Genius's. Thus they made it their business to represent the Heroes, not what they had been, but such as they ought to be, according to the chimerical Notion of Greatness they had form'd to themselves. They especially never failed to exalt them to Heaven, and confer Divinity upon them without the least reserve; this was the Title to Nobility most sought after in early times. These Orators, far
 I from

from being blamed, were praised for their fertile Invention ; their best Performances were preserved ; they frequently learn'd them by heart ; and if they were Verses or Songs, they sung them in publick. Out of these Memorials they afterwards composed Histories : the Historian himself was not sorry to be the Publisher of extraordinary Things, which were warranted only by these relations. *Diodorus* (1) tells something like this of the *Egyptians*, with respect to their deceased Kings : He says, the whole Kingdom went into Mourning, and that they sung the Praises of the Dead in Verse ; these funeral Pieces no doubt were preserved by the Priests, who made use of them in writing the History of these Princes. The *Greeks*, great Imitators of the *Egyptians*, practised this Method, not only towards their Kings, but likewise towards those who had planted Colonies, or brought any Art to perfection amongst them. It is easy to conceive that this Practice must have introduced numbers of Fables into History ; for what is not a lively wanton Imagination capable of, when licensed to roam unconfined over the wide Field of flattering Ideas ?

If one was to attempt, even now-a-days, to compile a History of our own Heroes from most of their Panegyrics, or their funeral Sermons, it would be no less fabulous than those of Antiquity, except in the point of Deification. I am not at all surprized that ancient History should be so full of Fables, when it was writ upon such precarious Memorials ; but I am astonished to see the sottish Vanity of the *Roman* Historians, who have so often given into the Fabulous, either to flatter their Emperors, or that they might not come short of the *Greeks* in the Marvellous, or to shew the visible Protection of the Gods over their great Men. Hence those frequent Apotheoses, that multitude of Prodigies they relate so gravely, and what else of the supernatural kind their Histories are full of. I forgive the credulous *Valerius Maximus*, and *Dion Cassius*, too if you will, for justifying, as they have done, the Prodigies they rehearse : but I think it hardly pardonable in *Titus Livius*, and

(1) Lib. 1.

still less in *Pliny*, who for all his being so sceptical, had not always the Courage to reject some things, that might justly have been condemned, even by one of a more religious turn than he. And yet they too may plead some kind of Excuse for themselves ; they lived under a Religion that gave a Sanction to those fabulous Adventures, and at a time when it was of dangerous consequence to attack popular Prejudices in any manner whatsoever. But 'tis quite pitiful in *Sandoval* and the other Historians in the Reign of *Charles V*, in *Mezeray* himself, and *M. de Perfixe*, without reckoning the Historians of the Holy War, to see them relating, as it were by concert, Miracles, which were disbelieved even by the Vulgar. I know well enough, it is the part of an Historian, to use *Montagne's* Phrase, to *couch* in writing what he finds in the Records whence he borrows ; but I know as well that he ought also to give his own Judgment about it : for in truth, the fabulous part adds nothing to the Glory of great Men ; the only purpose it can serve is, to sink the Credit that is due to true matters of fact. Those great Men, whose Deeds have been recorded by the Persons we were speaking of, had they not enough of personal Merit, without supposing Nature put to the expence of producing extraordinary Operations to do them honour ?

Fourth Source, History has likewise suffered a great deal from the many fabulous Relations, that *the Relations of Travellers.* have been introduced by Travellers and Merchants. People in that way of life are often ignorant, and almost always Lyars ; thus it was easy for such to deceive others, who had been first deceived themselves. When one is returned from some distant Country, he must have a great many fine things to say about it ; had he nothing to tell but what is common, he himself would think his time had been very ill spent, and others would be apt to make the same judgment. Why, say they, run so many hazards, why travel so far in quest of People made like ourselves ? If this be all, he had e'en as good have staid at home. Thus, nothing they thought could compensate the Fatigue of

a tedious Voyage, but to propagate the Opinion of their having seen Things wondrous and astonishing ; and being themselves imposed upon by the People they had been among, who for the honour of their Country were sure to embellish its History, they imposed upon others in their turn by their romantick Stories. It is hard for one who is sure of being believed, to resist the Charm of telling Wonders and Rarities. Of all People in the world, the *Egyptians*, whose Theology was all a Mystery, and their very Language a Quibble, were most guilty of imposing upon Strangers.

It is a Custom received in all Countries: for this, we need but see how many Fables the Natives of *America* and the *Indies* gave out to their first Discoverers. The Merchants made use of the Natives as Guides and Guards, in Places where they came either to establish Colonies, or a Correspondence ; they needed their Assistance especially against the wild Beasts which swarm'd in the Woods: these had often Occasion to distinguish themselves by their Valour ; and hence I don't doubt, came the *Hercules's*, and the other Subduers of Monsters and Avengers of Wrongs, of which fabulous History is so full. It was, I doubt not, upon those relations of Merchants and Travellers, the Poets founded the *Elysian Fields* in the charming Country of *Betica*, or in the *Canary Islands* ; hence also we have those Fables which give Monsters to some Countries, and Harpies to others, which intimate that there were Nations covered with eternal Darkness, others that lived underground, others that had but one Eye, or who were of a Giant-like Form ; that the Sun and Stars went every Evening to bed in the Ocean, and numbers of such like Fictions built upon some exaggerated Relations (a).

Let us proceed to a fifth Original. The Poets and Painters are undoubtedly the Persons by whom Fables have been mostly produced in the World:

*Fifth Source,
the Poets,
Painters, and
the Stage.*

D 3

—*Pictoribus*

(a) Consult what *Strabo* has upon this Subject, l. 15, p. 1033, and 1038.

Pictoribus atque Poetis

Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas (1).

As they have always aimed at pleasing more than instructing, they preferred an ingenious Falshood to a known Truth. If a Poet had occasion to flatter, or console a dejected Prince upon the loss of a Son, it was but giving him a place amongst the Stars or among the Gods, as *Laëtantius* has it (a): such as had been Lovers of the *Belles-Lettres*, were considered either as Sons or Favourites of *Apollo*. This was the reason why *Hycinth* passed for the Minion of that God; and because he was killed by the stroke of a Coit which the Wind unluckily turned aside, they feign'd that *Boreas* in a fit of Jealousy was the Author of that Accident. Success justified the happy Rashness of the Poets; their Works were read with pleasure, and nothing in them pleased so much as Fiction: they laid it down as a Maxim in Poetry, never to tell a thing in a natural way. The Shepherdesses were Nymphs or Naiads; Ships became sometimes flying Horses, as in the Story of *Bellerophon*; and sometimes Dragons, as in that of *Medea*: The Shepherds were all Satyrs or Fauns; Men on horseback, *Centaurs*: every Lover of Musick, an *Apollo*; and every Physician, an *Esculapius*: your fine Singers, all so many *Muses*; and every Beauty, a *Venus*; lewd Women were *Sirens* and *Harpies*; every celebrated Huntress, a *Diana*: Oranges, must be Apples of Gold; and Arrows and Darts, Lightning and Bolts of Thunder. They went farther: for finding they were Masters of painting and characterizing Persons and Things as they pleased, to shew that their Art lay chiefly in Fiction, they made it their particular Study to contradict the Truth; and for fear of agreeing with the Historians, they changed the Characters of the Persons they sp'ke of. *Homer*, of a faithless Prostitute has made his prudent chaste *Penelope*; and *Virgil*,

(1) Hor. Art. Poet.

(a) Accesserunt autem Poetæ, ut compositis ad Voluptatem carminibus, ad caelum eos, id est ad Herceas, sustulerunt; sicut faciunt qui apud reges non malos panegyricis mendacibus adulantur. *In II. l. 1.*

gil, of a Traitor to his Country, has given us the *Pious Hero*; of a Renegado who lost a Battel against *Mezentius*, and with it his Life, he has made a Conqueror and Demi-god. The same Poet has made no scruple to dishonour a Princess of strict Virtue (1), and to divest her of the Reputation she had for Chastity and Courage, to give her an infamous Passion, and a Cowardice capable of Despair. All of them have conspired to make *Tantalus* pass for a Miser, and have set him in the front of such in the Center of Hell, where he suffers a cruel Punishment, in proportion to his Avarice; he who, as *Pindar* relates it, was a most religious Prince, and a very generous Man.

But it was not merely Inclination to sooth and flatter, that laid the Poets under a necessity of Forgery and Lyes; they were often obliged to it by the Meanness of their Subjects. What they had to say would frequently have been low and vulgar, unless they had artfully brought in something fictitious and supernatural. If one were to make an Analysis of their Poems, they might be reduced to almost nothing: there are numbers of Merchants and Soldiers, who have gone thro' many more occasional Dangers, than either *Æneas*, *Ulysses*, or *Achilles*.

What would the *Æneid*, *Iliad*, or *Odysssey* be, was it not for the eternal Interposition of the Gods, and perpetual mixture of Truths of small concern, with the most interesting Fictions? A Man (2) saved from his Country's Ruin, in company with other Exiles, fits out a few Ships, embarks, arrives in *Thrace*, in *Macedon*, and some of the *Archipelago Islands*; after staying some time in *Crete*, he goes on to *Sicily*, where having passed the *Fare* of *Messina*, he arrives at length in *Italy* by the mouth of the *Tiber*, where he first killed his Rival, and then married. Another (3) is absent from his native Home for many years; in the meantime his Family-affairs are all in disorder, his Estate is squandered away, his Wife and Son are harassed; at length he returns, after having undergone some Dan-

D 4

gers,

(1) Dido.

(2) Æneas.

(3) Ulysses.

gers, finds out some of his Domesticks who had persevered in their Duty, and with their Assistance sets all again to rights by destroying his Enemies. Another (1) having fallen out with *Agamemnon*, withdraws to his Tent: the *Trojans* take advantage of the Misunderstanding between the Generals, gain the superiority, beat the *Greeks*, force their Entrenchments, set fire to their Ships; *Patroclus* borrows the Armour of *Achilles*, and kills *Sarpedon*: *Hector* avenges the Death of his Friend, and kills *Patroclus*; then *Achilles* leaves his Tent, drives the *Trojans* back to their Walls; and having forced them to enter the Town, finds *Hector* alone, kills him, and drags his dead Body round the Tomb of his Friend, to whom he performs magnificent Funeral-Rites. Here you see the three finest Poems we have now extant, founded on very ordinary pieces of History, and supported by the merit of Heroes of no extraordinary Character; thus, their Authors were obliged to furnish numberless Fables to bear them out, and to embellish the Truths they blended with them. Instead of saying, for example, *Ulysses* arrived incognito at *Alcinous's* House, *Homer* (2) makes him be conducted by *Minerva*, who covers him with a Cloud. *Virgil*, who faithfully imitates the *Greek* Poet, brings *Æneas* and *Dido* together after the same manner, under the Conduct of *Venus* (3). If the Delights of the Country of the *Lotophagi* detain *Ulysses's* Companions too long, we are told, it was the Fruits of that Island made those who eat of them lose all remembrance of their native Home (4). Do they loiter at *Circe's* Court, giving a loose to Riot and Debauchery? this pretended Sorceress is said to have transform'd them into Swine. We are not to be told simply, that *Ulysses* was exposed to a great many Storms; he must likewise suffer the addition of *Neptune's* Resentment, who takes this way to avenge his Son *Polyphemus*. What Mysteries, what Preparations before *Achilles* kills *Hector*! his Mother brings him the Armour of *Vulcan's* Manufacture, she had dip't him in *Syx* to make him invulnerable. *Minerva*

(1) Achilles. (2) *Odyss.* l. 16. (3) *Æn.* l. 1. (4) *Odyss.* l. 9,

nerva takes the Form of *Deiphobus*, to impose upon *Hector* by the imagined Assistance of his Brother. *Jupiter* (1) takes the Scales, weighs the Destinies of those two Heroes; and seeing *Hector's* sink down as far as Hell, he abandons him, and *Achilles* takes away his Life. Nothing is done among them but by Machinery; for every purpose they employ the Power of some Deity. “ There every Method of enchanting us is practised, “ all Nature assumes a Body, and looks, and Boileau's *Art* “ lives, and thinks: every Virtue becomes *of Poetry*. “ a Divinity; *Minerva* is Prudence, and *Venus* Beauty. “ 'Tis no longer the Exhalations that produce the “ Thunder, it is *Jupiter* armed, to affright Mortals; “ the Mariners behold a threatening Storm arise, 'tis “ angry *Neptune* chiding the Waves. *Echo* is no “ longer a Sound that reverberates in the Air. it is a “ Nymph in Tears bewailing her *Narcissus* (a).”

Thus it is the Poets adorn their Subjects, and fill them with sprightly and ingenious Images. You need not be apprehensive of their saying in a simple way, that the Troops of the two *Aloidae*, those proud Giants who made war upon *Jupiter*, increased their Forces by new Levies; they'll say, these Giants themselves grew a Cubit every day (2). *Homer*, instead of describing how after the bloody Battel that was fought upon the Banks of *Xanthus*, the Channel of the River having been choaked up with dead Bodies, the Water overflowed its Banks and flooded all the Plain, till they took these Bodies out of the Water, and kindling a Funeral-Pile consumed them to Ashes; instead of this, the Poet

(1) Il. l. 23.

(a) Là pour nous enchanter tout est mis en usage,
Tout prends un corps, une ame, un esprit, un visage:
Chaque Vertu devient une Divinité,
Minerve est la Prudence, & Venus la Beauté.
Ce n'est plus le vapeur qui produit le Tonnerre,
C'est Jupiter arme pour effrayer la terre
Un orage terrible aux yeux des Matelots,
C'est Neptune en courroux qui gourmande les flots,
Echo n'est plus un Son qui dans l'air retentisse.
C'est une Nymphe en pleurs qui se plaint de Narcisse.

Despreaux Art. Poet.

(2) Hom. Odyf. l. 11.

Poet (1) images that the River feeling himself oppress'd in his Channel, complained of it to *Achilles*, and not receiving satisfaction from that Hero, he swelled against him, and pursued him with so much Rapidity that he had certainly drowned him, if *Neptune* and *Minerva*, commissioned by *Jupiter*, had not given him promise of a speedy Satisfaction. The same Poet, when he would let us know that the Inundations of the Sea, some time after the Retreat of the *Greeks*, demolished the famous Wall they had rear'd up during the Siege of *Troy*, to screen themselves from the attacks of the Enemy, says (2), that *Neptune* provoked by this Enterprize of the *Greeks*, asked permission from *Jupiter* to beat it down with his Trident; and having engaged *Apollo* in his quarrel, they laboured in concert, to overturn the Work. If the *Pheacian* Vessel which had carried *Ulysses* to *Ithaca*, is shipwreck'd in the return, we are sure to be told that *Neptune* was so angry, that the Ship had been made use of to carry *Ulysses*, that he turned it to a Rock (3). If *Turnus* caused *Æneas's* Fleet to be burn'd, *Virgil* brings *Cybele* into play, who transforms these Vessels into Sea-Nymphs. Wherever any fine Building was to be seen, such as the Walls of *Troy*, the Towers of *Argos*, and others, it was always the Gods who had been their Architects;

—————*Cerno Cyclopum sacras*

Turres, Labore majus humano decus.

Senec. in *Thyest.* Act. 3.

We are not simply told that *Ulysses* was wise and prudent; they take care he shall have *Minerva* to be his Guide.

Instead of relating how *Æneas* at the beginning of the Spring being on the Coasts of *Sicily*, was driven by a Storm from that Island, there is brought upon the stage an incensed *Juno*, *Æolus*, the Winds, *Neptune*, &c. An Historian would tell us, without any Figure, that *Berce* incited the *Trojan* Matrons to burn their Fleet, for fear of seeing them exposed to new Hardships: a Poet shall play off that Part by the Machinery of the Goddess *Iris*, under the shape of that *Phrygian* Lady (4).
If

(1) *Il.* l. 21. (2) *Il.* l. 9. (3) *Odyss.* l. 14. (4) *Æn.* l. 5.

If a Prince in History is an able Statesman and Politician, the Poets give him many Heads ; if he be valiant, he is a Man with many Arms ; if he be crafty and designing, they make him assume various Shapes. Instead of saying that *Nauplius*, upon information of the Approach of the *Grecian* Fleet, caused Fires to be kindled to draw them in towards the Rocks that encompassed his Island, by which means they were lost ; a Poet uses the Interposition of the Goddess *Minerva*, who thus avenges upon *Ajax*, the Indignity he offered to *Cassandra* in her Temple. When they would tell us that a Hero, impatient to know his Destiny, uses some piece of Conjuratation, after the Fashion of the Times, the Poet makes him go down to Hell ; and allowing his Imagination to take its full swing, he broaches a thousand Fables. In a word, thro' the whole of their Works we may remark a premeditated subversion of the Laws of Truth ; and instead of that Air of Simplicity it requires, they have adopted Transport and Fury, according to the Character given them by *Petronius*, to tell their Story like Men possessed of a prophetick Enthusiasm, and full of Fury from the God by whom they are agitated (a).

We may add, that the Theatres serv'd to introduce a great many Fables : it is on the *The Theatres.* Stage the liberty of disguising Truth reigns triumphant : the Imagination and Senses are struck in a far more lively manner, when an Author has Skill to carry on his Plot at the expence of Truth, than if he should represent it just as it happened. *Pasiphae* in love with a Captain named *Taurus*, had never made the same impression on the Theatres of *Greece*, where she was mortally hated for the sake of *Minos*, as the representing her enamour'd of a Bull whom *Neptune* had produced from the Sea. It affects one much more to see *Andromeda* or *Hesione* expos'd to Monsters, than to Pirates ; and

(a) Non enim res gestæ versibus comprehendendæ sunt, quod longè melius Historici faciunt ; sed per ambages, Deorumque ministeria. & fabulosum sententiarum tormentum præcipiendus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio appareat, quam religiosæ orationis sub testibus fides. *Petr. Sat.*

and *Dido* in despair for the loss of a Lover, stabbing herself to the Heart, makes much stronger Impression upon us, than if she killed herself for the loss of a Husband, according to the true History. Thus Men have placed a Merit in lying with Art, in inventing by certain Rules, in feigning Actions, Conversations, Sentiments ; and Fable has mounted the Theatre as her Throne.

Painters and Sculptors. In fine, the Painters working upon Poetical Fancies, may be reckoned instrumental in propagating some Fables ; and to them, perhaps, we owe in part at least, the Existence of Centaurs, Sirens, Harpies, Nymphs, Satyrs, and Fauns, which they have painted from the Portraits of them given by the Poets, or from some Relations of Travellers and Fishermen. They have even frequently promoted the Credit of fabulous Stories, by representing them with Art ; a thing so true, as I shall take notice afterwards, that the Pagans owed the Existence of many of their Gods, to some fine Statues, or Pictures well done.

A sixth Source, the Plurality, or Unity of Names. As it frequently happen'd that one and the same Person had several Names, a Case very common among the *Eastern Nations* ; in process of time, they who came to read their undigested Histories, and inconsistent Adventures, mistook them for different Persons. Hence that multiplicity of Heroes ; the Actions and Travels of one were distributed among several ; by *Mercury*, for example, was design'd *Thaut* in *Egypt* ; *Teutat* among our ancient *Gauls* ; *Hermes* among the *Greeks* ; *Pluto* is the *Dis* of the *Celtæ*, the *Adès* of the *Greeks* ; the *Summanus* of the *Latins* ; the *Soranus* of the *Sabines*. And as sometimes the Hero or God was not known in one Country, but under one single Name, and they knew little about his Exploits elsewhere ; when they came to read of other Adventures, other Names, or other Qualities than those they had heard of, they never questioned but the Persons spoken of were different ; hence that prodigious Number of *Jupiters*, *Mercurys*, &c. Sometimes again we have

have this Practice inverted ; and when the Case was, that several Persons went under the same Name, they ascribed to one what belong'd to many, and the Adventures of all were crouded into the History of him who was best known. Such is the History of *Hercules of Thebes*, where they have foisted in the Actions and Travels of the *Phenician Hercules*, and several other Heroes of the same Name. Such likewise is the History of *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, where they have amass'd the Adventures of several Kings of *Crete*, who bore the same Name, which was common to their ancient Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* or *Ptolemy* was in *Egypt*, or that of *Cæsar* among the *Roman* Emperors.

Ignorance in Philosophy, and especially in Physicks, has also given rise to many Fables ; that Curiosity, which is so natural to Men, has always determin'd them to seek after the Cause of astonishing Events (a); and in the barbarous Ages, when so little Advancement had been made in the Knowledge of Nature, they had recourse to gross and sensible Representations : They gave Life to every thing, to the Rivers, the Fountains, the Stars: here was an admirable Expedient for shortening their Enquiries, ; nothing is more easy than to refer effects, whose Principles are unknown, to some living Cause. They proceeded, through length of time, to deify Objects they at first represented only in human Form : The Sun was worship'd under the name of *Apollo*, and the Moon under that of *Diana*. A dread of their Influences, which are thought to extend to all Things here below, was certainly the cause of their Deification, and of that Worship which was introduced in order to appease their imaginary Resentment. The Priests instituted for that purpose, invented Stories, and publish'd Apparitions of their pretended Deities, to keep up thereby a gainful Worship. They made People believe, for example, that *Diana* had fallen in love with *Endymion*, and that the cause of her Eclipses, was owing to the Interviews she had with her

*A seventh
Original, Ig-
norance in
Philosophy.*

(a) See F. Tournemine's Proposal, Loc. cit.

her Gallant on the Mountains of *Caria*; but as ill luck would have it, these Amours could not last for ever, and this put them upon the hard shift of accounting for her Eclipses another way. They gave out that Sorceresses, especially those of *Theffaly*, (where poisonous Plants were more common, by reason of the foam *Cerberus* had dropt there, when he was brought from Hell, according to another Fable) had power by their Enchantments to draw down the Moon to the Earth (*a*).

In like manner, as they were unacquainted with the Cause of the Winds, they believed it was boisterous Deities raised such Commotions in the Earth and Sea; and to check their daring Insults, they set over them a superiour Deity; *Æolus*, for Reasons to be given in his History, was appointed their King (1).

Every River and Fountain had also a tutelar Deity; and whether it was the Rivers got the Names of the first Kings who inhabited in the Country, thro' which they ran, or whether it was the Kings were named from them, as we shall hear afterwards; in a course of Years they came to be confounded together, and they made a Divinity of the Prince, for the sake of the

(*a*) The Origin of this Fable came from one *Aganice*, Daughter of *Hector*, a *Theffalian*, who having learn'd the Cause and the Time of Eclipses, whenever any was to happen, gave out, that she was going by her Enchantments to draw down the Moon to the Earth; directing at the same time the *Theffalian* Women to join with her, in making a hideous Noise, to cause her to re-ascend to her Orb. Accordingly, whenever they perceived the beginning of an Eclipse, they raised a clattering din with Kettles and other Instruments, to hinder the Yellings and Prayers of the Sorceresses from being heard.

*Cantus, & e curru Lunam deducere tentat,
Et faceret, si non ara repulsa forent.*

As *Tibullus* has it, L. 1. El. 6. The *Indians* and *Chineses*, at this very day, believe the Cause of Eclipses, is owing to a Dragon's going about to swallow up the Moon; and some of them roar hideously, to cause him to let go his hold, while others plunge into the Water up to the Neck, to supplicate him not to devour her wholly. Were we to trace back this Custom to its Source, we should find it derived from *Egypt*, where *Isis*, who was the Symbol of the Moon, was honoured with a like Noise of Kettles, Timbrels, Tabors, &c. See *Nic. Frischlin.* l. 3. Astr. p. 454.

(1) *Virg. Æneid.*

the River. Had they occasion to talk about *Iris*, or the Rainbow, whose Nature they knew nothing of, they forg'd a Divinity of it ; its Beauty made it pass for the Daughter of *Thaumas*, a poetical Personage, whose Name signifies *Marvellous* ; and because, in all appearance, they had learn'd from the traditional Accounts of the Deluge, that God had set forth the Rainbow as a Token of Reconciliation, hence they look'd upon their *Iris* as the Messenger of the Gods, and of *Juno* especially, because the Rainbow declares the Disposition of the Air, which that Goddess represents. The very Name of *Iris* was given her, if we will take *Plato's* word for it (*a*), to point out her Employment.

Thus were form'd several Physical Divinities, and so many Astronomical Fables, as we shall shew in the Sequel. What wretched Philosophy this was ! But it was the best they had ; and when it came of course to the Poets turn to embellish those gross Ideas, with all the Ornaments their Muses so fertile in Invention could furnish them with, Men became so fond of considering Nature only under these captivating Images, that it was a considerable time before they so much as dream'd of carrying their Discoveries to any greater length. What is worst of all, Religion was concerned in this System ; every new Divinity brought in a load of Ceremonies ; and such as pretended to see with their own Eyes, were look'd upon as Impious. Thus the unfortunate *Anaxagoras* was punish'd with Death, for having taught that the Sun was not animated, and that it was nothing but a Mass of Iron about the bigness of the *Peloponnesus* (*b*). From the whole, we
may

(*a*) He derives this Name from *ἱρην* *Nunciare*. The Learned *Vossius* traces its Derivation from *IR* or *H IR*, *Angel* or *Messenger*. *Pausanias* says it comes from *ἔρις* *Discord*. Because *Iris's* Messages had a Tendency to Discord and War, as those of *Mercury* to Peace and Quiet.

(*b*) Vid. General Dict. in *Anaxagor*. *Diogenes Laertius* says of him ἀσεβείας κρινεῖται διότι τὸν ἡλίου μύδρον ἔλεγε διάπυρον. The Word *μύδρος* signifies a huge Stone, a Mass of Iron, and sometimes is applied to any inanimate, or insensitive Being.

may conclude, that they are in the right, who thought a part of the ancient Philosophy was couch'd under their Fables; but then they must needs own it was a Philosophy of a gross nature, and a System founded on the report of the Senses, and such as might have enter'd into the Imagination of a Clown.

C H A P. V.

A Continuation of our Enquiry into the Origin of Fables.

*Eighth Source,
the Settle-
ment of Colo-
nies and In-
vention of
Arts.*

ALL Mankind having perished by the Deluge, except *Noah* and his Family, it must have been a very considerable time before the World was repeopled; nor is it a thing to be doubted, as we shall see by and by, but the Countries most adjacent to the Place where the Ark rested, were the first inhabited. Thus *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, were peopled long before the *Western* Climates. They who came first into *Greece*, lived there in a State of Ignorance and astonishing Rudeness, without Arts, or Laws, either written or traditional, their Cloathing the Leaves, and their Food the Herbs of the Field, the Rocks and Caverns served them for Lodging, and their only Care was to shelter themselves from the wild Beasts that replenished the Woods. They had hardly any other Conveniences of Life, but such as they became masters of, by waging War with the brute Animals. One who is ever so little read in the Poets, and acquainted with Antiquity, will be at no loss to find out the first Inhabitants of *Greece* from this Description (1).

When Strangers came amongst them from *Egypt* or *Phenicia*, People of Politeness and Learning, as the times then were, they endeavoured to soften the savage Temper of that barbarous Nation, whether that they might by this means discover the Riches of
their

(2) See Diod. Sic. l. 2.

their Country, or prevail on them to allow some Colonies to be settled amongst them for carrying on Commerce. In course they communicated to them their Customs, their Diet and Dress; they taught them to eat wild Chestnuts and other Fruits, instead of the Herbs they lived upon, frequently with the no small hazard of their Lives; and this, by the way, gave rise to the Fable, which intimated, that they had been taught to eat Acorns; a thing false in itself, for Acorns are in no case fit for human Nourishment; and yet we meet with this Fiction in all the ancient Traditions. The same People taught them next to clothe themselves with the Skins of the Animals they slew; they shewed them how the Earth by culture was capable to produce Fruits much fitter for Food than those it yielded of itself; thus they accustom'd them by degrees to Agriculture, and sowing of Grain. To their Huts scattered here and there through the Fields, succeeded first Villages, then Towns: They abandon'd their brutal way of living without the Laws of Marriage, and brought the Duties of that State under Regulation; the necessity of distinguishing their Grounds, soon fixed their Land-Marks. This Fashion of wearing Skins appearing too homely, they learnt to strip off the Wool, and dress it for use. This Reformation appeared so admirable; that they thought they could never carry their Gratitude far enough towards the Persons who had been the Instruments of bringing it about: They took them for Men commission'd by Heaven; and accounted them Gods.

Such without doubt were the first Gods of the *Greeks*: Hence have sprung all the Fables of *Lycaon*, *Phoroneus*, *Cecrops*, and the rest, as we shall shew when we come to explain them in their proper Place; and to give but a few Examples at present, this is what gave rise to the Fable of *Prometheus*, his having form'd a Man of temper'd Clay, because in truth it was he who civilized and gave Laws to a rough and barbarous Race; an Hyperbole allowable on such an Occasion, since he truly made the Man by forming

ing his Mind to Reason : Just so, *Apollo* for his surprising Skill in Musick and Medicine, came to be consider'd as the God of these Arts ; *Mercury* for the same reason was the God of Eloquence ; *Ceres* the Goddess of Corn ; *Minerva* of Manufactures in Wool ; and so of the rest.

As their Religion was accommodated to every corrupt Byass and Inclination of the Heart, they made no great difficulty about altering, adding, or retrenching their System, new Ceremonies were easily brought about, and the Reasons they founded them upon were wholly fabulous. The Priests by trumping up Stories of their own, found a way to change a Worship that was quite barren of Emoluments, for another more profitable, nor were they ever very scrupulous on that head. So soon as they lighted upon any new Deity, they vied with one another in raising Altars to his Honour, and they strove together who should tell the most Wonders about him ; and as it brought considerable Reputation to a Country to be the Birth-place of a God, every one contended for his being a Native of theirs ; they counterfeited Memoirs stuffed with Fables ; Impostors supported the Credit of pretended Apparitions invented by the Priests, and inserted by the Poets into their Works : Hence that System, so monstrous and so full of Fables, which Pagan Theology sets before us.

A ninth Source, Add to these, that the great Men of those Times were commonly acted by a foolish Ambition, of being thought descended from Gods: To be Heroes, nothing less would satisfy them, than to have *Jupiter* or *Apollo* for their Ancestors ; and we may be sure there would be Genealogists to be found then, full as complaisant as at present, so that they were at no great loss to get the Branches of their Family set out, where the Stock was some God : Accordingly almost all the ancient Pedigrees were much in this manner ; *Jupiter* was the Founder of the Family, after him came *Hercules*, &c.

Many of the Learned in the last Age, and some
in

in the present, have alledged, that most of the Fables derived their Origin from the Sacred Books not well understood, and that the Traditions of the chosen People preserved in *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, and the other adjacent Countries, adulterated in process of time, had given rise to a vast many Fables. They add farther, that Colonies having come from the Countries bordering upon *Palestine*, and settled in the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, and in *Greece*, had brought thither these Traditions thus disfigured, and that they were still more vitiated afterwards by the additional Fictions of the Poets; in fine, that the Patriarchs, especially those who lived after the Deluge, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Esau*, *Moses*, and some others, were the first Gods of the *Pagan* World; and that their illustrious Atchievements, their Conquests, and Laws, had influenced the People to deify them. Among these learned Authors, we may reckon the famous *Bochart*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Huetius*, *Thomassin*, &c.

It is agreed, that *Moses* and *Jeshua* were well known, not only in *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, but likewise in several other Countries, that the last especially having carry'd his Conquests a great way into *Palestine*, spread such a terrour over the Coasts of *Syria*, that several, it is thought, ship'd themselves off with their Goods for foreign Parts, rather than come under his Dominion; that some of them came as far as the Confines of the Ocean, where, as we are assured, they set up Pillars with this Inscription, (a) *Nos hi sumus qui fugerunt a facie Josue filii Navæ prædonis*; We are the Persons that fled for shelter from that Robber *Joshua* the Son of *Nun* (b).

It is likewise certain, that *Inachus*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, and some others, came out of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, and introduced their respective Colonies into *Greece*, and the neighbouring Isles; and

E 2

probably

(a) Procopius in Vandal. The Criticks find several Marks of Imposture in this Inscription.

(b) See 1. Bochart Geogr. Sacra. 2. Voss. de Idol. 3. Huetius Demonstr. 4. Thomassin. Lect. des Poetes.

probably, having their Heads full of the Exploits of those great Men, they would rehearse them to the Inhabitants of the Country, and the *Greeks*, fond of the pompous and supernatural, would be sure to make use of them for embellishing the History of their Heroes in after-times. As a Proof of it, the Accounts of *Hercules* especially, and *Bacchus*, are thought to agree in many Things with the History of those famous *Israelites*. Accordingly, very curious Parallels have been drawn : A celebrated Prelate has even gone the length of confounding all the Heroes in Fable with those of the Bible, and finds in *Moses* alone the Origin of *Apollo*, *Priapus*, *Esculapius*, *Prometheus*, *Tiresias*, *Typhon*, *Perseus*, *Orpheus*, *Janus*, *Adonis*, and numbers of others ; and in *Zipporah*, *Moses's* Wife, or in *Miriam* his Sister, almost all the Goddeses, as *Astarté*, *Venus*, *Cybelé*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, the *Muses*, the *Destinies*, &c. (1). And another learned Author even alledges that *Homer*, in his Poems, has given a History of the Scripture-Heroes under borrowed Names (2).

In fine, some years ago this very ancient Opinion has been revived by two Authors, who have carried it yet farther than any I have named. The first is *M. de Lavaux*, in a Piece entitled, *Comparison of Fable with Sacred History*; who, to give greater Weight to his Opinion, quotes two of the Fathers, and some ecclesiastical Writers, by whom it was maintained before him ; these are *Justin*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Minutius Felix*, *Cyril*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *St. Augustin*, *Theodoret*, *St. Athanasius*, *Philo*, *Josephus*, and others. The second is *M. Fourmont*, of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, in his Critical Reflections upon the History of ancient Nations. As this learned Academick understands ancient Languages to the bottom, he is the Man who has enlarged most upon this Subject; and he has applied, with such exactness, to the Patriarchs, the Characters of the first Men drawn by *Sanchoniathon*;

(1) Read the 4 Prop. of *Huetius's* Demonst. Evangel.

(2) See the Book intitled *Homer Hebraizing*.

Sanctoniaton; He finds so great affinity between their Names, and those given them in Scripture, and their Characters and Actions so nearly resembling what is said of them by *Moses*, that it is often pretty difficult to hold out against his Arguments. Farther, says he, in his Preface, can one be blamed for following a multitude of Authors, all of them eminent either for Knowledge or Piety; and for endeavouring to find in the Patriarchs the Gods whom the Pagan World revered, *Saturn* in *Noah*, *Pluto* in *Shem*, *Jupiter* *Hammon* in *Cham*, *Neptune* in *Japhet*, as *Bochart* has made out; *Belus* and *Jupiter* in *Nimrod*, as others have maintained; *Minerva* in the Idea we have of the Trinity, which is the Opinion of Father *Tournemine* the Jesuit; *Apollo* in *Jubal*, with Father *Thomassin*, and so of the rest? Besides, continues he, nothing is more advantageous to Religion than this Opinion; in the same way *Huetius* delivers himself upon the Subject (a).

However great an Esteem I have for these great Men, I can never be induced to think that any wrong use the Poets could make of the Old Testament, was capable of producing such a Heap of Fables, as is alledged: For, in the first place, the *Jews* were a People greatly contemned by their Neighbours, little known to distant Nations, and extremely jealous of their Law, and their Ceremonies, which they concealed from Strangers, as being Profane in their eyes, even at a time when they were obliged to live among them. In like manner, granting the Miracles wrought by God in *Egypt* in the time of *Moses* to have been published, yet it is very unlikely that they who reported them to the *Greeks*, would have any great Value for a Man who must have been so odious to them; I make no doubt but they gave the preference even to their own Magicians: or rather, would they not do all that in them lay, to cut off the very Memory of a Man who had plagued them so much?

E 3

Farther,

(a) Quo argumento vix validius ullum aut splendidius, ex genere eorum quæ ratio suppeditat, ad fanciendam Scripturæ Sacræ dignitatem reperio, quæ, &c. *Demonst. Evang.* p. 4. c. 3.

Farther, shall we contradict all ancient History, and the most authentick Monuments which mention the Heroes of *Greece*, let us know their Names, their Parentage, and the Place of their Nativity, to believe upon the Authority of a few trifling Etymologies, or some slight Traces of Resemblance, that they were only copied from *Moses*? Might not several similar Events have happen'd in different places? Might not *Agamemnon* have thought of sacrificing his Daughter *Iphigenia*, under the apprehension of losing the Command of a fine Army, without any necessity of confounding this Event with *Jephtha's* Sacrifice, whatever Resemblance we may find between the two Princesses in their Name (*a*) and the Time when they lived (*b*)? The same may be said of *Deucalion's* Deluge, of *Minerva* sprung from *Jupiter's* Brain, and some other Fables, that seem to have an affinity with Scripture-Truths. Is it impossible to see the same Events return upon the Theatre of the World? Will there not always be Sacrifices made to Ambition? Will not Murders, Parricides, &c. be seen every day? So true it is, that one perfectly acquainted with the History of past Ages, would see a variety of Things recur, which have already come about more than once. After all, if there be an affinity between Fables and the History of *Moses*, or of *Sampson*, it is only to be considered as a remnant of Tradition, which nothing has been able to deface. There is no denying, for instance, that the Remembrance of the universal Deluge, preserved among all Nations, has contributed to the embellishing of *Deucalion's*; that some Circumstances have been borrowed from *Noah's* History, to that of *Satan* and his Children, who lived shortly after; especially with respect to the Division of the World, as also in some other things: but to think almost all the Fables may be accounted for by that pretended Abuse of *Moses's* Books, is to grope in the dark.

Are

(*a*) The Daughter of *Jephtha* was called *Iphianassa*, the Name which *Homer* gives to the Daughter of *Agamemnon*.

(*b*) The sacrificing *Iphigenia* happened in the time of *Jephtha*.

Are Men really in earnest when they tell us, the Transformations of *Proteus* were invented merely from what the Scripture says of *Moses's* Rod (1)? That *Mercury* was taken for the Messenger of the Gods, and the Confidant in their Amours, from nothing else but the Story of *Canaan's* Curiosity, which drew down *Noah's* Curse upon him (2)? That the History of the Muses has no other Foundation but the Corruption of *Moses's* Name ; and that they ascribed to them the Invention of Dancing and Musick, only because *Miriam*, whom the *Greeks* might possibly call *Musa*, sung a Song to a Dance (3)? That the Fable which speaks of *Mercury's* conducting the Souls into Hell, is founded upon *Moses's* causing the Earth to swallow up *Dathan* and *Abiram* (4)? That *Euristheus* persecuting *Hercules*, is *Moses* giving *Joshua* the Management? That *Vulcan* falling from Heaven, is *Moses* coming down from the Mount? That *Hercules's* Combat with *Achelous*, is the Passage over *Jordan*? That *Prometheus* loosed from Mount *Caucasus* by *Hercules*, is *Moses's* praying upon the Mount while *Joshua* is defeating the *Amalekites* (5)? If one was to refine upon every minute Resemblance, I too might say, that the Dog which knew *Ulysses* upon his return to *Ithaca* (6) is the same with that of *Tobit*, which caressed his young Master upon his return to *Raguel*? That *Achilles's* Discourse to his Horse, (7) is in imitation of *Balaam's* Conversation with his As (8)? That the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, is but a diversify'd Relation of *Abraham's* Journeyings, and those of the *Israelites* in the Desert (9): That the Story of *Philemon* and *Baucis* is that of *Abraham* and *Sarah*; or of *Lot* and his Wife (10): That the Fable of *Niobe*, is a Copy of *Job's* Afflictions (11): That of *Laomedon*, and of the Gods who built *Troy*, the History of *Laban* and *Jacob* (12): That the Story of *Orion*, is drawn from

E 4

that

(1) See *Huet*. Loc. cit. (2) *Bochart* Phaleg. l. 1. (3) *Huet*. Loc. cit. (4) Id. ib. (5) Id. ib. (6) *Odyss.* l. 7. (7) *Il.* l. 19. (8) *Nun.* 22. (9) *Compar. of Fables*, T. 1. p. 153. (10) Id. T. 2. 47. (11) Id. T. 2. p. 59. (12) Id. Tom. 2. p. 151.

that of *Jacob* and *Sarah*; and so a world of others I could name, which however is no such easy matter to prove.

Farther, if there be such a perfect Conformity between the Heroes of the Bible and those in Fable, why do our most celebrated Authors differ among themselves? Why is *Mercury*, according to *Bochart*, the same with *Canaan*, and in *Huetius* the same with *Moses*? How comes the one to tell us *Hercules* is *Sampson*, and the other that he is *Joshua*? The one that *Noah* is *Saturn*, and the other that he is *Abraham*? This variety of Opinions is a strong Presumption against the Hypothesis of these learned Moderns: It must also be own'd that however studied those Comparisons be, of which their Books are full, there are still some things there that are but mere Suppositions, to say no worse. Should a learned Author, who, in examining the Annals of *China*, had found a considerable Resemblance between one of their Emperors and one of our Kings of *France* in Name, Disposition and Manners, take it into his head, that either the King of *France* must have been Emperor of *China*, or the *Chinese* Monarch King of *France*, I would fain know what reception he might expect from the World.

There is nothing so arbitrary as the Etymologies of Names we may often read of, and the Interpretation of them is wholly in the power of Fancy. I am of opinion, that *Orpheus* and others travel'd into *Egypt*, in that very Period when the *Israelites* dwelt there; but at the same time, I believe they got more Information from thence in the pernicious Science of Magick, or at least in the vain Superstitions of that idolatrous People, than in the Knowledge of the true God, whatever several of the learned, after S. *Justin* (1), have thought on that head; and besides, we have nothing remaining of this *Orpheus*. In what, I pray you, do those who travel into foreign Countries take care to be informed, if it is not in their Religion, Laws, and Customs? Do they not

consult

(1) Cohort. ad Græcos.

consult their Priests and Doctors, rather than those of a People under captivity, hated, persecuted, and withal not very forward to reveal their Mysteries to Strangers? I don't indeed deny, that those ancient Poets were acquainted with several Truths, as the Unity of the Godhead, the Immortality of the Soul, the Punishments of Hell, the Rewards of Paradise; Truths which notwithstanding that Apparatus of Fictions, with which they are dressed up, are conspicuous in several places of their Works: But are we therefore to believe they borrowed them from our inspired Writings? Are they not rather the precious remains of Tradition, which nothing can deface; Sparks of Reason and Nature's Light, which are, to use *Tertullian's* Words, *the Testimony of a Soul naturally Christian? Testimonium Animæ, naturaliter Christianæ* (1). In a word, they are the Seeds of eternal Truth, that remained rooted in the Mind of Man, in his primitive State of Innocence, and had the God of Nature for their Author as well as the Sacred Books. *Non multum refert an a deo formata sit Animæ conscientia, an literis Dei* (2).

We may add, that Fables having taken their rise but a few Ages after the Deluge, when there was still a recent enough Tradition of what had happened, even before *Noah*; it is pretty probable that they who followed them, would be sure to adopt some strokes of those antient Truths. Thus the *Chaos*, the Golden Age, and so many other Fables, are copied from the account *Moses* gives of the Creation, the State of Innocence, and the happy Society primitive Mortals lived in. But as to those numberless Circumstances, wherein *Thomassin* (3) and after him the Author of *Homer Hebraizing*, find *Moses* and that ancient Poet agreeing together; I am of opinion, they would not have seen quite so many, unless they had been favourably disposed to find them. Let us then leave *Greece* in the possession of her Heroes and Heroism, and content ourselves with saying, that however there are some Fables whose Original is owing to that Pagan

(1) *Tert.* de Test. Animæ. (2) *Idem* ibid. (3) *Act.* des Poet.

gan Practice of perverting Scripture and Tradition ; yet the number of such is not so great, as is commonly believ'd.

'Tis indeed undeniable, that *Sanctioniathon* alludes to the History of the first Race of Men, tho' he has quite distorted it, as I hope to shew, when the Fragment of that Author we have preserved by *Eusebius*, comes under Consideration : But this Author, who liv'd before, or not long after the *Trojan War*, and who was not known in *Greece* till *Philo* of *Byblos* translated him in the Time of *Hadrian* ; was he Preceptor to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, in whom we find all the Depth of the *Grecian* Mythology ? It is own'd likewise, that the *Greeks* had the Knowledge of their Gods from the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies that settled among them ; but the History of the Patriarchs must have been considerably obscured in the time of *Inachus*, *Cecrops* and *Cadmus*, Idolatry having been propagated through the *East* several Ages before. We shall however take care, as occasion offers, to give the Opinion of these learned Men, that the Reader may be able to judge for himself what side of the Question to take ; for 'tis his Instruction we seek after, without intending to byass him in favour of one Hypothesis more than another.

Eleventh Source, A more plentiful Source of Fables, and
Ignorance of an- more favourable to their Introduction,
cient History. is the Ignorance of Chronology and an-
 cient History. As it was very late before they came to have the use of Letters, especially in *Greece*, several Ages passed, during which they had no other way of preserving the Memory of remarkable Events but by Tradition, or at best by some Monuments, which in time became very ambiguous. Even when they began to use writing, their first Compositions were not connected Histories, but Encomiums, Songs, and Genealogies, stuffed with Fables, which the Priests took pains to dress up in the manner already hinted (1) ; infomuch, that nothing was to be found but Confu-
 sion

(1) See the first Chapter.

sion over all ; and even such as were inclined to see farther into the History of Antiquity, after tracing back about three or four Generations, found themselves in the Labyrinth of the History of the Gods, where they were every moment stumbling upon *Jupiter, Saturn, Cælus, and Tellus*. The *Greeks* especially had no farther account to give of their Original ; this was the limiting Point of their whole Tradition, even among Persons of better Understanding. As for others, they innocently gave out, that their Ancestors had sprung from the Earth like Mushrooms, or Pismires in the Forest of *Egina* (a), or from *Cadmus's* Dragon's Teeth. However, as they were fond of being thought ancient, like most other Nations, they forged a fabulous History of imaginary Kings, Gods and Heroes, that never had a being : And when they wanted to speak of the early times, about which they had got a few hints from the Colonies that had settled among them, they only substituted Fable in the room of true History. If the Creation of the World was the point in question, out came the Fable of a *Chaos*: If it was about the first Inventors of Arts, instead of *Adam* and *Cain*, who were the first that cultivated the Ground, they ascribed the whole Honour of the Invention to *Ceres* and *Triptolemus* ; *Pan*, according to them, instead of *Abel*, was the first that led a pastoral Life ; to *Apollo* was given the Invention of Musick, whereas it is *Jubal's* by right : *Vulcan* with his *Cyclops*, pass'd for him who had taught to forge Iron and Metals, in place of *Tubal-Cain* : *Bacchus* with them, was the God of the Vine, which *Noah* dress'd ; substituting at every moment their modern Divinities, in room of the ancient Patriarchs, whom we learn from Scripture to have been the first and true Inventors of Arts. They were mere Children, as *Aristotle* taxes them, whenever they had occasion to speak of remote Times. They were even so weak as to believe, that it was their Colonies had peopled
all

(a) ————— *Qui rupto robore nati,
Compositique luto nullos habuere parentes.*

Juv. Sat. 6.

all the other Countries, and deriv'd the Names of such of them as they knew, from the Names of their Heroes. Thus *Europe* was derived from *Europa* the Sister of *Cadmus* ; *Asia* from the Mother of *Prometheus* ; *Africk* from the Daughter of *Epaphe* ; *Armenia* from *Armenus* ; *Media* from *Medus* ; the *Persians* from *Perseus* ; and so others : not knowing that such Names were given to Places at their being first inhabited, as denoted the Qualities of the Country or the Manners and Customs of the People who came to it, as the learned *Bocbart* proves (1). Thus *Europe* got the Name from the Whiteness of its Inhabitants ; the *Celtæ* were so called upon account of their light-colour'd Hair ; the *Latins*, because they were addicted to Magick ; the *Lestrigonians*, on account of their savage Nature ; the *Cretans*, for their Dexterity in handling the Bow ; the *Thracians*, from their Nobility. Sometimes too, the Number of Animals found in a Country, gave occasion to its getting a Name that bore an Allusion to them. Thus that of *Spain* was taken from the Rabbits it was full of ; the Island of *Rhodes*, from the Serpents ; the Town of *Lyons*, from the Ravens ; the Isle of *Icarus*, from the Fish : sometimes also the Names were derived from the Woods and Forests with which a Country was covered, as the *Pyrenees* ; or from the Pasture-Grounds, as the *Parnassus* : in fine, from the Fruits found in them, as *Sais*, in *Egypt*, from the Olive-Trees that grew there in abundance : *Portugal*, from its great number of Almond-Trees : or sometimes from the Vulcano's that issued from the Mountains, as *Mount Ætna* ; and so of others.

The smallest Ambiguities gave rise to a Fable. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Lycurgus*, tells us, upon the Authority of an Ancient, that *Apollo* having given some *Cretans* a Dolphin for their Guide, they came to *Phocis*, where they built the Town *Cyrra* : we plainly see they had been conveyed thither in a Ship named the Dolphin. So that it is not among the *Greek* Writers, we are to seek for the Origin of ancient Nations, nor other Monu-

(1) In his Chan.

Monuments of Antiquity ; they did nothing but copied from the *Egyptians* and other Eastern People, who had themselves filled their ancient History with Fables.

Whenever they had occasion to find out the Origin of Towns and the Founders of them, it was always some Hero, a Son of some of their Gods. The City of *Cyparissa* in *Phocis*, was environ'd with Cypresses, whence it had the Name ; and that of *Daulis* in the same Country, was encompassed with Trees (1), whence its Name was borrowed. These Originals were too simple, they chose rather to have recourse to one *Cyparissus*, and to the pretended *Daulis* a Tyrant, who gave their Name to these two Cities. *Lycoreus* had built that of *Lycoreus* upon the *Parnassus*, which had got its Name from the many Wolves that were there. We might add here an infinite number of other Examples, but these may suffice for what I have just now advanced.

'Tis therefore in the sacred Scripture that the Truth of Antiquity must be sought after : The profane Historians commence only at the time of *Ezra*, that is, the last of the sacred Historians, unless you take in the Author of the *Maccabees*. *Homer* himself, and *Hesiod*, their most ancient Poets, and their greatest Divines too, lived not till a long time after the War of *Troy*. As for *Dares* the *Phrygian*, *Dictys* of *Crete*, and some others, granting they were not fictitious Authors, as they really are, they must have lived but about the time of the *Trojan* War, a Period corresponding to the time of the *Judges* ; and would still have been much later than the Events recorded by *Moses*. So that the *Greeks* were far from being instructed in the History of the Times a little farther back, and their History never had any shew of Probability, till the time of the *Olympiads*, before which, *Varro* owns, there is nothing to be seen in it but Confusion and Chimæras.

But to clear up this whole matter, and to ascertain the time when Fables arose, we must distinguish three sorts of Time ; the Times unknown, the Fabulous, and the

(1) *Eustath.* upon the second Book of the *Iliad*.

the Historical (1). The first, which are as it were the Infancy and Nonage of the World, comprehend what had passed from the *Chaos*, or rather from the Creation, to the Deluge of *Ogyges*, that fell out towards the 1600th Year before Christ. The fabulous Times take in a Series of Events from the Deluge until the first *Olympiad*, where the historical Times begin. It is proper to remark, that this famous Division made by *Varro*, has a regard only to the *Greek History*; for not only the *Israelites*, but even the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, had some knowledge of the earliest Times, by means of Tradition and Annals, tho' often dash'd with Fables: but here we have to do only with the *Greeks*, who had but a very confused Knowledge of the first Ages of the World; and 'tis within the compass of the second Period that we are to place the Origin of that prodigious number of Fables we find dispers'd thro' their Poets. It must however be acknowledged, that all the Ages of the fabulous Period, were not equally fruitful in Fables and Heroism: without doubt, the one that has furnished us with the greatest Stock of them, was that of the Siege of *Troy*.

That famous City was twice taken; the first time by *Hercules*, and 30 or 35 Years after, that is to say, the Year before Christ 1282, by the *Grecian Army*, under the Conduct of *Agamemnon*. At the time of its being first taken, we see upon the stage *Telamon*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Jeson*, *Orpheus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and all those other Heroes of the Golden Fleece. At the second Siege appear the Sons or Grandsons of the former, *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Achilles*, *Diomedes*, *Ajax*, *Heñor*, *Paris*, *Æneas*, &c. and in the time which interven'd between these two Epochs, happen'd the two Wars of *Thebes*, where appear'd *Adrastus*, *Œdipus*, *Etheocles*, *Polynices*, *Capaneus*, and numbers of others, the eternal Subjects of poetical Fables. Happy Age for Poems and Tragedies! Accordingly the Theatres of *Greece* have a thousand times resounded with these illustrious Names. To which we may add, that those of

France

(1) *Ἀσκητορ, Μυθικόν, Ἱστορικόν. See *Censorinus*.

France yet ring with them every day ; infomuch that the Heroes of our own Age, who often deserve the Name better than those of Antiquity, dare not appear there but under borrow'd Names. Nor is this the thing that surprizes most ; no, 'tis to see the Divinities of Pagan Fashion introduced every day upon our Stage: despicable Divinities ! exhibiting in a Christian City, the hideous Representation of their Debaucheries ; infomuch that one is doubly shocked, to see ancient Idolatry reviv'd there, with all the Pomp and Pageantry it formerly wore at *Athens* or *Rome*, and to think on the dangerous Lessons our Youth imbibe from a System of mere Pagan Morality.

In fine, the *Greek History*, hitherto so fabulous, put on a new Shape by the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads* ; from thence the Chronology of Facts began to be fixed.

Authors are not fully agreed about the time when the *Olympick Games*, that introduced this turn in History, were instituted. Their Origin is buried in the profoundest Obscurity. *Diodorus Siculus* says no more but that they were founded by the *Cretan Hercules*, without telling us either at what time, or on what occasion ; but the most received Opinion among the Learned (1), is that *Pelops* was the Author of them, and that their first Celebration was in *Elis*, the twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of *Acrisus*, the thirty-fourth of the Reign of *Sicyon*, nineteenth King of *Sicyone*. ; and in order to adjust these prophane Epochs to Scripture-Chronology, this was the twenty-third Year of *Deborah's* holding the Judge's Office. *Atreus*, Son of *Pelops*, renewed them, by a Decree for their second Celebration, the Year before Christ 1418. Last of all, *Hercules*, upon his return from the Conquest of the Golden-Fleece, assembled the *Argonauts* upon the Banks of the River *Alpheus*, near the City *Pisa* in *Elis*, to solemnize these very Games, as an Act of Thanksgiving for their happy Success in their Expedition ; and they promised to re-assemble there for the same effect, at the end of four Years.

(1) See *Scaliger* after *Eusebius*.

Years. These Games however were discontinued, till *Iphitus* King of *Elis* re-established them 442 Years after, the Year before the Christian *Æra* 777. This became the *Grecian Æra*, and henceforth they only reckon'd by *Olympiads* ; from which Period their History is no longer so full of Fables.

This Division, as I have already remarked, proceeds from the *Greeks*, who were ignorant of Antiquities ; and those very Times they call unknown or fabulous, are Times very well known when we bring them to an Agreement with sacred History, and even with that of *Egypt*, and of several other Nations in *Asia*, a thing which has not been neglected by the Learned : and this is what makes *Scaliger* (1) frequently complain, and that with deep regret, of those who gave them the name of Fabulous, rather than of Heroick, which would suit with them better. *Diodorus Siculus* had said before him, that however we cannot give the same credit to the Accounts we have of those ancient times, as to what has passed in our own, yet we are not to look upon all that they relate of them as Fables, since they include the Actions of those Heroes who are now so celebrated.

Be that as it will, the *Olympiads* have scattered bright Beams of Light over the Chaos of History. So that the Learned are infinitely indebted to them ; but none, as I know, has paid his Acknowledgments to them with greater warmth than the same *Scaliger* I have been quoting. He makes them one of the prettiest Compliments could possibly come from a Scholar: “ Hail! “ says he, ye divine *Olympiads*, sacred Depositaries of “ Truth ; ’tis yours to check the presumptuous Rash- “ ness of Chronologists ; by you, Gleams of Light are “ diffused over History ; how many Truths had been “ buried in the Abyss of Ignorance, but for you ! In fine, “ by your means it is, we know with Certainty the “ memorable Transactions even of Ages so remote (2).”

But enough of this Article ; we go on to the thirteenth Source, taken from the Ignorance of Languages.

CHAP.

(1) Can. Isag. l. 3. (2) Animadv. in Euseb. Chron.

C H A P. VI.

Continuation of the same Subject.

Ignorance of Languages, the *Phenician* especially, has also been a *Thirteenth Source, Ignorance of Languages.* Source of an infinite deal of Fables.

'Tis certain that several Countries in *Greece* were peopled by Colonies from *Phenicia*; whose Language, without doubt, would mix it self with that of the Countries they came into (*a*); and as the *Phenician* Language has many equivocal Words, the *Greeks*, who in after-times read their ancient History, which abounded with *Phenician* Phrases, finding there these equivocal Words, were sure to explain them in a sense that was most to their taste. There is even little room to doubt, but that the *Phenicians* knowing what strong propension they had towards Fictions, would impose upon their Credulity as often as they were consulted. This was the Origin of numberless Fables: of which the following are examples, most of them taken from *Bochart*.

The word *Alpha*, or *Ilpha*, in the *Phenician* Language, signifying equally a Bull or a Ship; the *Greeks* instead of saying *Europa* had been conveyed in a Ship into *Crete*, gave out that *Jupiter* transform'd into a Bull had carry'd her off. In the same Language, the *Phenicians* called themselves *Hevæens*, or *Achiviens*; and as the word *Chiva* signifies a Serpent, the *Greeks* lighting upon it in the Annals of *Cadmus*, feigned the Story of that Prince's being changed into a Serpent. Once more, from the word *Sir*, which imports a Song, they have made up the Fable of the *Sirens*. *Æolus* had never passed among them for the God of the Winds and Tempests, but for the word *Æol*, or *Chol*, which signifies a Tempest. That Fable, which says the Ship of

(*a*) *Bochart* and *Vossius* have unanswerably proved, that the Alphabet *Cadmus* brought into *Greece* was *Phenician*; the *Pelasgian* was in use there before, and of the two together one Language was composed.

the *Argonauts* spoke, and that *Minerva* had set at the Helm one of the Oaks of the Forest of *Dodona*, that gave Oracular Responses, owes its Origin likewise to a double Entendre in the *Phenician* Tongue, where the same Word signifies, to speak, and to govern a Ship (1).

From the word *Moun*, or *Mon*, which imports Vice, they have made the God *Momus*, the Cenfor of the Faults of Men (2). The Fable of the famous Fountain of *Castalia*, in *Bæotia*, takes its rise in like manner from an equivocal Sound: as it run with a murmuring Noise that appeared to have something singular (*a*), and the effect of its Water being to disorder the Imagination of those who drunk it, they fancied at first it communicated the Gift of Prophecy; and when the question was, how it came by this Virtue, they invented a Fable. A Nymph, say they, was beloved by *Apollo* (3); while the God was one day in pursuit of her, she threw herself into this Fountain: *Apollo*, as a Consolation for the loss of his Mistress, imparted to the Water the Gift of Prophecy. Had the *Greeks* understood the *Hebrew* Language, they might easily have seen that the word *Castalia*, comes from *Castala*, which signifies Noise (4); nor would they have run into such ridiculous Fables, the ordinary resort of their Ignorance. We have much the same Account to give of the Origin of the Fountain *Hippocrene*, which, they say, sprung forth upon *Pegasus's* striking his Foot against Mount *Helicon*, because the word *Pigran*, whence comes *Hippigrana*, and then *Hippocrene*, imports, to spring from the Earth (*b*). The Fable of the Fountain *Arethusa* and *Alpheus* her Lover, so well described by *Ovid*, has its Foundation in nothing else but such a poor Quibble. The *Phenicians*, upon their Arrival in *Sicily*, seeing that Fountain environ'd with Willows, named it perhaps *Alphaga*,

as

(1) See the Fable of the *Argonauts*, T. 3. (2) *Le Clerc* upon *Hesiod*

(*a*) Castaliæque sonans liquido pede labitur unda. *Virg. in Gulice*

(3) Lotativus. (4) *Bochart Chan.* l. 1. c. 16.

(*b*) See *Bochart's Chan.* l. 1. c. 16. and *M. Le Clerc* upon *Hesiod*
From *Pigran* the *Greeks* have made ἵππικρῆνν tanquam ab equo de cuncta voce; ideo *Persio* fons caballinus; hinc nata fabula de fonte terra edito, equi ungula percussa.

as much as to say, the Fountain of Willows (1). The Greeks who landed afterwards in the same Place, not understanding the Signification of the Word, and calling to mind their River *Alpheus* (2), imagined, that since the Fountain and the River had nearly the same Name, they must have had the same Original too; and upon this, some sprightly Wit made up the Romance of the Amours between the God of the River and the Nymph *Arethusa*. Almost all the succeeding Historians were befooled by this Fable, and gravely told that *Alpheus* crossed the Sea, and repaired into the Island of *Sicily*, nigh to the Fountain of *Arethusa* (a). One and the same *Phenician* Root of the word *Nabhasch* might equally stand for a Keeper, or a Dragon: When they read any History where this Word occur'd, to denote the Keeper of something of Value, they were sure to say it was a Dragon. Hence all those Fables of the famous Dragons, whom they set to keep the Garden of the *Hesperides*, the *Golden-Fleece*, the Cave at *Delphi*, and the famous Fountain of *Thebes*. In the room of Men they have set over them so many Monsters; and what has authorized the Freedom they took, in applying the *Phenician* Word to that Sense, is, that to be the Guardian of a thing of Worth, and to watch for its Preservation, one must be vigilant and sharp-sighted; which is imported in the *Greek* Words *ὄφis* and *δρῶν* (b). This is what has often deceived *Palæphatus*, *Diodorus*, and some others, who for explaining these Fables have substituted others in their room, and introduced Personages to whom they have given the Name of *Draco*. Just so when the Poets tell us, that the Gods terrified by the Menaces of the Giants, cloathed themselves in *Egypt* with the Figure of several Animals (3), this is founded upon bare Allusions to the *Phenician* or *Hebrew*

F 2

brew

(1) Bochart, l. 1. c. 18. (2) It runs thro' *Elis*.

(a) Bochart believes the word *Arethusa* comes from the *Phenician* word *Arith*, which signifies a Rivulet.

(b) *Le Clerc* upon *Hesiod*, p. 63. These Words, says that Author, come from *ὄφis* and *δρῶν* *videre*. Igitur credibile est eandem vocem *Pheniciâ* lingua & Serpentem & Custodem significasse.

(3) Ovid. *Met.* l. 5.

brew Names, which gave occasion to these Fables. Thus, to condescend upon Examples, 'tis unquestionably certain, that their reason for transforming the God *Anubis* into a Dog, is, that *Nobeab* signifies, to bark: *Apis* into an Ox, because *Abir* signifies an Ox: *Venus* into a Fish: *Juno* into a *Heifer*, because *Astarot*, which was *Juno's* Name, signifies Flocks: and *Dag*, which was that of *Venus*, or *Astarté*, imports a Fish. Here I might produce a world of other Examples; but I hope before I have done to give so many Proofs of it, as to convince the most incredulous.

What remains at present is to prove, that not only the equivocal Words in the Eastern Languages have made way for numberless Fables, but those of other Languages besides.

The equivocal Words in *Greek*, for instance, have produced a vast Number. From *Crios* (1), which was the Name of the Governour to *Atbamas's* Children, and signified a Ram, they have made up the Fable of the Ram with the Golden Fleece, as we shall shew at more length, when it comes to be explain'd. In like manner, they have turn'd *Lycaon* into a Wolf, because his Name and that of the Animal are the same. They have given it out that *Cyrus* was suckled by a Bitch, because his Nurse, the Wife of *Astyages's* Cow-herd, was called in *Greek*, *Cyno* (2), and in the Language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, Names which import a Bitch (3). That *Venus* sprung from Sea-foam, because *Aphrodité*, which was the Name given to that Goddess, signified Foam. That the Temple of *Delphi* had been built with Wax, and the Wings of the Bees *Apollo* had brought from the *Hyperborean* Regions, because *Pteras* (4), whose Name imports a Wing, had been the Architect. The same thing is to be said of other Fables, where we meet with some Infants that have been nurs'd by She-Goats, as *Ægistbes*; or by a Hind, as *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, because their Names answer to the Names of those Animals.

But

(1) ὁ κριὸς, (2) αὐτὸ τῆς κυνὸς. (3) Herodot. l. 1. (4) τὸ πτερόν, Penna.

But to add more Probability to all these *Origins*, it will be proper to shew in a few Words, *Source.* and by incontestable Examples, that the *Greeks* got most of their Fables from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*.

The *Greeks* are far from being so ancient as the other People of the East ; Arts and Politeness were reigning in *Egypt*, when the Western Nations were still living in a brutish Rusticity : 'twas from Colonies that came from the East, that they learnt to build Cities, to live in Society, and to wear Clothes. From them they had the Ceremonies of Religion, the Worship of the Gods, and Sacrifices. This is a thing not to be called in question, after the plainest Testimony of the most ancient Authors. The Fables were interwoven with Religion, they were the Foundation it was built upon : it was Fable that introduced a multiplicity of Gods which they substituted in room of the true one : thus by learning the Religion of the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* learned their Fables likewise. Certain it is, for instance, that the Worship of *Bacchus* was formed upon that of *Osiris* ; *Diodorus* says so in more places than one (1). The obscene Representations of their *Hermes* and *Priapus*, were they not the same with the *Phallus* of the *Egyptians* ? For all that *Herodotus* has said to the contrary, it was the *Pelasgi* who taught them these infamous Mysteries : The *Pelasgi*, notwithstanding they were so ancient in *Greece*, were modern in comparison of the *Egyptians* ; and as they were Vagrants, some one of them might have left *Arcadia*, their first place of Abode, and travelled into *Egypt*. *Cadmus* and *Melampus* had brought that Worship into *Greece* ; and the former underwent a load of Persecution, so as to be even expelled the Kingdom, only for opposing the Innovations they had introduced into the Festivals of that ancient Divinity. Such was the temper of the *Greeks* ; they changed both the Names and Ceremonies of the Eastern Deities, to make it afterwards be believed that they were Natives of their own Country ; as we see in this Example, in that of *Isis*, whom they named *Diana*, and in an infinity of others. The

(1) L. 1. (2) L. 2.

Fable of *Derceto*, or of *Atergatis*, is it not the very same with that of *Dagon*? Is not this a Name the *Greeks* have compounded of these two, *Adir* and *Agon*, a great Fish? as *Selden* demonstrates (1): and is not this the reason of *Ovid*'s saying, *Derceto* was turn'd into a Fish? The Fable of *Venus* and *Adonis*, was it not originally from *Syria*? and if they gave out that this Goddess sprung from the Sea, the reason is, that her Worship was conveyed from the Coasts of *Syria* into *Cyprus*, from that to *Cythera*, and thence into *Greece*. *Io* changed into a Cow, is it not the same with *Isis*, whom the *Egyptians* worshipped under the Figure of that Animal? And if, according to *Plutarch* (2), there was an ancient Tradition importing that Goddess to have been metamorphosed into a Swallow, is it not owing to this, as *Bochart* remarks (3), that *Sis* in the Eastern Languages signifies a Swallow? The Fable of *Arachné* changed into a Spider, comes it not from the Hebrew Word *Arag*, which signifies to spin? a Term the Scripture uses for the Nets the Spiders weave. That of *Esculapius* suckled by a Bitch, is it not also of *Phœnician* growth? And tho' *Sanchoniathon* had not said it in so many words, might we not see the Composition of that Name and Fable in the two Hebrew Words, *Is Calibi*, *Vir caninus*, whence the *Greeks* have made their *Asclepius*, and the *Latins* their *Esculapius*? Why, I pray you, was *Diana* said to have been changed into a Cat, but because that Goddess, according to *Herodotus* (4), was called in *Egypt*, *Bubaste*; which signifies a Cat, in the Language of the Country, as we learn from *Stephanus* (5). The *Mercury* of the *Latins*, the *Hermes* of the *Greeks*, and the *Teutat* of the *Gauls*, were they not all copied from the ancient *Thot* of the *Egyptians*? The whole Train of Fables the Poets wrought into their *Hades*; in one word, their whole Poetical System of Hell, was it not derived from *Egypt*? *Diodorus Siculus* (6), and *Porphyry* (7) are clear upon this head, and

(1) De Diis Syriis, Synt. 2. c. 3. (2) In Iside. (3) De Animal. p. 2. l. 10. (4) L. 2. p. 156. (5) In voce Bubastis. (6) L. 1. (7) L. 5. de Abst.

and we shall prove it at very great length in the Sequel. Did not *Pythagoras* borrow from that same People all his Reveries about the *Metempsychosis*, and *Homer* his Fable of the *Metamorphoses* of *Proteus*? I might produce several others besides; but what we have given are more than sufficient to evince that the far greater Part of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fables came from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*: That *Bochart* and some others were in the right to have frequent recourse to the Eastern Languages for unravelling them; and that any difficulty we have in finding them out, is owing to this, that the *Greeks*, who on the one hand had an extreme Attachment to Fictions, and on the other, coveted a Name of great Antiquity, chusing rather to ascribe their Original to the Pismires of the Forest of *Egina*, or to *Cadmus's* Teeth of a Serpent, than to own their Descent from a foreign People, turned every thing, Names, Adventures, and even the Ceremonies of Religion into Fable; intending thereby to shew, that the Origin of all was among them, and that they were indebted to no Nation either for their Gods, or their Heroes. This, without doubt, is the Reason, why in the *Greek* Poets we meet with the *Egyptian* Fables so disfigured, that it would be difficult to trace their Origin without the help of the Languages; and why we see such a Difference between what *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* say of *Isis* and *Osiris* after the Priests of *Egypt*, and what the Poets tell us of *Io*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*, that it would tempt one to think the Divinities are not the same.

In the first Chapter we laid down Rules and Examples to distinguish in general, the Oriental Fables from the *Greek* and *Latin*. This would be the proper Place to speak of the time when the Fables begun; but to fix them to a precise Epoch, is a thing impossible: we only know they are very ancient, since we find them in the oldest Remains we have of prophane Antiquity; to which we may add, that the different manner they are told in by the earliest Poets, is an unquestionable Proof of their having been diffused, before their time, thro' the Nations whose ancient Tradition was probably wrought

into them. But to say something more particular, I am of opinion, if Fables, as well as Idolatry which they appear so naturally connected with, were not introduced before the Deluge, so as to corrupt the Religion of *Cain* and his Family, they sprung up at least soon after, in the Family of *Ham* and his Son *Canaan*, the first Founders of Idolatry. Thus we may look upon *Phenicia* and *Egypt* as the first Theater of Fable, whence they passed with the Colonies to the West, and to *Greece* especially, where they incredibly multiplied, the *Greeks* having a powerful Bias towards Fictions. From *Greece* they came into *Italy*, and the other Countries.

It is certain that one who traces ancient Tradition but a little, may easily find this to have been the Progress of Idolatry and Fables, which always kept pace with one another. We are not then to imagine *Homer* and *Hesiod* were the Inventers of those Fables: Idolatry was elder than either of them, and by consequence, Fables, that have a necessary Connection with it, were so too. The Poets who had gone before those now mentioned, had in all appearance filled their Works with them, and I make no doubt but *Homer* had Models which he has imitated. Wou'd ever the *Greek* Poetry have set out with such masterly Pieces? Undoubtedly there had been Poets before him, who had handled the Subject of the *Trojan* War, and had composed *Iliads*, wherein it is likely the Intercourse of the Gods with Men, and the other Fables took place, as in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; for we must not think the Gods of *Greece* owe their Origin to the Poems of *Homer* and *Hesiod*. These two Poets, and those that went before them, had in their Works followed the Principles of the Theology of their Country, the System whereof had been formed from the time of *Cecrops*, who established in *Greece* the Worship of the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Divinities, as appears from the Testimony of the Ancients, as may be seen in St. *Epiphanius* (1). The other Heads of Colonies, such as *Cadmus*, who brought into *Greece* the Mysteries of *Bacchus* and *Osiris*, pursued the same Method; now these

(1) In his first Book of Heresies, Sect 7.

these Heads of Colonies were all of them prior to these two Poets by many Ages. But to say all in a word, the *Greek* Poetry is nothing but a Copy of that ancient Poetry so well known in the East, and which *Moses* has so happily employ'd in those admirable Songs, wherein he celebrates with so much Majesty, the Victories of the God of Hosts over the Enemies of the *Hebrews*; and perhaps too it is that sacred Intercourse of the God of *Israel* with his People, (a thing so often intimated by that divine Legislator) which has given the Poets that came after, a handle to bring in their Gods with Men, upon all occasions, not having any other way to explain that divine Providence which directs all Events, and appears in these divine Songs so deeply concern'd for our Interests. Thus the earliest Truths have given rise to Fables of the greatest Antiquity, which were afterwards multiplied according to the Humour of the People that adopted them.

We may farther remark, that the Fables which came from *Phenicia* and *Egypt*, were not all of them propagated westward, I mean towards *Greece* and *Italy*; many of 'em passed over into the *Indies* with the Colonies that settled there; hence there are few Countries where a Tradition is not to be found of the Combat of the Giants, and of the War they waged with the Gods, as may be seen in several Authors (*a*). In the most distant Countries you meet with many traces of ancient Fables, where, disfigured as they are, they may yet be known: thus it is likewise with the Idolatry of these Nations; notwithstanding the Changes it has undergone, still it appears to be derived from the ancient, which the Colonies had brought with them into remote Climates. Upon which, *Laffiteau's* Work may be consulted, with respect to the Savages of *America*, whose Manners, according to him, resemble those of primitive Mortals. But it is time to pass on to another Source.

As

(*a*) See what M. *Dellon* has wrote on this head, in his third Volume of the Divinities worshipp'd by the *Indian* Nations, those especially upon the Coasts of *Malabar*, and the adjacent Countries; and what Father *Laffiteau* has said upon it in his *Manners of the Savages*, V. 2.

*A fifteenth Source,
Ignorance of Geo-
graphy.*

As in those early Periods the Art of Navigation was brought to no great perfection, and they were but little acquainted with Geography, their Voyages were extremely hazardous. When they came afterwards to relate these Voyages, they mingled with them a deal of Fables; thus they never spoke of the Ocean but as a Place overspread with Darkness, where the Sun went every Evening to bed in the Palace of *Tethys* (a).

The Rocks that form the Streights of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, passed for two Monsters that swallow'd up their Ships. The *Symplegades* or the *Cyaneæ* at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, were represented as though they run together to devour Vessels as they were sailing between them: the *Cimmerians*, as a People buried in eternal Darkness: the *Arimaspians* and *Iffedonians*, as Men that had but one Eye: the *Hyperboreans*, as a Race that lived a thousand Years without Pain or Sicknes, distressed with none of the Injuries of Life. Here was a People covered over with Feathers; there Man-Monsters wanting Heads, as the *Acephali*; or with a Dog's Head, as the *Cynocephali*; some whose Ears reach'd down to their Heels; others, in fine, who had but one Foot, for such are the ridiculous Fictions their Relations of the *Indies* and Northern Regions were made up of: every where they were obliged to quell tremendous Monsters. If any one visited the *Persian* Gulph, he told how he had come to the Extremity of the rising Sun, and to that Region where *Aurora* opens the Barrier of the Day. *Perseus*, for having stoutly ventur'd to pass the Straights of *Gibraltar*, in his way to the *Orkneys*, had the winged *Pegasus* given him, with the Equipage of *Pluto* and *Mercury*; as if it had been impossible to accomplish so long a Voyage, without some supernatural Assistance.

What ridiculous Fables, what childish Fictions do we meet with in the spurious *Orpheus*, in *Apollonius Rhodius*, on the Subject of the Return of the *Argonauts*; how many

(a) . . . Tartessos stabulanti conscia Phœbo. *Sil. Ital.* l. 3.
Presserat Occiduus Tartessia Littora Phœbus. *Ovid. Met.* l. 14.

many unknown Countries and People do they make them light upon in that chimerical Voyage? Who is there can tell where lay the *Cimmerians* of *Homer*, and where the Island of *Calypso*?

To all these Sources of Fable we may add, a Concern to save the Honour of the Ladies. If a frail Princess yielded to her Lover, there were Flatterers enough to call in some friendly Deity to screen her

Sixteenth and last Source, the pretended Interviews with the Gods.

Reputation: He could be no other than a God in human Form who had triumph'd over the coy insensible Fair; by this means her Reputation was safe, and the Gallantries of that sort, far from being infamous, were highly honourable. There was not a Man, even to the too good-natur'd Spouse himself, but humoured the thing; and the Story of *Paulina* and *Mundus* is not the only Monument we have of the sottish Credulity of Husbands. *Mundus*, a young Roman Knight, had deeply fallen in love with *Paulina*, and after all his Efforts to touch her Heart had prov'd in vain, he be-thought him of gaining the Priests of *Anubis*, who assured *Paulina* that the God was enamour'd with her; that very night was *Paulina* led to the Temple by her own Husband. A few days after, *Mundus*, whom she chanc'd to meet, let her into the Secret. *Paulina*, in a desperate Fit, carried her Complaint before *Tiberius*; who, as much *Tiberius* as he was, caused the Priests of *Anubis* to be burnt, the Statue of the God to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and *Mundus* he sent into exile (1).

Certain it is, that an infinite deal of Fables draw their Origin from this Source: witness that of *Rhea Silvia*, the Mother of *Rhemus* and *Romulus* (2). Her Uncle *Amulius* got into her Cell, and her Father *Numitor* spread it abroad that the Twins she brought forth had been begot by the God of War. Often the Priests themselves, when they were not proof against a Woman's Charms, made her believe she was the Favourite of the God they serv'd, and she put herself in order for lying in

(1) *Jos. Ant.* l. 18. (2) *Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom.* l. 1. *Tit. Liv.* l. 1.

in the Temple, whither she was conducted by the Parents, in form (1). Thus at *Babylon*, a Woman, one of those whom *Jupiter Belus* had left his Priest to single out, laid herself down in his Temple. Hence that great stock of Children they have father'd upon the Gods.

C H A P. VII.

In which the Origin of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and those of some other Poets, is examin'd.

THAT nothing of consequence about the Origin of Fables may be omitted, we must add to what has been said in the foregoing Chapters, that almost the whole of those we find in the *Metamorphoses* of *Ovid*, *Hyginus*, and *Antoninus Liberalis*, are merely founded upon figurative and metaphorical ways of speaking: they are commonly real Matters of Fact, with an addition of some supernatural Circumstance by way of Embellishment. The retired Life, for example, which *Cadmus* and *Hermione* led in *Illyricum*, after they were dispossessed of the Throne of *Thebes*, gave rise, no doubt, to the Story of their being turned to Serpents; especially with the help of the equivocal Terms, which we shall speak of in their History. The Cruelty of *Lycaon*, who offered up human Sacrifices to *Jupiter Lycæus*, occasioned his Metamorphosis into a Wolf. *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* have been transformed into King's-fishers, to give us the Idea of a perfect Love between Man and Wife. When any Princess had died of Grief for the loss of her Husband or Children, the Elegy composed upon that occasion turn'd upon changing her to a Fountain or Rock. The Agility and Nimbleness of *Periclymenus*, *Nestor's* Brother, who was slain by *Hercules*, gave them a handle to say, that young Prince assum'd all kind of Shapes, and turned himself to an Eagle. We are to think the same way of *Proteus*, *Thetis*, and *Metra* the Daughter of *Erisichthon*. If any one made himself odious, as *Ascalaphus*, they had him chang'd to

(1) Herod. l. 1. c. 381.

to an Owl. *Midas's* Stupidity, or possibly his exquisite Sense of Hearing, made him be complimented with the Ears of an Ass. *Amphion* is said to have rear'd up the Walls of *Thebes* by the Sound of his Lyre, because he had the Eloquence to persuade a barbarous People to build a City, and dwell there in Society: *Orpheus* to have charm'd the Tygers and Lions, and made the Trees and Rocks sensible of his harmonious Notes, because he had such an insinuating persuasive Art, that nothing could stand before the force of his Eloquence. Instead of saying that such a one was cured of a desperate Disease, as *Hippolitus*, they gave him out to be risen from the Dead; and the Physician, who had taken care of him, was always *Esculapius*.

Sometimes a Similitude of Names gave rise to the Transformation; thus, *Picus* was turned to a Woodpecker, *Cygnus* to a Swan, *Hierax* to a Spar-Hawk, *Alopis* to a Fox, the *Cercopes* to Monkeys. In fine, we meet with Fables; which are the Product of the Poet's Imagination: thus, to let us know that *Cephalus* rose betimes in the Morning to go a hunting, they feigned that *Aurora* in love with the Boy, forc'd him away; that *Hebé*, the Goddess of Youth, made *Iolas* *Hercules's* Companion to renew his Age, because he lived to a great length of Years, and retain'd his Vigour to the Extremity of old Age: that *Jason* was beloved by *Ceres*, because 'twas he brought Agriculture to perfection, an Art introduced into *Greece* by that Goddess: that *Endymion* had interviews with *Diana* on the Mountains of *Caria*, because there it was that Shepherd apply'd himself to study the Course of the Moon; and so of others.

We meet with others that are only metaphorical Descriptions of some natural Effects; thus the Amours of *Apollo* and *Daphne*, denote the perpetual Verdure of the Laurel, called *Daphne* by the *Greeks*. In short, we may take it for granted that all the Transformations they attribute to *Jupiter* and the other Gods, were nothing but so many Symbols to signify such means as the Princes that bore these Names practised, in order to seduce

seduce their Mistresses. Thus, the Gold *Pretus* employ'd for inticing *Danaë*, made them say, he turn'd himself into a Shower of Gold ; or else, as *Eustathius* observes (1), these pretended Metamorphoses were nothing but so many Gold Medals engraved with some such Devices, and which Gallants made presents of to their Mistresses ; Presents more effectual by the rarity of the Metal, and the fineness of the Engraving, to make impression upon Women, than real Metamorphoses.

One Remark more is necessary before we conclude this Article ; that there never was a Country more productive of Fables than *Greece*. Not content with those she got from the East, she invented an infinite deal of new ones. To be convinced of this, we need but examine that immense Collection of them *Ovid* has made up, and we shall see that of the fifteen Books, which comprehend his *Metamorphoses*, thirteen, or thereabout, are composed of nothing but *Greek* Fables. In the first Chapter I have laid down Rules and Examples to distinguish them. The Language in which they appear to have been framed, is the least precarious. If the Names are taken from the Eastern Languages, they are foreign to *Greece* ; and if they are *Latin* Names, the Fables are to be reckon'd of an *Italian* Original. Now upon this Principle, there are few of them in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, but are originally *Greek* ; for if you except those about the *Chaos* ; the Formation of Man ; the Companions of *Cadmus* sprung from the Serpent's Teeth ; that of *Derceto* chang'd to a Fish, *Semiramis* to a Pigeon, *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, *Ino* and *Melicertus*, *Cadmus* and *Hermione*, the *Medusa*, *Atlas*, *Andromede*, *Ceres*, *Ascalaphus*, the Gods conceal'd in *Egypt*, *Minerva*, *Proteus*, *Byblis*, *Memnon*, the *Cabiri*, and a few others ; and those in short which comprehend the half of the fourteenth Book, and the whole fifteenth, which are evidently made up of Fables purely *Latin*, all the rest are originally *Greek*, as might easily be made out.

Such

(1) Upon the first Book of the *Iliad*.

Such is the Origin of most of the Fables; and when we cannot find the Solution of them in the Sources I have mentioned, it may easily be found in those Metaphors.

But after having laid open the Sources of so many particular Fables, we must go some steps higher, to a Spring more remote, and give the History of the *Cosmogonies* and *Theogonies* of the ancient Nations; that is to say, their manner of conceiving the Origin and Formation of the World, and the Generations of their Gods; here it is chiefly we shall see, to how many Errors Man is abandoned, when he has no other Guide but his own Light.



B O O K II.

Of the different Theogonies, of which we have any Remains in Antiquity; or the Sentiments of the Ancients about the Origin of the World, and of the Gods.

SINCE the Opinion of the Ancients about the Origin of the Gods was always mix'd with that of the Origin of the World, as a learned *English* Writer (1) has very well observed, and as is easy to be judg'd from the celebrated Fragment of *Sanchoiathen*; I shall be obliged in this Book to explain the one as well as the other.

They who are only acquainted with Mythology from the Works of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whether in Prose or Verse, are apt to take the former for the Founder and Inventor of those monstrous Fictions their Religion was made up of, and of all the Gods they ador'd. But certain it is, the *Greeks* were Moderns when compared with

(1) Cudwor. Intel. Sys. p. 342.

with the Eastern Nations ; it was late before their Country was peopled, and they had their Religion, Ceremonies and Mysteries from *Phenician* and *Egyptian* Colonies. Thus, 'tis among the *Asiatics* we are to seek for the Origin of Idolatry. I shall begin with the Tradition of the *Chaldeans*, as the most ancient People we know, and from them I shall pass on to others.

C H A P. I.

The Tradition of the Chaldeans.

THERE is no disputing the *Chaldeans* the Honour of being one of the most ancient Nations in the World. *Nimrod*, their first King, lived even in the time of *Peleg*, and he is looked upon to be the Author of the mad Project of the Tower of *Babel*. This People, according to *Josephus* (1), took care from the earliest Periods of time, to preserve, by publick Inscriptions and other Monuments, the Memory of all Occurrences, and to employ the wisest Men of their Nation in writing their Annals ; but there is no better Proof of the Antiquity of the *Chaldeans*, than the agreement of their Opinion about the Origin of the World, the ten Generations that went before, and the other ten that came after the Deluge, with *Moses's* Writings.

The History of the *Chaldeans* had been wrote by four ancient Authors, *Berosus*, *Abydenus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Alexander Polybistor* : we have only some Fragments of their Works now remaining in *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*. 'Tis in the last (2) we find that small piece of *Berosus* upon their Theogony. A Man, or rather a Monster, half Man and half Fish, sprung from the Red Sea, appear'd, says that Author, near a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*. He had two Heads ; that of the Man was below that of the Fish. To his Fish's Tail were joined the Feet of a Man, and he had human Voice and Speech ; his Image is preserved to this very day in Painting. *Berosus* says of him that he was ζῶον ἡμίφρονον, which

(1) L. contra Apion.

(2) Pag. 28, and 29.

which *Goar* translates, *Animal ratione destitutum* ; but as this does not appear agreeable to the Idea the *Chaldean* Author had of him, and *Aphrenon* not being a *Greek* word, it must be an Error in *the Text of Syncellus*, and ought to be read ἀρρενν, *strenuus*, as a learned Modern conjectures. Be that as it will, this Monster, according to the *Chaldean* Author, abode with Men by day, without Food, and taught them the Knowledge of Letters and Sciences, and the Practice of Arts, to build Cities and Temples, to enact Laws, to apply themselves to Geometry, to sow and gather Grain and Fruits ; in a word, whatever could contribute to civilize their Manners. At Sun-setting, he withdrew into the Sea, and spent the Night in the Waters. Other such Monsters appeared after him, and *Berosus* promised to unfold these Mysteries in his History of the Kings, but we have nothing of that Work remaining. The same Author adds, that *Oannes* had wrote a Book about the Origin of Things, in which he taught that there was a time when all was Water and Darknes, and in them were contained Animals of a monstrous Form, Men with two Wings, others with four, having two Heads upon the same Body, one of a Man, the other of a Woman, with the Distinctions of either Sex. That some were seen with the Legs and Horns of a Goat ; while others had the fore or hind Parts of a Horse, like the *Hippocentaurs*. Others were born with the Head of a Man and the Body of a Bull ; that the Dogs had four Tails, with the Hind-parts of a Fish. That all the Animals, in short, were of a monstrous and irregular Make, and like the Representations of them to be seen in the Temple of *Belus*. This Author added farther, that a Woman named *Omoroca* (a) was Mistress of the Universe, and that *Belus* clove her asunder,

(a) The Learned have sought out many Etymologies of the Name of this *Omoroca*. I agree with *Syncellus*, who makes it signify the same thing with *Thalath* in the *Chaldaick*, or the *Greek Thalatta*, or *Thalassa*, the Sea : which brings it to one of the most ancient Opinions, the same which was adopted by *Thales the Milesian*, that Water was the Principle of all Things ; or, to say the same thing poetically with *Homer*, that the Ocean was the Father of the Gods.

form'd Earth of the one Part, and Heaven of the other, and put all those Monsters to death. Then this God divided the Darkness, separated Earth from Heaven, and ranged the Universe in order; and after the Destruction of the Animals, who could not support the Splendor of the Light, seeing the World desolate, he ordered one of the Gods to cut off his Head, to mix with Earth the Blood which flow'd from the Wound, and of it to frame Men and Animals; after which, he fram'd the Stars and the Planets, and thus finish'd the Production of all Beings.

This, according to *Alexander Polyhistor*, is what the first Book of *Berosus* contained, that is, a gross System of Physicks, and a Theogony no less so. 'Tis true, this Author thought the whole System allegorical; but what Allegories could render it supportable? However, monstrous as it is, it appears to be only a disfigured Tradition of the History of the Creation, taken either from the Books of *Moses*, or from a Tradition still more ancient. It seems plain, that the place where *Moses* speaks of the Darkness that covered the Earth, then mix'd with the Water, & *Tenebræ erant super faciem abyssi* (1), is the Foundation of this whole Cosmogony, in which the *Chaldeans* had feign'd those Monsters, whose History we have now read, to give a more sensible and hideous Description of that State of Confusion which reigned in the World immediately after the Creation.

As to what regards the forming of Man, 'tis evident that the History thereof is likewise taken from the Description of *Moses*, who says, that God, after he had as it were exerted himself in the Production of this Master-piece, took of the Earth, which he tempered with Water, and breath'd into it a living Spirit. These last Words, it would seem, gave the Author of the *Chaldean* System occasion to say, that *Bel* had order'd his Head to be cut off; or, according to another Tradition, that he himself had cut off that of *Omoroca*, whence *Berosus* concludes, this was the cause of Man's being endued with Intelligence. As

(1) Gen. c. i. v. 2.

As for those Man-monsters, who had two Heads, four Arms, and both Sexes, we may reckon the Idea of them to have been likewise taken from those Words of *Moses*; where the Historian, in the second Chapter, making a Recapitulation of what he had said in the first, subjoins, in speaking of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Masculum & Fœminam creavit illos*; and 'tis this Notion of the *Chaldeans*, to mention it by the by, has given rise to the Fable of the *Androgynes*, so celebrated in *Plato's* Dialogue, intitled, *The Banquet*; a Fable, which this Philosopher puts in the mouth of *Aristophanes* one of the Speakers. “The Gods, says he (1), form'd Man “at first of a round Figure, with two Bodies, two Faces, “four Legs, four Feet, and both Sexes.” These Men were of such extraordinary Strength, that they resolv'd to make war upon the Gods. *Jupiter*, incens'd by this Enterprize, was going to destroy them, as he had done the Giants, who attempted to scale Heaven; but foreseeing that he must have entirely extinguish'd the human Race, he contented himself with parting them asunder; that being thus divided into two Parts, henceforth they might neither be so strong nor so daring. At the same time he gave Orders to *Apollo* to adjust these two half Bodies, and to stretch over the Breast and the other Parts of the Body, the Skin, as it is at present, and which bears a Mark in the Navel that it has been fastened to it, and knotted as one shuts a Purse: These two Parts of one Body thus disjoined, want to be reunited; and this is the Origin of Love.

It is easy to see, that this Fiction is drawn from the History, which *Moses* gives of the Formation of the Woman, who was taken from one of *Adam's* Ribs, and was Bone of his Bone, and Flesh of his Flesh (2). In vain does the Mind of Man use all its Efforts to corrupt the Truth; it leaves always some Tracts of Light to lead us to find it out.

There were some *Rabbins*, who did not differ much from the Opinion of the *Chaldeans*, in saying that *A-*

(1) *Plato* in the *Banquet*.

(2) *Gen.* 2.

dam's Body was created double, Male and Female, and that these Bodies being join'd together by the Shoulders, God separated them (1).

To speak my mind now concerning *Oannes* and the Fragment of *Berosus*, it is proper to observe, 1°. That this Author, after the Description he gives of the *Babylonish* Country, subjoins immediately after, *The Appearance of that extraordinary Man happened in the first Year*, while this Year is relative to no other. Thus nothing can be concluded as to the time when he appear'd. 2°. The Name of *Oannes*, or *Oes*, as *Helladius* calls him, seems to be formed from the *Syriack* word *Oneda*, which signifies a Traveller, or a Stranger. Thus the whole Story amounts to this, that at a time, which cannot be determined, there arrived by Sea a Man, who taught the *Chaldeans* some Principles of Philosophy, and some Knowledge of ancient Traditions, and left them Memoirs upon that Subject. Their Reason for representing him as a kind of Monster, Half-man, Half-Fish, was his being all over scaly: they said, he retired by Night into the Sea, only because he returned every Evening to his Ship: he ate nothing, because he took his Meals on shipboard; and so of the rest. What *Helladius*, of whom *Photius* has preserved to us a Fragment (2), says of *Oes*, or *Oen*, confirms the Explication I have now given of this Fable: for this Author, whose Account agrees well enough with what *Berosus* has related, adds, that *Oen*, who had the Hands, the Feet, and the Head of a Man, was really a Man, and was only taken for a Fish, because he was covered from head to foot with Fish-skins. What he says afterwards of its being given out, that he was hatch'd from the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings were taken, has no other Foundation but the Resemblance between his Name and the *Greek* word *Oon*, an Egg; or rather the ancient Fable, which supposed the Universe sprung from an Egg. We may remark, by the by, that *Hyginus* likewise says, probably copying after

(1) See *Hicifeg.* Hist. of the Patri. To. 1. p. 35.

(2) 2 Eib. Ccd 279.

ter these two Authors, that *Eubannés*, or, as the printed Copies have it, *Eubadnés*, whose Name is a Corruption of *Oannes*, came by Sea into *Chaldea*, and there taught *Astrology*.

George Syncellus (1), who has preserved to us the Fragments of several Ancients, says, that, according to *Abydenus*, a second *Annedotus*, or an Animal resembling *Oannes*, had likewise come out of the Sea, under the Reign of *Amillarus*, who dwelt in the Town of *Pantibibla* (a) six and twenty *Sares*, from the Foundation of the *Chaldean* Monarchy. But *Apollodorus* said, as the same *Syncellus* has it, that it was only under the succeeding Reign he appear'd, that is, in the time of *Ammenon*. In which *Polybistor* was to be blam'd, for having introduc'd, after *Berosus*, his *Oannes* in the first Year; that is, probably, at the beginning of that same Monarchy. The same *Apollodorus* speaks of a fourth *Annedotus*, who had likewise come out of the Sea under the Reign of *Daonus*: and *Abydenus* mentions four Persons, who came at that time by Sea, to give the *Chaldeans* a more full Explication of what *Oannes* had taught them only in a summary way; he names these four Doctors, *Euedocus*, *Eneugamus*, *Eneubulus*, and *Anementus*.

Such was the Tradition of the *Chaldeans* about the Origin of the World, where it is plain they suppose Gods prior to the Formation of the World. We see there is no mention of their Birth, as in the Tradition of the *Phenicians*, and other Nations which I shall speak of in the following Chapter. Be that as it will, here are the ten first Generations according to the

G 3

Opi-

(1) Chronog. p. 38. Paris 1652.

(a) *Scaliger* upon *Eusebius*, p. 406, remarks very justly, that the Ancients have taken no notice of the Town named *Pantibibla*. What if it was the *Sipphara* of *Ptolemy*, where *Xixutras*, who is the same with *Noah*, deposited the Memoirs he had composed before the Deluge? Since the Name may be derived from the *Chaldaick* word *Sepher*, or *Spher*, a Book, a Collection; and that is precisely the Sense, which the word *Pantibibla* bears in *Greek*. Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his *Chronology*, takes that Town for the *Sepharvaim* mentioned in the second Book of *Kings*, Ch. 19. v. 13.

Opinion of the *Chaldeans*, with the Duration of each Reign in *Sares* (a),

According to Afri- canus.	According to Aby- denus, in the same Author.	According to A- pollodorus in the same Author.
1 <i>Alorus</i> reign'd <i>Sares</i> 10	1 <i>Alorus</i> , 10	1 <i>Alorus</i> , 10
2 <i>Alasparus</i> , 3	2 <i>Alaparus</i> , 3	2 <i>Alaparus</i> ,
3 <i>Amelon</i> , 13	3 <i>Amillarus</i> , 13	3 <i>Amelon</i> ,
4 <i>Amenon</i> , 12	4 <i>Amenon</i> , 12	4 <i>Amenon</i> ,
5 <i>Metelarus</i> , 18	5 <i>Megalarus</i> , 18	5 <i>Megalarus</i> , 18
6 <i>Daonus</i> , 29	6 <i>Daos</i> , 10	6 <i>Daonus</i> , 10
7 <i>Evedorachus</i> 18	7 <i>Evedorescus</i> , 18	7 <i>Evedoriscus</i> , 18
8 <i>Amphis</i> , 10	8 <i>Anedaphus</i> , 9	8 <i>Amenpsinus</i> , 10
9 <i>Otiartes</i> , 8	9	9 <i>Otiartes</i> , 8
10 <i>Xixutrus</i> , 18	10 <i>Sisutrus</i> ,	10 <i>Xixutrus</i> , 18

Since in this System of the *Chaldeans*, it is taken for granted, that *Alorus* is *Adam*, there is no doubt but *Xixutrus* must be *Noah*. Accordingly they report it was in his time the Deluge happened; where, by the by, the *Chaldeick* Authors are more honest than *Sanckoniathon*, whom I shall speak of afterwards; the latter describing the ten first Generations of the infant World, and the ten immediately succeeding, by an unpardonable Prevarication takes no notice of this celebrated Event. What the Authors I have been quoting say about it, is to this effect (1).

Chronus or *Saturn*, having appear'd to *Xixutrus* in a Dream, forewarned him, that on the fifteenth of the Month

(a) The Antients divided Time into *Sares*, *Neres*, and *Sofes*. The *Sare*, (*Saros*) according to *Syncecius*, denoted three thousand six hundred Years; the *Nere*, (*Neros*) six hundred; and the *Sofe*, (*Soffos*) sixty: which makes the Duration of the first Reigns an infinite number of Years, every King having reigned several *Sares*: but when one considers the *Sares* only as Years of Days, the Computation of these ancient Authors agrees well enough with the Years assigned by *Moses* to the first Patriarchs. See upon this Subject, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and the other Chronologists, and in particular the *Universal History*, published by an *English Society*.

(1) See *Synceci*. loc. cit.

Month *Dæsius*, Mankind were to be destroyed by a Deluge, and enjoin'd him to write down the Origin, the History, and the End of all things; and to conceal his Memoirs under ground, in the City of the Sun, named *Sippara*. After this, he was to build a Ship, to lay up there necessary Provisions, and enter into it himself, his Friends, and Relations, and shut in with him the Birds and four-footed Beasts. *Xixutrus* put his Orders punctually in execution, and made a Ship which was two Furlongs in breadth, and five in length; and no sooner had he entered into it than the Earth was drowned.

Some time after, seeing the Waters abated, he let go some Fowls, which finding neither Nourishment nor Resting-place, returned into the Vessel. A few days after, he sent out others that returned with bits of Mud at their Claws. The third time he let them go, they appeared no more; whence he concluded, that the Earth was beginning to be sufficiently discovered. Then he made a Window in the Vessel, and finding it had rested on a Mountain, he came forth, with his Wife, his Daughter, and the Pilot; and having paid Adoration to the Earth, raised an Altar, and offered Sacrifice to the Gods, he and they that were with him disappear'd. Those that staid in the Ship, finding that they did not return, came out and made search for them, but in vain: only they heard a Voice sounding these Words in their Ears, *Xixutrus*, by the merit of his Piety, is translated to Heaven, and ranked among the Gods, with those who accompanied him. The same Voice exhorted them to be religious, and to repair to *Babylon*, after digging up at *Sippara* the Memoirs that had been deposited there. The Voice being heard no more, they set about rebuilding the City I have named, with some others.

C H A P. II.

The Theogony of the Phenicians.

S*anchoniathon*, Priest of *Berytha*, who is reckoned to have lived before the War of *Troy*, had wrote upon the *Cosmogony* and *Theogony* of the *Phenicians*. *Eusebius*, who has preserved to us a long Fragment of this Treatise (1), recites a Passage in favour of this Author, which needs not be suspected, since it is taken from *Porphyry* the greatest Enemy the Christians ever had. This Author reports, that *Sanchniathon* had wrote about the *Jews*, things very true; that he agreed with their own Writers, and had learn'd several Circumstances which he relates, from *Jerombaal* Priest of *Jevo*; that he had dedicated his Work to *Abibail* King of *Phenicia*; that not only this Prince, but they who were commissioned to examine his Books, were agreed as to the Truth of this Author's History.—In fine, that he had taken what he advanc'd, partly from the Registers of particular Towns, and partly from the Archives, which were carefully preserv'd in the Temples.

Time has destroy'd the Work of this ancient Author; it was yet extant in the first Ages of Christianity, since it is about that time, that is, about the Reign of the *Antonines*, that *Philo* of *Byblos* translated it into *Greek*, and divided it into nine Books (2). In the Prefaces, he had annex'd to them, he said, “That *Sanchniathon*, a Man of Learning and great Experience, being passionately desirous to know the Histories of all Nations, and that from their Origin, had made an exact Scrutiny into the Writings of *Thaautus*, from an Assurance, that as he had been the Inventor of Letters, he must have been likewise the first Historian.” ’Twas therefore from the Works of this Chief of the Learned, the celebrated *Mercury*, that the *Phenician* Author had taken the Foundation of his History. After this, he finds fault with the *Greeks*, for
having

(1) *Præp. Evang.* L. 1. c. 1.(2) See *Eusebius*, *ibid.*

having turned real Matters of Fact into dry Allegories, or physical Explications ; and for having entirely subverted the History of the Gods by their Attempts to make it all an Allegory, introducing in the room of Truth chimerical Notions, and Mysteries which had as little Reality.

This Translation, which appears, from what Remains we have of it, to have been interpolated by *Philo*, and adapted to the Ideas of the *Greeks* in his time, is not subsisting at present ; all we have of it is a long Fragment preserv'd by *Eusebius*.

What is farther unlucky, (for it is proper that we give a plain and exact Account of this Fragment,) besides its being interpolated by *Philo*, as has been now said, *Eusebius* in reciting it, instead of having copied it just as it was, has intermix'd with it, as one who reads it with Attention will easily perceive, not only the Reflections of the *Greek* Translator, but also others of his own, which very much weakens the Authority of this valuable Remain of *Phenician* Antiquities ; while it is not always easy to distinguish what is *Santhoniaton's* from the Additions of *Philo* or *Eusebius*.

It is very evident, for example, that wherever mention is made of the *Greeks*, as when it is said they were misled by equivocal Words to take one thing for another ; or where speaking of *Thot* or *Thaut*, it is added, this is the same whom the *Greeks* call *Hermes* ; it is evident, I say, that these are Reflections of *Philo* or *Eusebius* : for if *Santhoniaton* be as ancient as is alledged, the *Greeks* were hardly known to the *Phenicians* in his time ; or at least their Religion, which they received from the *Phenicians* themselves, by the Colonies that came and settled among them, was not yet changed into that form it had in the time of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, who did not live till above 400 Years after *Santhoniaton*.

But whatever be in that, I here give the Fragment, which may be divided into three Parts. They who would see the entire Translation of it, need only read the Reflections of Mr. *Fourmont* upon ancient Na-
tions

tions(1). The first contains the Cosmogony of the *Phenicians* ; the second, the History of the primitive World before the Deluge, altho' this Author says not a word of that noted Event ; and the third treats of those who liv'd after, who are the Descendants of the former.

1°. According to this ancient Author, “ The first
 “ Principle of the Universe was a dark and spirituous
 “ Air ; a *Chaos* full of Confusion, and without Light ;
 “ eternal, and of an endless duration. The Spirit
 “ falling in love with its own Principles, entered into
 “ close Union with them ; and this Union was called
 “ *Love*. Hence sprung *Mot* or *Mod*, that is to say,
 “ either a Slime, or rather an aqueous Mixture, which
 “ was the seminal Principle of all the Creatures, and
 “ the Generation of the Universe. The first Animals
 “ were void of Sensation, they ingender'd others en-
 “ dued with Intelligence, who were named *Zophasemin*,
 “ that is, *Contemplators of the Heavens*. Immediately
 “ after *Mot*, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars smaller
 “ and greater, began to appear and shine forth. The
 “ Earth being strongly illuminated by the intense Heat,
 “ communicated to the Earth and to the Sea, the
 “ Winds were produced with Clouds that fell down in
 “ Showers of Rain, and the Waters with which the
 “ Earth had been overflowed being sucked up by the
 “ Heat of the Sun, were again united in the Air,
 “ where jostling against one another, they formed
 “ Lightnings and Thunder ; whose Noise awakened
 “ the intelligent Animals, and terrified them so, that
 “ they began to stir in the Earth and in the Sea.”

This first Portion of the Fragment, has only a regard, as we see, to the Formation of Beings ; and 'tis not to my purpose to dwell upon that Subject. It suffices to observe, that this System of the *Phenicians* led to Atheism, God being left out in the Formation of the Universe. *Sanchoniathon* even says, that the Spirit, such as he conceives it to be, had no Knowledge of its own proper Production.

(1) Tom. i. p. 4. & seq.

2^o. The *Phenician* Author, after this Account of the Origin of the World, enters upon the History of the first Man and first Woman, whom *Philo* his Translator calls *Protogonus* and *Æon*; and adds, “ That the latter found the Fruits of Trees “ to be proper Nourishment. The Children of “ these Parents of Human Kind, who were *Genus* and “ *Genea*, dwelt in *Phenicia*. In time of a great Drought, “ they stretch’d forth their hands towards the Sun, “ whom they look’d upon as the sole God and Sovereign of Heaven, and gave him the name of *Beelshamen*; which, in the *Phenician* Language, signifies “ Lord of the Heavens. *Genus* afterwards begat other “ Men, who were named *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox*, that is, “ *Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame*: these are they, who by “ rubbing two pieces of Wood against one another, “ found out the use of Fire. Their Sons, who were “ of an enormous Size, gave their Names to the “ Mountains which they possessed; hence the Names “ of Mount *Cassius*, *Libanus*, *Antilibanus*, *Brathys*, &c.

“ The Offspring of those Giants were *Memrurus* “ and *Hypsuranius*. The latter dwelt at *Tyre*, and invented the Art of building Cottages of Reeds and “ Rushes, and the *Papyrus*; and his Brother, with “ whom he quarrell’d, taught Men to clothe themselves with the Skins of Beasts. Nor was this all, “ for an impetuous Wind having kindled a Forest hard “ by *Tyre*, he took a Tree, cut off its Branches, and “ having launched it in the Sea, made use of it for a “ Ship. He also paid a religious Homage to two “ Stones he had consecrated to the Wind and Fire, and “ pour’d out Libations to them of the Blood of certain “ Animals.” And this, by the way, is the second Example of a Worship paid to created Beings; the Sun, as we have seen, having been the first Object of Idolatry.

“ After the Death of *Memrurus* and *Hypsuranius*, “ continues *Sanhoniathon*, their Children consecrated “ to them misshapen pieces of Wood and Stone, which “ they adored, and instituted anniversary Festivals to “ their honour.”

This

This is the first time we find religious Worship ascribed to dead Men.

“ Several Years after this Generation, which is the
 “ sixth, came *Agreus* and *Halieus*, Inventors of Fishing
 “ and Hunting, as their Names import. These had
 “ Offspring two Brothers, who invented the Art of
 “ making Instruments of Iron. He of the two, whose
 “ Name was *Chryser*, the same with *Hephæstus* or
 “ *Vulcan*, gave himself to the abominable Study of In-
 “ cantations and Sorceries; invented the Hook, the
 “ Bait, and Fishing-Line, the Use of Barks fit for
 “ that purpose, and Sails too. So many Inventions
 “ procured him after his Death divine Honours, under
 “ the name of *Zeumichius*, or *Jupiter* the Engineer.
 “ These two ingenious Brothers are also thought to
 “ have invented the Art of making Walls of Brick.
 “ Their Sons were *Technites*, or the Artist, and *Geinus*
 “ *Autoëthon*, that is, home-born Man of the Earth; they
 “ having found out the Secret of mixing Straw with
 “ Brick, form’d Tiles thereof, which they dried in the
 “ Sun. Their two Sons named *Agrai* the Swain, and
 “ *Agrotes* the Husbandman, devoted themselves to the
 “ rural Life and to Hunting. They were also stiled *A-*
 “ *letæ* and *Titans*. In fine, *Amynus* and *Magus*, the
 “ *Counter-wizard* and the *Conjurer*, were the last of
 “ this primitive Race; and they taught Men the Art
 “ of building Villages, and of gathering their Flocks
 “ into them. There was also in their time, in the
 “ Neighbourhood of *Byblos*, one *Eliou*, a Name that
 “ may be render’d in *Greek*, *Hypsistus*, the Most High,
 “ who had to Wife *Beruth*. They had a Son, named
 “ *Epigeus*, who was afterwards called *Uranus*, and a
 “ Daughter, who went by the name of *Gé*; and ’tis
 “ the Names of those two Children the *Greeks* have
 “ given to Heaven and Earth.

“ *Hypsistus* having died at a Hunting-match, was
 “ advanced to divine Honours, and had Libations and
 “ Sacrifices offered to him. *Uranus* possess’d his Father’s
 “ Throne, and having married his Sister *Gé*, had se-
 “ veral

“veral Children by her ; *Ilus*, who was stiled *Cbro-nus* or *Saturn*, *Betylus*, *Dagon*, and *Atlas*.”

These, according to the *Phenician* Author, were the ten first Generations, which, if we except that of *Elion* or *Hypsisus*, are those of the Line of *Cain* ; on which we have four Remarks to make. First, That this ancient Author, who had a mind to favour Idolatry, was willing to mention none but *Cain's* Descendants, who are reckon'd, not without reason, to have been the Founders of Idolatry. Secondly, That he makes no mention of the Deluge, which, according to the Fathers of the Church, was sent to punish this Race for their Crimes, the greatest of which was the sacrilegious Worship they paid to the Creatures. A third Remark is, that *Sanchoiathon* counts ten Generations in the Lineage of *Cain*, tho' *Moses* reckons only eight, passing from the third to the sixth, or from *Enoch* to *Irak*. But we may suppose, that *Moses*, whose Aim was principally to take notice of the Race of *Seth*, or that of the Just, has not in the same way followed that of *Cain*, especially the fourth and fifth Generation, because perhaps they were Men who did not deserve to be named ; for 'tis not likely, that the eight Generations of *Cain* were of equal duration with the ten of *Seth*, of whom *Moses* makes mention. The last Remark is, that the *Phenician* Author, as well as *Moses*, ascribes to those Descendants of *Cain* the most part of useful Inventions, altho' the two Authors are not always agreed as to the time when, nor the Persons by whom, these Discoveries were made ; *Sanchoiathon* giving to one Race what *Moses* gives to another, as one may be convinced by reading the first Chapter of *Genesis*.

These ten Generations, I said, belonged to *Cain's* Descendants, except *Hypsisus*, because the Learned, after *Cumberland*, who has given a large Explication of this Fragment of the *Phenician* Author, contend, that this *Hypsisus* was the Father of *Noah*, and that the reason of his being mentioned so transiently is, that he

he was an Enemy to the Idolaters, whose Cause *Sanchoniathon* pleads.

For the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall set down the two Tables of *Cain's* Descendants.

<i>According to Moses.</i>	<i>According to Sanchoniathon.</i>
1. <i>Adam, Eve.</i>	1. <i>Protogonus, Æon.</i>
2. <i>Cain.</i>	2. <i>Genus, Genea.</i>
3. <i>Enoch.</i>	3. <i>Phos, Pur, Phlox.</i>
4.	4. <i>Cassius, Libanus.</i>
5.	5. <i>Memrimus, Ufous.</i>
6. <i>Irad.</i>	6. <i>Agreus, Halieus.</i>
7. <i>Mekujack.</i>	7. <i>Chrysor or Hephestus.</i>
8. <i>Metbusack.</i>	8. <i>Technites, Geinus.</i>
9. <i>Lamech.</i>	9. <i>Agrus, Agrotus.</i>
10. <i>Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain.</i>	10. <i>Amynus, Magus.</i>

In *Moses*, as we see, *Cain's* Race ends with the last of the Persons I have now named, because they themselves or their Descendants perished by the Deluge, not so much as one of them being saved. If you ask how it comes then to be continued by *Sanchoniathon*, in the third Part of his Abstract I am now going to transcribe; the Answer is easy, that he has taken in *Noah's* Descendants to make up this second Decad: this will appear evident by the Reflections afterwards to be made.

3^o “ Of those, says *Sanchoniathon*, meaning *Amynus*
 “ and *Magus*, were born *Misor* and *Sydic*, the *Free* and
 “ the *Just*, who found out the use of Salt. The for-
 “ mer was Father to *Thaautus*, who first invented Let-
 “ ters; this is the *Thoot* or *Thoor* of the *Egyptians*,
 “ the *Thogit* or *Thoyth* of the *Alexandrians*, and the
 “ *Hermes* of the *Greeks*: the Sons of *Sydic* were the
 “ *Dioscouri* or *Cabiri*, afterwards named *Corybantes* or
 “ *Samothraces*. These built a Ship and improved the
 “ Art of Navigation; and among their Children there
 “ were some who found out the use of Simples, Re-
 “ medies against the Bite of Animals, and in fine, the

“ Art of Enchantments, or the method of curing these
 “ Bites by Spells.

“ *Uranus*, whose Children were alive in the time of
 “ those we have been now speaking of, having suc-
 “ ceeded his Father *Elion*, had by his Sister *Gé* the four
 “ Sons already named, *Chronus*, *Betylus*, *Atlas*, and
 “ *Dagon* or *Siton*, whose Surname was *Zeus Arotrius*,
 “ or *Jupiter* the Tiller, from his having invented the
 “ Art of sowing Corn; he had also several other Chil-
 “ dren by different Concubines. *Gé*, displeas'd with
 “ the Gallantries of her Spouse, made bitter Complaints
 “ to him upon that account; which obliged him to
 “ turn her off. But having an Affection for her, he
 “ took her back, and had several Children by her,
 “ whom he sought afterwards to destroy. *Chronus*, ar-
 “ riving at the age of Man, espoused his Mother's
 “ quarrel, placed at the head of his Counsel *Hermes*
 “ *Trismegistus*, who was his Secretary, made vigorous
 “ oppositions to the Designs of *Uranus*, expelled him
 “ the Kingdom, and succeeded to his Power; in the
 “ Scuffle having taken a Concubine whom his Father
 “ tenderly lov'd, he gave her, tho' big with Child, in
 “ marriage to *Dagon*; soon after he had her, she was
 “ delivered of a Male Child, who was named *De-*
 “ *maroon*.

“ *Chronos*, for his Security, built a Wall round his
 “ House, and founded *Byblos*, the first City of *Pheni-*
 “ *cia* (a). Some time after, having conceiv'd a violent
 “ Jealousy against his Brother *Atlas*, by the advice of
 “ *Trismegistus* he caused him to be thrown into a Pit,
 “ where he perished. *Chronus* had then two Daugh-
 “ ters, *Persephoné* or *Proserpine*, who died a Virgin,
 “ and *Athené* or *Minerva*; he had also a Son named
 “ *Sadid*, whom he put to death. He cut off his
 “ Daughter's Head too, by which Actions he greatly
 “ amazed the Gods; those I mean of his Party, who
 “ were

(a) The *Phenician* Author had already mentioned *Tyre*, as the first Town of that Country: possibly it was only made up of a few Cottages, but *Byblos* a Town more regularly built.

“ were denominated *Eloim* (a). About that time, con-
 “ tinues the *Phenician* Author, the Offspring of the
 “ *Dioscuri* having built Ships, put to Sea, and being
 “ driven ashore near Mount *Cassius*, there built a
 “ Temple.

“ In the mean time, *Uranus*, tho’ in exile, was still
 “ plotting against his Son *Chronus*, and sent him three
 “ of his Daughters, *Astarte*, *Rhea*, and *Dione*, on pur-
 “ pose to cut him off. But he having seiz’d upon
 “ them, took them into the number of his Concubines,
 “ as he had done *Eimarmene* and *Hora*, who were sent
 “ to him upon the same design. He had seven
 “ Daughters by *Astarte*, named *Titanidæ*, or *Artemidæ*;
 “ and two Sons, *Potbos* and *Eros*, *Desire* and *Love*.
 “ By *Rhea* he had seven Sons, the youngest of them,
 “ to whom the Author gives no Name, was added to
 “ the number of the Gods at the very moment of his
 “ Birth; that is, he was consecrated to the Gods, and
 “ to divine Service; he had likewise some Daughters
 “ by *Dione*, who are not named. The same *Chronus*
 “ or *Saturn*, had in *Perea* three Sons, *Chronus*, after
 “ the Name of his Father, *Zeus-Belus*, and *Apollo* (b).

“ *Sydic*, or the *Just*, having married one of the *Ti-*
 “ *tanidæ* we have now mentioned, had a Son by her
 “ named *Asclepius*.” Upon which ’tis proper to re-
 mark, before we go any further, that *Sydic*, being, ac-
 cording to some Authors, *Shem* the Son of *Noah*, or *U-*
ranus, he must according to *Sanchoniathon*, have passed
 over into the Land of *Canaan*, and there married a
 Daughter of *Cham*, who is the *Chronus* of this Author.
Asclepius his Son is the only one of *Sydic*’s Children
 whom he mentions; for he concerned himself only for
 his own Country, which was *Phenicia*, peopled by
Cham and his Descendants.

“ Be

(a) *Eloim* is the plural of *Eloah*, and signifies the Gods. *Cum-*
berland renders the word *Chronians*, that is, those of *Chronus*’s Party.

(b) M. *Fourmont*, in translating this Passage, seems to be in a
 mistake, unless it be an error of the Press; for instead of the three
 Sons *Sanchoniathon* gives *Chronus*, ἡγεὺς ποταμῶν, he names four of
 them, *Chronus*, *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Apollo*; whereas it should
 be read Ζεὺς-Εὐρέας καὶ Ἀπόλλων. *Ref. Crit. T. 1. p. 16.*

“ Be that as it will, the Author subjoins that these were
 “ contemporary with *Pontus*, with *Nereus* (a) his Son,
 “ and with *Typhon*. *Pontus* had two Children, a Son
 “ named *Poseidon* or *Neptune*, and a Daughter called
 “ *Sidon*, who being a charming Singer, was the first who
 “ composed Odes. *Demaroon* was Father to *Melicer-*
 “ *tus*, otherwise called *Hercules* (b). Then it was that
 “ *Uranus* engaged in a new War against *Pontus*, whom
 “ he deserted, and joined with *Demaroon*. This last
 “ falls upon *Pontus* and is routed by him, so that he is
 “ obliged to make a vow to the Gods for his Life.
 “ *Ilus*, that is *Chronos* or *Saturn*, in the thirty-second
 “ Year of his Reign, having laid an Ambuscade for
 “ his Father *Uranus* in a Thicket watered by Foun-
 “ tains and Rivulets, cut his Privities with the
 “ stroke of a Sabre; and in that very place was *Uranus*
 “ deify'd. There it was he gave up the ghost, and
 “ there they shew the Blood that issued from his
 “ Wound, mingled with the Streams: the Place where
 “ this happen'd is still to be seen.”

Here then (and 'tis a Reflection which *Eusebius* has
 subjoin'd to the Recital of the *Phenician* Author) you
 have the History of *Chronos* or *Saturn*, and what is
 true Matter of Fact in relation to a Prince, whose
 Reign the *Greeks* have look'd upon as so happy, that
 of it they have made the Golden Age.

After some other things, the Author thus goes
 on (c). “ *Astarte* the Great, *Jupiter Demaroon*, and
 “ *Adodus* the King of Gods, reigned in the Coun-
 “ try, according to the Counsels of *Chronos* or *Saturn*.
 “ *Astarte*, as a sign of her Royalty, set upon her Head
 “ that of a Bull. Traversing the Earth, she found a
 “ Star

(a) *Cumberland* by Arguments not easily answered, proves *Nereus* to be *Japhet*, as may be seen in that Piece of his, and in a Remark of the *English* Authors who have publish'd a first Vol. of *The Universal History*.

(b) This is the *Phenician Hercules*, the most ancient of all, who had a Temple at *Gadira* or *Cadiz*, which was still subsisting in the time of *Silius Italicus*, who speaks of it in his second Book.

(c) This last Article seems greatly intermix'd with *Philo's* Reflections.

“ Star fallen from Heaven (a) ; this she took and con-
 “ secrated in the holy Island of *Tyre*. *Astarte*, accord-
 “ ing to the *Phenicians*, is *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. *Chro-*
 “ *nos* in like manner taking the tour of the Earth, gave
 “ his Daughter *Athene* the Kingdom of *Attica*. In the
 “ mean time, Pestilence and Famine having arose,
 “ *Chronos* offers up to his Father *Uranus* his Son *Sa-*
 “ *dic*, and circumcises himself, ordering all the Soldiers
 “ of his Army to do the same. Some time after, a Son
 “ whom he had by *Rhea*, called *Mouth*, was rank’d
 “ among the Gods. The Name given this Son by
 “ the *Greeks*, may be rendered in *Greek* *Θάνατος*, or
 “ *Pluto*. *Chronos* afterwards gave away two of his
 “ Cities, to wit, *Byblos* to the Goddess *Baalit* or *Di-*
 “ *one*, *Beryt* to *Neptune* and to the *Cabiri*, the *Agroti*
 “ or Labourers, and to the Fishers, that is, to the Gods
 “ called *αλιεῖς*. But before this happened, the God
 “ *Thaautus* drew the Portraiture of the other Gods, of
 “ *Saturn* or *Chronos*, of *Dagon*, &c. thence to form
 “ the sacred Characters of the Letters. As an Emblem
 “ of Sovereignty, he gave *Chronos* four Eyes, two be-
 “ fore and two behind. Of these four Eyes two were
 “ shut, while the other two were awake (1). In like
 “ manner, upon each Shoulder he placed a pair of
 “ Wings, two of which were expanded, the others re-
 “ maining in a state of rest ; his Design being to re-
 “ present by the Eyes, that *Chronos* when gone to rest,
 “ was still awake, and while awake was at rest ; by
 “ the Wings, that tho’ in repose he was incessantly fly-
 “ ing, while with that Motion he enjoy’d undisturb’d
 “ Tranquillity. To the other Gods he gave only two
 “ Wings, one upon each Shoulder, to shew that they
 “ were only to be upon the wing to accompany *Chro-*
 “ *nos*. He likewise added to the Figure of *Chronos*
 “ two Wings more upon the Crown of his Head ; the
 “ one to denote the superiour Wisdom of his Govern-
 “ ment, the other to point out the Delicacy of his Sen-
 “ sations.

(a) An Eagle, as we shall shew in the Remarks upon this Frag-
 ment. (1) Here is the Origin of *Janus*, who was the *Saturn*
 of the *Latins*.

“ fations. *Cronos* having gone to the Country of the South, made over to the God *Thaautus* the full Pro-
 “ perty of the Kingdom of *Egypt*.”

After having translated this Fragment, *Philo* of *Byblos* adds, that this History was left to the Posterity of *Sydic*, and that the Son of *Thabion*, that is *Sanchoniathon* himself, after he had turned it to Allegory, and interspersed it with some physical Ideas about the Origin of the World, had delivered over the Scheme thereof to the Prophets of the *Orgies*.

“ The *Greeks*, continues the same Translator, who
 “ in refinement of Genius excelled all other Nations,
 “ appropriated every ancient History to themselves,
 “ exaggerated and embellished them, aiming at no-
 “ thing but to amuse by their Narrations; and hence
 “ they have turned these same Histories into a quite
 “ new shape. Hence it is that *Hesiod* and the other
 “ *Cyclick* Poets have forged Theogonies, Gigantomachies,
 “ Titanomachies, and other Pieces, by which
 “ they have in a manner stifled the Truth. Our
 “ Ears accustomed from our Infancy to their Fictions,
 “ prepossessed with Opinions that have been
 “ in vogue for several Ages, retain the vain Impression
 “ of those Fables as a sacred Depositum. And because
 “ Time has insensibly rivetted those idle Tales in our
 “ Imaginations, they have now got such fast hold
 “ thereof, that it is extremely difficult to dislodge them.
 “ Hence it comes to pass, that even Truth when it is
 “ discovered to Men, appears to have the air of Falshood,
 “ while fabulous Narrations, be they ever so
 “ absurd, pass for the most authentic Facts.”

Such is the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*. As I shall have occasion in the course of this Work to speak of all the Personages mentioned by that Author, I shall subjoin here only a few Reflections.

I. As to the Genuineness of this Piece, Authors are greatly divided; some maintaining that it is really the *Phenician* Author's, tho' interpolated by *Philo* his Translator, and intermix'd with several Reflections which are none of *Sanchoniathon's*,

while the far greater number have always look'd upon it as spurious. The celebrated *Cumberland*, and M. *Fourmont* the elder, are the two Writers, who have maintained its Genuineness with most Strength and Learning. In the latter especially (1) you may see the History of the Opinions of the Learned upon this Subject, and the Arguments he brings to refute them.

2. It is not to be doubted but *Santhoniathon* had taken the Idea of his Theogony from Traditions of very great Antiquity, tho' they had been already corrupted by the *Phenicians*, who had mixed Fictions with them; but at the same time 'tis evident, that the Author, with a view to gain Credit to Idolatry, has said nothing of the Genealogies before the Deluge, except in the Line of *Cain*, no mention being made of that of *Seth*.

3. The Author is clearer and freer from Interpolations as to those ten first Generations, of which we have given the Table, than in relation to those that followed the Deluge, where we find more Confusion, and less Connection; altho' it is easy to see, he was willing to carry them as far down as to the Family of *Abraham*, and to some of his Descendants (2).

4. Next to the gaining credit to Idolatry, the Author's main scope seems to have been, to shew who were the Inventors of Arts, wherein he sometimes agrees with *Moses*, and at the same time to give the History of *Apotheoses*; never failing to point out those, who for useful Inventions had been rank'd among the Gods, and honoured with a publick Worship.

5. Whence it follows, in the fifth place, that having given to the supreme Being little or no share in the Formation of the World, his Cosmogony is a Scheme of Atheism (3), and by one of the grossest Contradictions, his Theogony is an extravagant Sally of Imagination.

6. Allowing those I now mentioned to have been this Author's Designs in writing, as 'tis evident they really were, this accounts for his taking no notice of the

(1) *Crit. Refl. upon Anc Nat.* l. 1. (2) See a Table of them by M. *Fourmont*, l. 1. p. 86. (3) See *Enf. Loc. cit. Cumberland.* and M. *Fourmont*.

the Deluge, which he undoubtedly knew as well as the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, who have spoke of it.

7. Altho' it were even less evident than it is, that it was from this *Phenician* History the *Greeks* borrow'd their Theogony, as shall be shewn afterwards, yet the Reflection of *Philo* of *Byblos*, which we have now seen at the end of the Fragment, would leave no room to doubt of it.

8. *Eusebius*, to whom we are indebted for this Fragment, maintained that the *Phenician* Cosmogony was a direct Introduction to Atheism, as we have remarked in the fifth Reflection; and in this he is followed by the famous *Cumberland*, who justly considered this System concerning the Origin of the World, as solely design'd to apologize for the idolatrous Worship paid to different Parts of the Universe, and to mere Mortals; *Thaautus* having involved *Sanchoniathon* his Copyer in that grossest of all Pagan Darknes, which is to leave out the Supreme Being in the Formation and Government of the World, and having attempted to introduce the Religion of the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, who honoured the Creature instead of the Creator. Yet a celebrated Modern (1) contends, that by giving a favourable interpretation to *Sanchoniathon's* Words, it appears, the *Phenicians* supposed two Principles, the one a Chaos, darksome and obscure, the other a Wind, Πνεῦμα, or rather an Intelligence endued with Goodness, which rang'd the World into its present Order: and that the *Phenician* Author, by saying this Intelligence knew not his own Production, means only that it was eternal, and had never been produced. But this *Phenician* Cosmogony being taken from the Books of *Thaautus*, 'tis proper to suspend our Judgment, till we have given the *Egyptian* Cosmogony and Theogony, which are to be the Subject of the following Chapter.

(1) Cudw. Intel. Sys.

C H A P. III.

The Theogony of the Egyptians.

THE Apologists for Christianity were obliged to search into the earliest Antiquity for the Origin of other Religions, and none has laboured herein more successfully than *Eusebius of Cesarea*. What precious Remains has he preserved, which must have been destroy'd by the Injuries of Time, had not he been at the pains to collect them into his Work? Besides the celebrated Fragment we have spoke of in the former Chapter, we owe to him a great many other Pieces upon the ancient Religion of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and several other Nations. 'Tis in his Works we can trace by what steps Idolatry came to its growth; how various and fluctuating the Opinions of Philosophers have been about physical Principles, and about the Origin of the World in particular. The Fragment we have just now transcrib'd, has properly a regard to none but the *Phenicians*; but what were the Gods of *Phenicia* but the Gods of *Egypt* (a)? And whence had *Greece* hers, according to *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, and so many others, but from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*? *Sanchoiathon* appears to have copied *Thot*, or *Thaut*: now *Thot* was an *Egyptian*, and the most learned Man of his time. We must therefore expect to find the Ideas of the *Egyptians* as to the Origin of the World, and of the Gods, to be pretty near the same with those of the *Phenicians* we have been now speaking of. *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Passage I am going to quote, has explained them, without naming however the *Egyptians* in particular; and *Eusebius* seems to have copied him (1), tho' the Chapter where he treats of that Subject be intitled, *Of the Cosmogony*

(a) We are not here to examine whether the *Egyptians* had their Gods from the *Phenicians*, as some learned Men alledge, or whether Idolatry passed from *Egypt* into *Phenicia*, because it is impossible to make the discovery, nor would it be of great use if we could.

(1) *Euseb. Præp. Evang.*

Cosmogony of the Greeks. But we know that these had it from the *Egyptians*.

In the Beginning, says *Diodorus Siculus* (1), the Heavens and the Earth had but one Form, their Natures being blended together; but being afterwards separated, the World assumed that orderly Disposition which we now see. By the agitation of the Air, the fiery Particles mounted upwards, and gave the Sun, Moon, and other Luminaries their circular Motion. The solid Matter sunk downward, and formed the Earth and the Sea, whence sprung the Fishes and Animals, much after the same manner as we still see in *Egypt*, Swarms of Insects and other Animals spring from the Earth that has been overflow'd with the Waters of the *Nile*.

Eusebius has well observed, that this System, as well as that of the *Phenicians*, derived from the same Original, excludes the Creator from having any hand in the Formation of the Universe. In confirmation of his Judgment, he cites a Passage of *Porphyry*, who, in his Epistle to *Anebo* the *Egyptian* Priest, writes that *Chæremôn* and others believed there was nothing prior to this visible World; that the Planets and Stars were the true Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that the Sun was to be reckon'd the Artificer of the Universe: and 'tis proper to remark, that this is the amount of that Abstract of the *Egyptian* Theology, given by *Diogenes Laertius* (2), who had himself taken it from *Manetho* and from *Hecataeus*, who before him had said, that Matter was the first Principle, the Sun and Moon the first Divinities of that ancient People, and adored by them under the Names of *Osiris* and *Isis*.

'Tis worth remarking, however, that a Modern of great Abilities (3), has done more justice to the *Egyptians*, proving from *Eusebius* himself, that they believed that an intelligent Being, whom they named *Cncph*, presided over the Formation of the World. They represented this Being, according to *Porphyry*, under the

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Figure

(1) Diod. l. 1. p. 6, and 7. Edit. Wechel. 1604. (2) In Proëmio.
(3) Cudw. Intel. Sys. p. 318.

Figure of a Man, holding a Girdle and a Scepter, with magnificent Plumes upon his Head, and out of his Mouth proceeded an Egg, from which, in its turn, proceeded another God whom they named *Phta*, and the *Greeks Vulcan*. They themselves gave the Explication of this mysterious Figure. The Plumes that overshadow'd his Head, denoted the hidden invisible Nature of that Intelligence, the Power he had of communicating Life, his universal Sovereignty, and the Spirituality of his Operations. The Egg, which proceeds out of his Mouth, signified the World, which is his Workmanship. These same People sometimes represented the Divinity under the Emblem of a Serpent, with the Head of a Spar-hawk, who by opening its Eyes fills the World with Light, and by shutting them covers it with Darknefs. The Opinion of this modern Author may be confirmed by the Testimony of *Jamblicus*, who in the time of *Eusebius*, had apply'd himself much to the Study of the ancient *Egyptian* Theology, and he endeavours to make good what *Chæremôn* had advanced, that they did not generally believe that an inanimate Nature was the Original of all things ; but that in the World, as well as in ourselves, they owned a Soul superiour to Nature, and the Intelligence who created the World, superiour to the Soul.

Whatever we suppose to have been the Sentiments of the ancient *Egyptian* Philosophers, and of *Thaautus* their Master, one thing is certain, that their Theogony is an Idolatry of a gross nature, which was the Original and Source of that of the *Greeks* and several other Nations, as we shall see in the Sequel. And indeed, according to *Socrates*, whose Testimony is quoted by *Eusebius* (1), the *Egyptians* struck with the view of the Sun and the other Luminaries, imagined them to be the Sovereigns of the World, and the primary Deities who govern'd the same. The Sun they stiled *Osiris*, and the Moon *Isis*. *Osiris*, said they, signifies, *full of Eyes*, or *extremely quick-sighted*: *Isis* is the same as *παλαιά*, the Ancient, or the Aged, and this Name was appropriated to the Moon, on account of her eternal Birth.

(1) Præp. Evan. l. i. p. 17.

But they did not stop here: when one has set out in the dark, he loses himself in proportion as he advances. *Diodorus Siculus*, who had carefully collected the *Egyptian* Traditions, tells us, their great Gods were "Ἥλιος, the Sun, Χρόνος, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, Ζεὺς *Jupiter*, Ἥρα, *Juno*, Ἡφαιστος, *Vulcan*, Ἐστὴρ, *Vesta*, Ἑρμῆς, *Mercury*; that they reputed him the last, but were not agreed whether the Sun or *Vulcan* had reigned first. Here, to mention it by the by, are the eight great Gods of the *Egyptians*, of whom *Herodotus* speaks several times, tho' he does not name them.

Chronos, continues *Diodorus Siculus* (1), having married *Rhea*, became, according to some, the Father of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and according to others, of *Jupiter* and *Juno*. From *Jupiter*, according to the latter, sprung five other Gods, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. *Osiris*, added they, was the same with *Bacchus*, *Isis* the same with *Ceres*. *Anubis*, and *Macedo* sprung from *Apollo*, who accompanied *Osiris* in his Conquests. *Osiris*, setting out on his Expeditions, left in his room *Busiris* his Brother; upon his return from the *Indies*, *Typhon* assassinated him, and they deify'd him upon account of his heroic Deeds, and the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, that had been consecrated to him, were themselves worshipped as Divinities. But as in Apotheoses they frequently changed the Names of the Persons deify'd, *Osiris* was called *Serapis*, *Dionysius*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, *Pan*, &c. *Isis* his Wife was also ranked among the Goddesses, and worshipped under the Names of *Tesmophoros*, of *Selene* or the Moon, of *Hera* or *Juno*, &c. *Orus*, Son to *Isis*, and the last of the Gods, having escaped the Ambuscades of the *Titans*, reigned over *Egypt*, and after his Death was numbered with the Gods; and 'tis he whom the *Greeks* named *Apollo*.

Such, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, is the Cosmogony and Theogony of the *Egyptians*; and 'tis easy to see that it had been corrupted by the *Greeks*, and adapted to their manner. What we may conclude of them with most certainty, is, that this ancient People owned

(1) P. 15.

owned two sorts of Deities: The Stars, especially the Sun and Moon; and illustrious Men, to whom for their good Services they paid a religious Worship. But be this Theology drawn from the Books of *Thaut* or *Thot*, or from some Tradition preserved by the *Egyptian* Priests, still we are sure the *Greeks* form'd their System upon it, as we shall see in order.

C H A P. IV.

The Theogony of the Atlantidæ.

D*Iodorus Siculus* (1) is the only one of the Ancients, by whom we have preserved the Theogony of the People in the western parts of *Africk*, who were called the *Atlantidæ*: As these People, says he, relate some things concerning the Origin and Birth of the Gods, which have a considerable Affinity with what the *Greeks* themselves say of them, 'tis not improper to repeat them. They valued themselves, continues our Historian, upon their being possessed of a Country that had been the Birth-place of the Gods, and cited for a proof of it, that Place where *Homer* makes *Juno* say, she was going to the Extremities of the Earth, to visit *Oceanus* and *Tetys*, the Father and Mother of the Gods.

Uranus, or *Cælus*, according to them, was their first King: he taught his Subjects, who had hitherto wandered without any fix'd Residence, to live in Society, to cultivate the Ground, and to enjoy the Blessings it offered them. *Uranus* applying himself to Astronomy, regulated the Year by the Course of the Sun, and the Months by that of the Moon; and by calculating the Motions of the Stars he form'd Predictions, whose Accomplishment astonished the *Atlantidæ* so much, that they believ'd their Prince had somewhat divine about him, and after his Decease they inroll'd him among the Gods. *Uranus* had by several Wives, forty-five Children; *Titæa* alone had brought him eighteen. These last, tho' each had a Name of his own, went by the general Designation of *Titans*, from that of their Mother.

This

(1) Liv. 3. c. 4. p. 189. Edit. Wetzel.

This Princess, after her Death, received likewise divine Honours, and the Earth was called after her Name, as Heaven had been after that of her Husband,

Among the Daughters of *Uranus* and *Titæa*, the two eldest distinguished themselves by their Merit and Virtue. The first, who was called the Queen by way of Eminence, and who is thought to have been the same with *Rhea* or *Pandora*, took great care of the Education of her Brothers and Sisters, and this *Diodorus* remarks to have been the reason for calling her the Great Mother. This Princess, who had always profess'd great Chastity, being desirous at last to leave Heirs to her Father, married *Hyperion* her Brother, and by him had two Sons, *Helion* and *Selene*, who distinguished themselves as much by their Prudence and Wisdom, as they were remarkable for their Beauty. Their Uncles, jealous to see in *Helion* a Prince so perfect, and in *Selene* all the Beauty of her Sex united to the most consummate Wisdom, and fearing that the Empire might devolve upon them, assassinated *Hyperion*, and flung *Helion* into the River *Po*: *Selene*, who bore the most tender Affection to her Brother, threw herself down from the top of the Palace. The Queen seeking her Son along the banks of the River, fell asleep thro' Fatigue and Anguish; and saw in a Dream *Helion*, who foretold her that the *Titans* were to be punished for their Cruelty, and she and her Children advanced to divine Honours; that the celestial Fire by which we are enlighten'd, should henceforth bear the Name of *Helion*, and the Planet formerly called *Mene*, should take the Name of *Selene* (1). *Rhea* awaking, related her Vision, ordered divine Honours to be paid to her Children, commanded that none should ever touch her Body, and on a sudden, seized with an outrageous Madness, run all over the Fields with her Hair dishevell'd, and holding Cymbals in her Hands, whose Noise mingled with her Howlings, spread Terror wherever she pass'd. Her Subjects seeing their Queen in such a deplorable Condition, were going to stop her; but no sooner had a presumptuous Hand touch'd

(1) The Moon.

touched her, than Heaven gave a Signal in her behalf, and appeared all inflam'd, a violent Rain came pouring down, mingled with Peals of Thunder, and the Queen was suddenly snatch'd out of sight. After this Event the *Atlantidæ* confer'd divine Honours upon their Queen, whom they named the Great Mother of the Gods, and worshipped the two great Luminaries under the Names of *Helion* and *Selene*.

In the mean time the *Titan* Princes, especially *Saturn* and *Atlas*, after the Death of their Father *Uranus*, made a division of his Empire. The western Parts of *Africk* fell to the last, who gave his Name to that celebrated Mountain that has since been denominated *Mount-Atlas*: And this Prince having entirely devoted himself to Astronomy and to the Study of the Sphere, gave rise to the Fiction that this Mountain bore up the Heavens. *Hesperus* was he of his Sons who distinguished himself most by his Piety and other Virtues; but one day as he had ascended *Atlas* to study the Heavens, he was snatched away in a Cloud, and to him they assigned a Place in the Star that bears his Name, and paid him the same Honours that are given to the other Gods.

To *Atlas* were born seven Daughters, named the *Atlantidæ*, to wit, *Maia*, *Eleëtra*, *Taygete*, *Asterope*, *Merope*, *Helcyonæ*, and *Celæno*. They were all married either to Heroes or Gods; and as several Nations valued themselves for having derived their Original from them, hence they came to be placed after their death in the Heavens, where they form the Constellation of *Pleiades*.

The *Atlantidæ* were far from making the same encomiums on *Saturn*, who shared the Empire with his Brother *Atlas*: He was cruel, and extremely avaritious. This Prince having married his Sister *Rhea*, had by her *Jupiter*, who was surnamed *Olympian*. 'Tis true they acknowledged another *Jupiter*, Brother to *Uranus*, and King of *Crete*, but far less celebrated than his Nephew, who after he had made a Conquest of the World, and conferred many Blessings upon Mankind, became the greatest of all the Gods. Such,

Such, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, is the Theogony of the *Atlantidæ*, which bears a considerable resemblance to that of the *Greeks*; tho' 'tis not certain whether these had it from those People of *Africa*, or whether they learned it from the *Greeks*. I shall make but a few Remarks upon this piece of History, because I am to explain this whole Mythology at length, in the History of the Gods of *Greece* (1). I observe then what is surprizing, 1. That *Diodorus* makes no mention of *Neptune*, the Knowledge and Worship of whom, according to *Herodotus* (2), came into *Greece* from *Libya*, where he was known and worshipped from time immemorial. 2. That he says as little about *Tritonian Minerva*, whom the Ancients believed to have been born upon the Banks of the Lake *Triton* in *Africk*, and who must likewise have been known to the *Atlantidæ*. My last Remark is, that it appears from the whole of what we have now quoted, that the Worship of the Stars, of the Sun and Moon in particular, was the first and most ancient Religion of these, as of every other Nation.

C H A P. V.

The Theogony of the Greeks.

GREECE never had but a very confused Idea of the History of her own Religion. Devoting herself implicitly to her ancient Poets, in this so important an Article, she looked upon them as her first Divines; while these Poets, as *Strabo* judiciously remarks (3), whether from ignorance of Antiquity, or from Flattery to the *Greek* Princes, had in complaisance to them contrived all the Genealogies of their Gods, to make it be believ'd that they were descended from them. Thus whenever we meet with any Hero in their Works, we need not trace far back till we find at the head of his Genealogy, a *Hercules*, a *Jupiter*, or some other God. That foolish humour of laying claim to great Antiquity, betrays itself in almost every People; but never were any so intoxicated with it as the *Greeks*.
Thus,

(1) Tom. 2. (2) L. 2. (3) L. 10.

Thus 'tis surprizing to see them, who could not but know that they had received several Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, and by them their Gods and the Ceremonies of their Religion, still pretending that these same Gods were either originally from *Greece*, or from *Thrace*, or from *Phrygia*; for this is the amount of the whole System of their Poets. Two or three Words of *Herodotus*, who says, that the Gods of the *Greeks* came from *Egypt*, are preferable to all that their Poets have deliver'd upon this Subject.

Be that as it will, we shall take a view of their Theogony. *Orpheus* and *Hesiod* shall be our Vouchers, for 'tis plain, the other Poets who came after, have done no more than copied them. 'Tis true, none of *Orpheus's* Works are now extant; but his Sentiments may be gather'd, 1°. From the *Pythagorean* Philosophers, who renewed his Doctrine; 2°. From a Manuscript of *Damascius*, intitled, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, cited by *Cumberland* (1), and by *Cudworth* (2); 3°. From an Abstract of *Orpheus's* Cosmogony, done by *Timotheus*, a Writer on Chronology. These are the Sources whence we shall borrow the System of this ancient Poet.

Very different Accounts are given of *Orpheus's* Theology. As it was he who first introduced among the *Greeks*, the religious Rites of Paganism, some have accused him of having invented the Names of the Gods, and forged their Genealogies; adding, that in this he has been imitated by *Homer* and *Hesiod*. *Damascius*, in that same Manuscript I just now quoted, says, he represented one of the Principles of the World, under the Figure of a Dragon, with one Head of a Bull, and another of a Lion (3), with the Face of a God in the middle, and on his Shoulders Wings of Gold. However, notwithstanding this extravagant Assertion, he was looked upon to be a profound Philosopher, and a Man endued with Inspiration; and by the help of Allegory, they found out in this same whimsical Device, the sublimest of Mysteries. Tho' it appears from what
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(1) Upon *Sanchoniathon*, l. 2. (2) *Intell. Syst.* (3) *V. Cumberland*. l. 2. p. 280. 8vo. *Land.* 1720.

the Ancients have quoted of this Poet, that he is to be considered as the Apostle of Polytheism, yet several learned Men are persuaded of his having acknowledged one God, supreme and uncreated, the Author of the Universe; and they found their Opinion, not only upon that high Esteem he was in among the Sects of Philosophers who set most up for Religion, namely, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*; but also because it was probably from his Writings that these two Sects derived their Ideas in Philosophy and Divinity. This Opinion, advantageous for *Orpheus*, has a better Foundation, if credit be given to the Abstract of *Timotheus*; for we learn from him, that this ancient Poet, in describing the Generation of the Gods, the Creation of the World, and the Formation of Man, had advanced nothing near so extravagant as what some Authors have laid to his charge. According to that Abridgment, *Orpheus's* Theogony amounts nearly to this.

In the beginning God formed the *Æther*, or the Gods, and on every side of the *Æther* there was a Chaos, and Night covered all that was under the *Æther*: meaning thereby that Night was prior to the Creation; that the Earth was invisible by reason of the Obscurity that covered it; but that the Light darting thro' the *Æther*, enlightned the whole World. This is that Light he calls the eldest of all Beings, to which an Oracle had given the Names of *Counsel*, *Light*, *Fountain of Life*. *Timotheus* adds, that according to the Doctrine of *Orpheus*, it was by the Power of this Being, all the other immaterial Beings, as also the Sun, the Moon, &c. were created. That Mankind were form'd of the Earth by the same Divinity, and received from thence a reasonable Soul. In fine, the same Author asserts, that *Orpheus* had published another Piece, wherein he taught, that all things had been produced by one sole God, who had three Names, and that this God was himself all things.

But whatever be in that, for it is a very easy matter to palm Opinions upon an Author of such Antiquity, and whose Writings possibly were lost long before *Ti-*

Orpheus wrote in his behalf ; one thing is certain, that the primitive Fathers of the Church prefer'd the Theology of *Orpheus* to that of any other Pagan, whence it should seem, if that ancient Poet introduced Polytheism, he did it rather in compliance with the gross Conceptions of those he had a mind to civilize, than that he was convinced of the thing. But what is more particularly observable as to the Doctrine of this ancient Poet, is, that he was the first who taught the *Greeks* the Doctrine of the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings proceeded (1) ; an Opinion very ancient, which without doubt he had learned from the *Egyptians*, who, as well as several other Nations, represented the World under this Emblem. The *Phenicians* gave their *Sophasemim* the form of an Egg, and made use of this Representation in their Orgies. The same Symbol was employed by the *Chaldeans*, the *Persians*, the *Indians*, and even the *Chinese* ; and 'tis not improbable that this was the primary Opinion of all those who undertook to explain the Formation of the World.

The *Orphicks*, that is, the Mysteries establish'd by *Orpheus*, at least if they be taken according to the System of *Proclus* the *Platonick* Philosopher, form likewise another kind of Theogony. According to these Philosophers, *Orpheus* believed the Government of the World had not always belonged to the same God, but that six of them had successively contended for it, and wrested it out of one another's hands. *Phanes* had been invested with it in his turn ; and this *Phanes* was no other than the *Egyptian Bacchus*, that is to say, *Osiris*.

Now we come to the Theogony of *Hesiod*, of which the following is an Abstract.

In the beginning was the Chaos ; after this, *Terra*, the Earth ; then Love, the fairest of the immortal Gods. *Chaos* engender'd *Erebus* and Night, from whose Mixture was born *Æther*, and the Day. *Terra* formed afterwards *Cælus*, or Heaven, and the Stars, the Mansion of the immortal Gods. She likewise formed the Mountains, and by her Marriage with *Cælus*, she brought forth
Oceanus,

(1) Plut. in Symp. Macrobian. Sat. l. 7. c. 16.

Oceanus, the Ocean, and with him *Cæus*, *Creius*, *Hyperion*, *Iapetus*, *Thea*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, *Tethys*, and *Saturn*. She engender'd likewise the *Cyclops*, *Bronte*, *Sterope*, and *Arge*, who forged the Thunder *Jupiter* was armed with. These *Cyclops* resembled the other Gods in every thing, except that they had but one eye in the middle of their Forehead. *Cælus* and *Terra* had other Children besides, the proud *Titans*, *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, who had an hundred Hands, and fifty Heads. In the mean time *Cælus* kept his Sons so close shut up, that they were not allowed to see the Day ; which was so very afflicting to their Mother *Terra*, that having forged a Scythe, *Saturn* seized it, and lying in ambuscade, surprized *Cælus* as he was coming to lie with *Terra*, and cut off his Privities. Of the Blood that came from the Wound were form'd the Giants, Furies, and Nymphs ; and these same Parts being thrown into the Sea, and mixing with the Foam, gave birth to the beautiful *Venus* who took up her Residence at *Cythera*. Her they named *Aphrodite*, because she was born of the Sea-Foam ; *Cyprina*, because it was near the Isle of *Cyprus* she had her Birth ; and *Cytherea*, because she came first into the Island of that Name. *Love* and *Cupid* were her inseparable Companions, and this Goddess became the Darling of Gods and Men. In the mean time, *Cælus* was continually at odds with the *Titans* his Sons, and threatening to punish them.

Farther, Night of herself alone, without the intervention of any other God, brought forth the hateful *Destiny*, and the black *Parca* ; Death, Sleep, and Dreams of all sorts ; then *Momus*, *Ærumna* or Anxiety, accompanied with Pain and Discontent ; the *Hesperides*, who have the keeping of the Golden Apples and of the Trees that bear them on the other side of the Ocean ; the three *Parcæ*, or Destinies, *Clotbo*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, the unrelenting Goddesses who spin out our Days, always ready to avenge the Crimes of Gods and Men ; *Nemesis*, the eternal Bane of Human-kind ; Fraud and Friendship ; Old-age and Discord, who brought into the World painful Travel, Oblivion, Pestilence,

silence* and doleful Sorrows, bloody Battels, Slaughters, Massacres, and all the Scenes of human Destruction; Quarrels, Dissensions, false and treacherous Speeches, Contempt of Laws; Knavery, and the Oath that often brings the greatest Ruin upon the Perjured.

Pontus, from his Commerce with *Terra*, had the just *Nereus*, *Thaumas*, *Phorcys*, the beautiful *Ceto* and *Eurybia*. From *Nereus* and *Doris* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, came the *Nereids* (1), to the number of fifty. *Thaumas* wedded *Electra*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, who was Mother of *Iris*, and of the *Harpies*, *Aello*, and *Ocyrete* (2). *Phorcys* had by *Ceto*, *Pecphredo* and *Enyo*, who got the Name of *Graia*, because they had grey Hairs from their Birth; he had likewise by the same Marriage, the three *Gorgons*, *Stheno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa* †, from whose Blood, when *Perseus* had cut off her Head, sprung the Horse *Pegasus* and *Chrysaor*; who having married *Callirhoe*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, had by her *Geryon* with his three Heads. The same *Callirhoe* brought forth a Monster that neither resembled Gods nor Men, *Echidna*, the one half of whose Body was that of a lovely Nymph, the other half, a Serpent, ugly and terrible. Tho' the Gods kept her imprison'd in a Den in *Syria*, yet she conceived by *Typhon*, *Orcus*, *Cerberus*, the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, the *Chimæra* whom *Bellerophon* slew, the *Sphinx* who occasioned so many Disasters to *Thebes*, the Lion of *Nemea*, put to death by *Hercules*. *Ceto* had by *Phorcys*, the Dragon that kept the Garden of the *Hesperides*. *Tethys* had by *Oceanus*, all the Rivers, the *Nile*, *Alpheus*, &c. and a great many Nymphs who inhabit the Fountains and Floods. Here the Poet enumerates several, and says, there were three thousand of them, answering to the same number of Rivers, all the Offspring of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*. *Tela* had by *Hyperion*, the Sun, the Moon, and the fair *Aurora*; and *Creius*, by his Marriage with *Eurybea*, *Astreus*, *Perfes*, and *Pallas*. *Astreus* ‡ having match'd with

* In *Hesiod* λειυες. (1) Their Names shall be given afterwards.

(2) *Virgil* adds *Celeus* to the Number. † ἡ μὲν ἐν ὀφίῃ, says *Hesiod*, but the rest ἀφ' αἰνῶν. ‡ So in *Hesiod*.

with *Aurora*, begat the Winds, *Lucifer* that beautiful Morning-Star, and the Stars that adorn the Heavens. From the Conjunction of *Pallas* with *Styx*, the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, were born *Zelus*, fair *Nicé*, Force and Violence, the inseparable Companions of *Jupiter*; for when this God wanted to be avenged of the *Titans*, and called for all the Gods to his assistance, *Styx* was the first that arrived at *Olympus* with her Sons; which pleased *Jupiter* so much, that he conferr'd High Honours upon this Goddess, loaded her with Presents, order'd her Name to be used in the inviolable Oath of the Gods, and kept her Children with him.

Phæbe had by *Caus* the charming *Latona*, and *Asteria*, who was afterwards married to *Perses*, and became Mother of *Hecate*, whom *Jupiter* honoured above any other Goddess, giving her an absolute Power over Earth, Sea, and Heaven, insomuch that there is never a Sacrifice or Prayer offered to the Gods without invoking her. She presides over War, over the Councils of Kings, and bestows Victory in Battels.

Rhea having united with *Saturn*, had by him illustrious Children, *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Pluto*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter* the Father of Gods and Men; but that God learning from an Oracle deliver'd by *Cælus* and *Terra*, that one of his Children should dethrone him, he devoured them as *Rhea* brought them forth; which threw her into extremity of Affliction. So that when she was near her time of being delivered of *Jupiter*, she consulted her Parents to know in what manner she might rescue him from the Cruelty of his Father, and by their advice she secretly withdrew into *Crete*, where she was delivered, and presented *Saturn* with a Stone wrapp'd about with Swaddling-clothes, which he swallowed. *Jupiter* being grown up, delivered *Cælus*, whom *Saturn* had loaded with Chains. *Cælus*, in return for his Service, gave him Thunder, whereby he became the Sovereign of Gods and Men.

In the mean time, *Iapetus* having wedded *Clymene* Daughter of *Oceanus*, she brought into the world *Atlas*,

116 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book II.

Menetius, the artful *Prometheus*, and the foolish *Epimetheus*. *Menetius*, who was defiled with various Crimes, *Jupiter* crush'd with a Thunderbolt and sent down to Hell; *Atlas* he employ'd in propping the Heavens with his Shoulders, in the Country of the *Hesperides*, at the Extremities of the Earth; and *Prometheus* he bound fast to a Pillar with strong Chains, an Eagle continually preying upon his Liver, which was renew'd every night, as a Punishment for putting a Cheat upon the God in a Sacrifice he offered him.

Hesiod after this gives account of the War of *Jupiter* against his Father *Saturn* and the *Titans*, over whom the Father of the Gods having gained the Victory, drove them from *Olympus*, and condemned to the Bottom of *Tartarus*, in the Extremities of the Earth, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus*. *Neptune* took the last to be his Son-in-law, giving him in Marriage his Daughter *Cymopolia*.

In the mean time, *Terra* having matched with *Tartarus*, brought forth the last of her Sons, *Typhon*, on whose Shoulders grew an hundred Serpents Heads. Fire flash'd from their Eyes, and dreadful Voices issued forth from every Mouth. Heaven was in danger, and *Jupiter* himself was threatned with the loss of his Empire; but the God array'd with Thunder, overthrew the presumptuous Giant, and plung'd him headlong into the bottom of *Tartarus*. This is that *Typhon*, to whom the Winds owe their Original, except *Notus*, *Boreas*, and *Zephyrus*, who are the Offspring of the Gods (a).

Jupiter, now established in the peaceful Possession of *Olympus*, and in Dominion over the Gods, took to Wife *Metis* (1), a Goddess who surpass'd all, both Gods and Men, in Knowledge. But when she was about to be delivered of *Minerva*, *Jupiter* inform'd that she was to have a Son, for whom the Sovereignty of the Universe was ordain'd, swallowed the Mother and the Child, that he might learn from her Good and Evil. After this he married *Themis*, who brought forth the Seasons, *Eunomia*, *Dice*, *Irene*, and the three Destinies, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*,

(a) The South, North, and West Winds.

(1) Prudence.

Lachesis, and *Atropos*. He had likewise by *Eurynome* Daughter of *Oceanus*, the three Graces, *Aglaia*, *Euphrosyne*, and *Thalia*; and by *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* carried off. Being enamour'd of *Mnemosyne*, he made her Mother to the nine Muses. *Latona* bore him *Apollo* and *Diana*. In fine, his last Wife was *Juno*, who made him Father to *Hebe*, *Mars*, and *Lucina*. She also brought forth *Vulcan*, but at the moment of his Birth she fell out with her Husband, who had none upon his side but the sage *Minerva*, having produced her from his Brain.

Neptune had by *Amphitrite*, *Triton*; and *Venus* had by *Mars*, *Terrour* and *Fear*, who accompany this God in Battles, and the fair *Harmonia* the Wife of *Cadmus*. *Maia*, Daughter of *Atlas*, became Mother to *Mercury* by *Jupiter*, who had likewise *Bacchus* by *Semele*, *Cadmus's* Daughter, and *Hercules* by *Alcmena*. *Vulcan* married *Aglaia*, the youngest of the Graces; *Bacchus*, *Ariadne* Daughter of *Minos*; and *Hercules*, after his Deification, the youthful *Hebe*, Daughter to *Jupiter* and *Juno*. The fair *Perseis* bore to the Sun, *Circe*, and *Æetes*, who by the Advice of the Gods wedded the charming *Idyia*, Daughter of *Oceanus*, by whom he had *Medea*.

After this Account of the Genealogies of the Gods, *Hesiod* takes notice of the Children born by Goddesses to mortal Men, who were adopted into the number of the Gods. *Ceres* became Mother of *Plutus*, the God of Riches. *Harmonia*, *Venus's* Daughter, had by *Cadmus*, *Ino*, *Semele*, *Agave*, and *Autonoe*, who married *Aristeus* and *Polydorus*. *Chrysaor* had by the beautiful *Callirhoe* Daughter of *Oceanus*, the gigantick *Geryon*, who was worsted by *Hercules*. *Aurora* bore to *Titbonus*, *Memnon* King of *Egypt* *, and *Hemathion*; and to *Cephalus* *Phaeton* (a), who was so dear to *Venus*. *Jason* having married *Medea*, *Æetes's* Daughter, by her had *Medus*. *Psametke*, one of the *Nereids*, marrying

I 3

Æacus,

* *Hesiod* calls him King of the *Æthiopians*.

(a) Not the same whom *Ovid* speaks of, *Met.* l. 2. and who was the Son of *Sol* and *Clymene*.

Æacus, became Mother to *Phocus*. *Thetis*, *Peleus*'s Spouse, bore him a Son *Achilles*; and *Anchises* had by *Venus* the pious *Æneas*, in the Woods of Mount *Ida*. *Circe*, Daughter to the Sun, had by *Ulysses* *Agrius* and *Latinus*. Lastly, *Calypso* brought the same *Ulysses* two Sons *Nausitobus* and *Nausinon*.

Such is the Theogony of the *Greeks*; a monstrous Composition of History and Fables, where we see every moment Physicks of a gross nature, blended with distorted Traditions; natural Generations mix'd with metaphorical ones; Names plainly allegorical along with those that are real; the whole collected by *Hesiod*, in a kind of Poem, that has neither Art, Invention, nor any Charm, unless it be a few splendid Epithets with which he has set it off. I judg'd it necessary however to give an account of it, as being the Foundation of the *Greek* Fables, which I explain in the course of this Work.

Aristophanes, the same whom *Plato* in his Banquet, as was observ'd (1), brings in delivering the Fable of the *Androgyni*, has also wrought into his Comedy of the Birds, the Substance of the *Greek* Theogony and Cosmogony, with more Method and Perspicuity than *Hesiod*.

In the Beginning, as he makes one of his Actors speak, were the *Chaos*, the black *Erebus*, and the vast *Tartarus*; but as yet there was neither Earth, nor Air, nor Heavens. *Night*, with her sable Wings, laid the first Egg in the wide Womb of *Erebus*, whence sprung after some time Beneficent *Love*, adorn'd with golden Wings. From the Union of *Love* with *Chaos*, arose Men and Animals. Farther, the Gods had not a Being till all things were mingled together by Love; but from this Commixtion were engender'd the Heavens and the Earth, as well as the Race of the immortal Gods.

This Theogony, inserted in a Comedy by way of Derision, undoubtedly made a Part of some ancient System, whose Author is not known. But let that be as it will; to return to *Hesiod*, it appears from his other Works,

Works, that the Men of the Golden Age became Demons, *Δαίμονες*, or good *Genii*: These, according to him, are the Guardians of Men, the Earth having fallen to their lot. Those of the Silver Age were changed into *Manes*, or subterraneous *Genii*, happy tho' mortal; as if there could possibly be Happiness without Immortality. Those of the Brazen Age went down to the infernal Regions. In fine, those of the Heroick Age took possession of the Fortunate Islands, or the *Elysian* Fields, situated at the Extremities of the World.

There is yet a fourth *Greek* Theogony may be drawn from an Author very ancient, if it be true, that it was follow'd by *Pronapides* *Homer's* Preceptor, as is alledg'd by *Boccace* (1), from a Fragment of *Theodontius*, which probably was extant in his Time. According to this ancient Theogony, the most reasonable of all, there was but one sole God the Eternal, by whom all the other Gods were produced. It was not allowed to give any Name to this first Being (a), and none was able to declare his Nature. *Anaxagoras* thought he gave some Definition of him in calling him the *Mind* (2). However as the most simple Ideas have thro' Time been altered, *Lactantius* a Scholiast upon *Statius* calls this Sovereign Being *Daimogorgon*, as the Author I have quoted does after *Theodontius*; a Name which imports the *Genius* of the Earth, and which, by the Description they give of this God, as shall be seen in its Place, answers but indifferently to the Idea the first Philosophers form'd of him. For, in a word, and it is worth our noticing, the Poets, who were the first Theologists of *Greece*, have if I may speak so, turn'd their own Ideas into Persons, and compos'd Theogonies each in his own Way; but they seem always to suppose a Being truly independent. They are even mostly agreed upon an Eternity, an *Ontogony* or Generation of Beings, some of them celestial, others terrestrial or infernal; but *Dæmogorgon* and *Achlys* in their System have a Being before the

I 4

(1) *Geneal. of the Gods*, L. 1. C. 3.

(a) *Et triplicis mundi summum, quem scire nefas est, Illum. sed taceo*—— says *Statius*, *Theb.* L. 4. v. 316.

(2) *Νοῦς*.

the World, even before *Chaos* itself. Their *Acmon*, their *Hypsisus*, have an existence before Heaven, whom the *Latins* call *Cælus*, and the *Greeks* *Ouranos*. Nay more, according to them, *Terra*, *Tartarus* and *Love* were prior to *Cælus*, since *Hesiod* we see makes him even the Son of *Terra*. *Acmon* is taken for the Father of *Cælus*, by *Phornutus*, *Hesychius*, and *Simmias* of *Rhodes* his Scholiast; and the same *Acmon* is the Son of *Manes*, in *Polybistor* and in *Stephanus*. *Cælus* was first Father to the *Hecatoncheires*, next to the *Cyclops*, then to the *Titans* and *Saturn*, who in his turn became Father to the other Gods. Next came the Earth-born Giants, and the last of them is *Typhon*. After the Gods and Giants, quite different as we see from the *Titans*, who were the Gods of the Race of *Cælus*, came the Demi-Gods, from the Commerce of Gods with Women, or of Goddesses with Men.

In a word, the *Greeks* consider'd all those as Gods, who had liv'd from the beginning of the World, till their supposed Division of the Universe between *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*; that is, if we would reconcile Fables with History, till the time of *Phaleg* and *Nimrod*. They had but a very confused Knowledge of the first Times, which has happen'd to them in common with all the Nations that preserv'd ancient Annals, such as the *Egyptians*, the *Chineses*, &c. It is easy to see, that they have only disguised the true ancient Tradition which *Moses* alone has preserv'd, and that they have thereby fallen into the most monstrous Errors, of which the following is a very authentick Example, that may suffice for the present.

We find in the Text of the *Septuagint*, that the Giants came from Angels embracing the Daughters of Men: This Opinion has also been followed by the most ancient Interpreters of Scripture; as also by *Philo*, *Josephus*, *S. Justin*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, &c. It has been adopted by several learned *Rabbis*, and is still generally receiv'd by all the *Mahometans*. Was not this a sufficient Handle for those who were acquainted with this Tradition, to say the Gods had been enamour'd

mour'd of mortal Women, and had Children by them? The Angels in Scripture are stiled Sons of God, so that it is probable, the Gods of *Greece* were form'd upon the Idea of the Angels good and bad: Thence proceeded the *Egregores* of the *Hebrews*, the *Annedots* of the *Chaldeans*, the *Gennes*, in short, the *Genii*, the *Æons*, the *Archontes*, the *Titans*, the *Giants*, and all the Gods or Demi-Gods of Paganism.

The Book of *Enoch*, no doubt, contributed a great deal to the adopting that Opinion of the Angels having been familiar with the Daughters of Men. This Work is certainly spurious, but withal it is very ancient, since it was known to the Apostles, by whom it is cited. Thus *Dodwel* and Father *Pezron* were in the wrong to call its Antiquity in question, merely because the *Greeks* were Strangers to it, as if they had been acquainted with all the ancient Books before they had them translated in their own Language.

But now that we are fallen upon this Article, it will not be amiss that we give some short account of the Book, and then lay open the Origin of the Fable it contains, which *Philastrius* ranks in the Number of the Heresies.

When Men had multiply'd, says the Author, they had Daughters of an exquisite Beauty, so amiable that the *Egregores*, or the Guardian Angels, conceived a violent Passion for them. They came down from Heaven, alighted upon Mount *Hermon*, join'd in League together, and bound themselves by Oath to stand by one another. After this, having embrac'd these Virgins, they conceiv'd the Giants, and the *Nephelim*, Sons of the Giants, from whom came the *Eliud*.

The Author names twenty of these leading Angels, who taught Men several Arts, especially the pernicious Art of Magick, and the Use of Arms. To which he adds, that God seeing what horrid Enormities the Giants and their Sons committed, sent down to the Earth *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael* and *Uriel*. *Michael* the Archangel seiz'd *Semixas* the Head of these Rebel-Angels, bound him with his Associates, and condemn'd them

them to the lowest Parts of the Earth, where they are reserv'd to the day of their Judgment. After this he sowed Diffension among their Children, who extirpated one another.

I explain this Fable in the Article of the Giants (1). It is founded merely upon a Phrase in Scripture not well understood, and upon an Ambiguity: The first Interpreters finding in *Job* the Epithet *Son of God* ascrib'd to the Angels, apply'd it likewise to the Angels in the Passage in *Genesis*, where it is only the Sons of *Seth* are meant, who are design'd Sons of God in opposition to the Descendants of *Cain*: *Videntes filii Dei filias hominum*, &c (2). These being smitten with the Beauty of the Daughters of *Cain's* Race, match'd with them, had Sons by them, who became terrible more for the Enormity of their Crimes than of their Stature; for the word *Nephelim*, applied to them in *Genesis*, signifies equally Giants, or Persons dissolute and immoral in their Lives.

But passing that, I shall only borrow a Reflection from M. *Fourmont*, who may be consulted on this Article (3), wherein he takes the Names of the twenty Apostate Angels from the fictitious Book of *Enoch*, and explains them with Erudition. The Reflection is, that the Author of this Book introduces five sorts of Personages. 1. Men, of the Seed of *Adam*. 2. The *Egregores*, or Angels of Heaven. 3. The Giants, sprung from the *Egregores*. 4. The *Nephelim*, Sons of the Giants. 5. The *Eliud*, Sons of the *Nephelim*. In which this Author seems to correspond with *Hesiod*, in whose Theogony we find these five Classes, with little Variation, as has been remark'd.

I should no doubt be censured, if, after what I have said in this Chapter concerning *Hesiod* and *Orpheus*, and some other *Greek* Poets, I should take no notice of *Homer*, who, in both his Poems, has, with so much *Apparatus*, employ'd the same Gods with *Hesiod* and
Or-

(1) See the History of *Jupiter*, Vol. IV. (2) Gen. c. 6. v. 2.
(3) Refl. Crit. L. 2. S. 2.

Orpheus; but 'tis observable, that this great Poet had no design, like the other two, to deliver a System of these Gods, but only to apply the Theology of his Time as he found it. *Homer*, as the *Abbé Fraguier* judiciously remarks (1), is no more than a Poet: If he assumes the Theologue, as in effect he does, by bringing in his Gods, and using their Agency on all occasions, he is only so occasionally, and by no means as a Systematick. And what is this but to be a Poet? It is to act the Painter, the Imitator: The Object is none of his producing, he only copies the Likeness and draws the Picture. Whatever his own private Sentiments were about his Gods, as he speaks of them with a view to please and to be intelligible, he would not recede from the receiv'd Standard of his Time. Consequently *Homer*, born in the Heart of Paganism, could not represent the Gods in another manner than he has done. The Theology he follows was not of his Invention, he had it given him; but as Time, which destroys Errors, has rais'd the Credit of his Works, and as the masterly Poet has shewed his Skill in making the best Use he could of a false Religion, so he has been taken in later Times for the Father and Inventor of so many strange uncommon Things, whereof in truth he was but the Copier and Painter.

Cicero complains of *Homer*, for bringing down his Gods to the Level of Men, instead of exalting Men to the Perfection of Gods. This Charge is unjust; the greatest part of *Homer's* Gods had been Men, who procur'd divine Honours by their heroick Exploits or useful Inventions. But those Actions, however dazzling they appeared, were not always conform'd to the Rules of strict Virtue: Men had not always that pure Sense of Morality to which *Pythagoras* and *Plato* afterwards reduc'd it. Mere Strength, bodily Accomplishments and natural Endowments, have long supply'd the place of true Merit; and these great Men having been consecrated

(1) *Diff. sur les Dieux d'Homere. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. T. 3. p. 1.*

crated for possessing such Qualities, made these things be thought worthy of them after their Consecration.

In a word, the Men whom they deify'd, had a share both of divine Perfection and human Weakness: Thus 'twas the Poet's business to represent them in both these Lights; and hence we find such a mixture in his Characters of Grandeur with Meanness, Strength with Weakness, Majesty with Abjectness, shining Virtues with scandalous Vices.

From what I have just been saying it appears, that the *Greeks* had several Theogonies, and that they had digested into a System the Theology they derived from the Eastern People. With the *Romans* the Case was quite otherwise: Content with the Religion of the *Greeks*, and other Nations whom they conquer'd, they borrowed their Divinities, Worship, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Priests, Festivals, in a word, the whole *Apparatus* which Idolatry drew after it, without once having a Thought of reducing so fantastical a Religion into a System; and the most idolatrous City in the World was the least concerned about the History of its Gods. *Cicero* indeed, in his Treatise of the Nature of the Gods, gives some of their Genealogies; but since, for the most part, his Notions are borrowed from the Writings of the *Greeks*, and he only reasons upon the Subject like an *Academick*, this Piece of his is not to be looked upon as a System of Theology.

Here I might take occasion to consider the different Opinions of the *Platonick* Philosophers, with respect to their Gods, and to what the Ancients thought of them; but besides that this Question would carry me too far from my purpose, the Reflections I make upon that Article at the end of the Treatise of Idolatry, are sufficient to make it clear. After all, what else can we conclude from these different Hypotheses laid down by *Celsus*, *Jamblichus*, *Porphyry* and others; but that these Philosophers, in order to take off from the Absurdity and Grossness of reigning Idolatry, and at the same time get clear of the Objections in which the primitive Fathers of the Church triumph'd, endeavoured to

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allegorize a monstrous System ; but these Allegories, which had no other Foundation but their own Fancy, were quite remote from the Thoughts of those who first spoke of the Gods and their Generations.

C H A P. VI.

The Cosmogony and Theogony of Ovid.

LAST of all, *Ovid*, that faithful Imitator of the Poets who went before him, has given us a Cosmogony at the beginning of his *Metamorphoses*.

“ Before the Formation, says he, of the Sea, the
 “ Earth and the all-surrounding Heavens, universal
 “ Nature had but one Appearance. That confused
 “ Mass, that insignificant useless Heap, wherein the
 “ Principles of all Beings were promiscuously blended
 “ together, is what was called *Chaos*. As yet there
 “ was no Sun to enlighten the World, no Moon to per-
 “ form her various Changes ; the Earth self-balanced
 “ was not yet suspended in the Air ; the Sea had no
 “ bounding Shores ; Earth, Air and Water were jumbled
 “ together ; Earth without Solidity, Water not fluid,
 “ Air without Light : All was Darkness and Confusi-
 “ on. No Body had its proper Form, and each of
 “ them was an Incumbrance to another ; Cold combat-
 “ ing with Heat, Moist with Dry ; the hard Bodies en-
 “ counter’d those that made no resistance, and the
 “ Heavy and the Light jostled together. God, or
 “ Nature herself, parted the whole Strife, by separa-
 “ ting the Heavens from the Earth, the Earth from the
 “ Waters, and the *Æther*, or purer Air, from the more
 “ gross. The *Chaos* being thus disentangled, every
 “ Body had its own proper Place allotted to it, God e-
 “ stablish’d the Laws of their future Union. Fire,
 “ which is the lightest of the Elements, possess’d the
 “ highest Region ; the Air occupy’d a Place beneath
 “ the Fire, corresponding to its Lightness ; the Earth,
 “ unwieldy as it was, became pois’d and balanc’d, and
 “ the Water sunk down to the lowest Situation.

“ After

“ After this first Distribution, that God, whoever
 “ he was, form’d the Earth into a Globe, and spread
 “ the Seas over its Surface ; he gave the Winds per-
 “ mission to agitate the Waters, without suffering the
 “ Waves however to pass the Bounds prescrib’d them.
 “ Then he form’d the Fountains, the Pools, the Lakes
 “ and Rivers, to water the Earth, confining them with-
 “ in their Banks.-----At his Command the Plains were
 “ extended, the Trees clothed with Leaves, the Moun-
 “ tains lifted up their heads, and the Valleys sunk down-
 “ ward.”

Ovid, after he has describ’d this orderly Disposition,
 speaks of the five Zones, two frigid, two temperate,
 and one scorched with Heat, which is the torrid Zone.
 He also takes notice of the Winds, and marks out the
 Places whence they blow. Then, having mention’d
 the Aerial Regions, where Hail, Thunder and Light-
 nings are form’d, he thus goes on :

“ So soon as the various Bodies of the Universe were
 “ confin’d within their respective Bounds, the Constel-
 “ lations, till then shut up in the shapeless Mass of
 “ *Chaos*, began to shine. And, in fine, that every Re-
 “ gion might be stored with animated Beings, the Stars,
 “ these Images of the Gods, were set in the Heavens ;
 “ the Fishes inhabited the Waters ; the four-footed
 “ Beasts got the Earth to dwell in, and the Air be-
 “ came the Mansion of the Gods.

“ There was yet wanting in the World a Being of
 “ greater Perfection, one who might be endued with a
 “ more exalted Soul, and so qualify’d to maintain Do-
 “ minion over the rest. Man was form’d : Whether
 “ the Author of Nature made him of that Divine
 “ Seed which is proper for him, or of that Celestial
 “ Principle, which the new-made Earth, but just dis-
 “ join’d from Heaven, still contain’d in its Bosom.
 “ *Prometheus* having mix’d some of that Earth with
 “ Water, moulded it into a Man after the Likeness of
 “ the Gods ; and whereas all the other Animals have
 “ their Heads groveling downwards, Man alone lifts
 “ his towards Heaven, and looks up to the Stars.

“ Thus a Bit of Earth, which was nothing at first but
 “ a shapeless Mass, became the Figure of a Being till
 “ then unknown in Nature.”

Reflections upon the different Theogonies of the Greeks.

SUCH are the different Cosmogonies and Theogonies of the *Greeks*, upon which I shall make the following Remarks.

As for the System of *Orpheus*, we are not able to judge from the little we know of it, what part he allow'd the Deity in the Formation of the World ; and if we have not sufficient Ground to believe his Sentiments to have been the same with those of the more enlighten'd Poets and Philosophers who came long after him, such as the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonicks*, as little have we reason to confound his Opinion with that of *Sanhoniathon*, far less with the System of *Diodorus Siculus*, who makes Men at first to have been propagated much after what the *Egyptians* falsely believe to be the manner of producing Insects after the Overflowings of the *Nile*.

Each of these Systems supposes, that Love united the different Principles the *Chaos* was made up of, and that all Beings sprung from this Union : But what else is this Love, but the natural Union of Homogeneous Bodies ? And tho' the Authors of these extravagant Opinions have made a Person of it, we plainly see it is only a figurative one that never existed out of their own Imagination. The Creation is a Mystery beyond the reach of Human Reason. The Generality of the Philosophers, who could never comprehend how Something could be made of Nothing, had adopted that Axiom, *Ex nihilo nihil, et in nihilum nil posse reverti*. Thus seeing the admirable Structure of the Universe, which they ascrib'd either to a Being superiour to Nature, or most frequently to Nature herself, they always supposed a pre-existent Matter, but lying in confusion, and without form, till it was disentangled ; and not knowing on whom to confer the Glory of having settled the Order that now reigns in the World, they contrived
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128 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book II.
their *Love*, which is nothing but the Union that results from the mere Motion of Bodies.

Ovid, who was not born till eight hundred Years after *Hesiod*, or thereabouts, ushers in, like him, his grand Work the *Metamorphoses* with a *Chaos*; but he imitates him in nothing else: For as to the Manner of unfolding this *Chaos*, he differs entirely from the *Greek* Poet. I don't find he makes Love have any concern in the Operation; but as an Agent was wanting, he is at a loss whom to pitch upon, and his Suspence appears in this Verse (1),

Hanc Deus & melior litem Natura diremit.

And again (2),

*Sic ubi dispositam, quisquis fuit ille Deorum,
Congeriem secuit, &c.*

Here then is the *Chaos* and the *Erebus* so much sung by the Poets, the first Notion of which seems to be taken from *Sanchoiathon*, who had himself no doubt borrow'd it either from these Words of *Moses* (3), *Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, & Tenebræ erant super faciem Abissi*; or rather from the Traditions dispersed through the Country where this *Phenician* Author had lived, and that were of greater Antiquity than the Writings of the sacred *Jewish* Legislator.

I am far from being able to find, with some learned Men, a great Conformity between this Tradition of the Creation of the World, and what *Sanchoiathon*, *Hesiod* and *Ovid* have wrote about it; but I am not so far prepossess'd, as not to believe they have form'd the Idea of their *Chaos* upon it. As to the rest, nothing can be more different. They are lively Genius's, who, from a single Hint, gave full scope to their Imagination, which no sooner abandon'd the guidance of Reason, than it lost itself in the unbounded Region of Fictions. But a short Comparison of the Beginning of *Genesis* with *Hesiod's* Theogony will shew the Reader wherein they either correspond or differ.

I say nothing of the Creation; it is what neither *Hesiod* nor any profane Author knew any thing of. *Moses*

(1) *Met.* L. 1. v. 21. (2) *ib.* v. 32. (3) *Gen.* c. 1. v. 2.

ses begins with telling us, that *the Earth was void, and Darknefs was spread over the Face of the Abyss.* *Hesiod* says, the *Chaos* was before all things; then the spacious Earth, the Mansion of the Immortal Beings, and *Tartarus* far remote from thence. *Moses* adds, *And the Spirit moved upon the Waters; & Spiritus ferebatur super aquas.* *Hesiod*, on the contrary, immediately after what I have taken out of him, speaks of *Love*, the most beauteous and amiable of the Immortals, who expels and drives away Cares from the Heart of Gods and Men. The next thing *Moses* tells us is, that God said, *Fiat lux, & lux facta est; Let there be Light, and there was Light:* Words which a profane Author (1) thinks so sublime. *Hesiod* says likewise, that from the Night sprung the *Æther* and the *Day*. The *Jewish* Legislator goes on to tell us, that God made the Firmament, *& fecit Deus firmamentum;* and that he divided the Waters that were above the Firmament from those that were under it. To which he immediately subjoins, that God commanded the Waters that were under the Heaven to be gathered together into one Place, and that he called this Collection of Waters the Sea, and that part of the Earth which by this means became dry was called *Dry-land, & vocavit Deus aridam terram, congregationesque aquarum appellavit maria.* The Author of the *Theogony* corresponds with him in this too pretty much: The Earth, says he, at first brought forth Heaven with the Stars, and by her Union with Heaven she had the Ocean. But in what follows the profane Author loses himself; and let one be ever so prejudiced in his favour, yet I hardly think it possible to trace any Resemblance between him and *Moses*.

Ovid displays the Formation of the World in another manner, and his Description bears no similitude to that of *Hesiod*, as has been observ'd. But there is one thing worth our remarking, namely, that he considers Man as the last Production of the Author of Nature; in which he comes nearer to *Moses* than any other Pagan Author. Another great Stroke of Resemblance is

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(1) Longinus.

where he says, Man was formed of Clay mix'd with Water; but who that *Prometheus* was, whom he makes the Author of so fine a Work, is not easy to conjecture. The Poet who thus far ascribes the Disposition of the Universe either to God or Nature, when he comes to the Formation of Man, makes a *Prometheus* appear, of whom he had not said one word before (*a*). *Hesiod* indeed mentions *Prometheus*, but he does not honour him as *Ovid* has done with the forming of Man. Besides, that Breath of Life, with which the Poets say *Minerva* animated *Prometheus's* Work, is plainly copied from the Words of *Moses*, who says, *that God having form'd Man of the Clay, breath'd into him a Breath of Life* (1), *Inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vite.*

C H A P. VII.

The Theogony of the Chinese and Indians.

TH E *Chinese* began to improve Letters from the earliest times of their Monarchy, at least from the Reigns of *Yao* and *Chum*, who lived upwards of two thousand two hundred Years before Jesus Christ. 'Tis a common Opinion, and universally received by those who have gone farthest in investigating the Origin of a People of such unquestionable Antiquity, that the Sons of *Noah* were dispersed over the eastern parts of *Asia*, and that there were some of them who penetrated into *China*, a few ages after the Deluge, and there laid the first Foundations of the oldest Monarchy we know in the World. 'Tis a thing not to be denied, that these first Founders, instructed from a Tradition not very remote from its Source, in the Greatness and Power of the first Being, taught their Posterity to honour this sovereign Lord of the Universe, and to live agreeably to the Principles of that Law of Nature he had engraved on their Hearts. Their classical Books, some of them written even in the time of the two Emperors just named, leave no room to doubt of it. There are
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(*a*) For this *Prometheus*, we refer to what is to be said on the History of *Jupiter*, Vol. 2. (1) Gen. ii. ver. 7.

five of these Books among them, they call the *Kink*, for which they have an extreme Veneration. Tho' these Books contain only the fundamental Laws of the State, and don't directly meddle with Religion, their Author's Intention having been to secure the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire; yet they are very proper to inform us what was the Religion of that ancient People, since we are told in every Page, that in order to compass that Peace and Tranquillity, two things were necessary to be observed, the Duties of Religion, and the Rules of a good Government. It appears thro' the whole, that the first Object of their Worship was one Being, the supreme Lord and Sovereign Principle of all things, whom they honoured under the name of *Changti*, that is, Supreme Emperor, or *Tien*, which in their Language is of the same import. *Tien*, say the Interpreters of these Books, is the Spirit who presides over Heaven. 'Tis true, the same Word often signifies among the *Chinese*, the material Heavens, and now since Atheism has been for some ages introduced among their *Literati*, it is restricted to that Sense; but in their ancient Books they understood by it, the Lord of Heaven, the Sovereign of the World. In them there is mention, upon all occasions, of the Providence of *Tien*, of the Chaſtisements he inflicts upon the bad Emperors, and of the Rewards he dispenses to the good. They likewise represent him as one, who is flexible to Vows and Prayers, appeased by Sacrifices, and who diverts Calamities that threaten the Empire, with a thousand other things which can agree to none but an intelligent Being. To convince us of this, we need but read the Extracts which Father *Halde* has taken from these ancient Books, in the second Volume of his large History of *China*, and what he farther says in the beginning of the third.

The fear of being tedious, and of wandering from my purpose, may justify me in not copying him; but one can't forbear concluding with him, after the long Detail he makes, that it appears from the Doctrine of the standard *Chinese* Books, that from the

Foundation of the Empire by *Fo-hi*, and for a long tract of Ages, the Supreme Being, known among them under the Name of *Changti*, or of *Tien*, was the Object of publick Worship, and that they looked upon him to be the Soul, as it were, and the *Primum Mobile* of their National Government; that this first of Beings was feared, honoured, and revered; and that not only the Emperors. who at all times have been the Leaders and Priests of their Religion, but the Grandees of the Empire, and the Vulgar, knew they had a Lord and Judge above them, who knows how to reward those who obey him, and to punish Offenders.

It is certain, that if in these ancient Books. Proofs are to be found of the Knowledge the *Chinese* had of the supreme Being, and of the religious Worship they have paid him for a long series of Ages, it is no less certain that no footsteps are there to be seen of an idolatrous Worship. But this will appear less surprizing when we consider, 1. That Idolatry spread it self thro' the World but slowly, and step by step; and that having probably taken its rise in *Assyria*, as *Eusebius* alleges, where there was not even the appearance of an Idol till long after *Belus*, or according to others in *Phenicia*, or in *Egypt*, it could not have made its way so soon into *China*, a Nation that has ever been sequestered from others, and separated by the great *Indies* from the Center of Idolatry.

2. That there was always in *China* a supreme Court (1), to take care of the Affairs of Religion, which with the utmost exactness kept a watchful eye over their principal Object. Thus it was no easy matter to introduce new Laws and new Ceremonies among a People so much attached to their ancient Traditions. Besides, as the *Chinese* have always been accustomed to write their History with great care, and have Historians contemporary with all the Facts they relate, they would never have failed to take notice of what Innovations had happen'd in Religion, as they have done at great length, when the Idol *Fo* and his Worship were introduced.

Such

(1) The Court of Rites.

Such was the established Religion of *China*, in the first Ages of their Empire: I call it established Religion, because the Vulgar continued to acknowledge subaltern Spirits who watched over the Towns and Fields, and to them they used to pay a superstitious Worship, to pray to them for Health, Success in their Affairs, and plentiful Harvests. There were intermixed with this Worship several superstitious Usages, that had something of the nature of Magick, to which that People has always been strongly addicted: But this was not the Religion of the State, and the Usages of that kind have always been condemned by the Court of Rites, tho' frequently some of the *Mandarins*, of whom it was compos'd, were themselves tinctured with them.

Thus, to speak accurately, the *Chinese* have not what we call a Theogony or Cosmogony. Their Philosophers solely attach'd to Morality, Politicks, and History, have always neglected Natural Philosophy; and we don't find in their Writings, those I mean of the Ancients, the Systems so well known in *Europe*, in *Egypt*, and in some Parts of *Asia*, about the Formation of the World, and the Bodies it is made up of, or about the Gods, of whom we have so many Genealogies (*a*). I said their ancient Philosophers, because the modern ones, who attempted to give some kind of Cosmogony, have fallen into an Atheism resembling that of *Strato* and *Spinoza*.

We can as little find that they spoke clearly about the Soul, of which they don't appear to have had a distinct Idea. However, we can be in no doubt of their believing the Soul's Subsistence after Death, not only from the Stories of Apparitions, which are to be found in the Books of *Confucius* himself, the wisest and most knowing of their Philosophers, but from the Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, which they have received many Ages ago.

However, as Man deprived of Revelation, and left to the byas of his own Heart, has always been a Prey

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(*a*) You may read Father *Halde's* Abstracts of these ancient Books, especially of the *Kink*, which are of the greatest Antiquity, in the 2d Vol. of his History of *China*.

to Error, I am far from believing the *Chinese* have been exempted from it ; and we have a favourable enough Opinion of them, when we think they were perhaps somewhat later than other Nations in giving themselves up to practise Idolatry. Let us consider them, if you will, as the Philosophers the Apostle speaks of, who by the Light of Nature rose to the Knowledge of the Supreme Being ; are not these as guilty as those of having known him, without having glorify'd him ? At length the Sect of the *Taoise* appeared in *China*, near six hundred Years before Jesus Christ. *Lao-Kiun* is the Philosopher by whom it was founded. The Birth of this Man, if we may believe his Disciples, was one of the most extraordinary : Carried four and twenty Years in the Loins of his Mother, he opened himself a Passage thro' the left Side, and occasioned the Death of her who had conceived him.

The Morals of this Philosopher come very near to those of *Epicurus*, and he wrapped up his Physicks in impenetrable Obscurity : I take no more of them than what regards the Cosmogony. “ *Tao*, said he, or Reason, produced One, One produced Two, Two produced Three, and Three produced all things.” The whole Happiness of Man, according to this Philosopher, consisted in that state of Mind which the *Greeks* called *Apathy*, a state wherein Man divested of Fear, and all tormenting Passions, must be free from Disquietude of every kind ; and as it is exceeding hard for one to get rid of the uneasy Apprehensions of Death and Futurity, they who made profession of this Sect, were addicted to Magick and Chymistry, to find out the Secret whereby to become immortal ; presuming they should be able to find it at length by the assistance of the Spirits whom they invoked. There were some of them who flatter'd themselves with that Discovery, by means of certain Potions they made up ; and more than one Emperor has try'd the fruitless Experiment.

One, who is acquainted with the Temper of Mankind, can easily judge, that a Sect which raised such flattering Hopes, would very soon make Profelytes ; accordingly it

it was embraced by several of the *Mandarins*, who gave their minds entirely to the Magick Art, which it prescribed. But it made yet greater advances among the Women, naturally curious, and extremely fond of Life. In fine, the Author of the Sect was himself rank'd among the Gods; a stately Temple was erected to him, and the Emperor *Hium Tsong* caused the Statue of this new God to be brought into his Palace. His Disciples got the name of Heavenly Teachers, and his Descendants are still honoured with the Dignity of *Mandarins*. These are they who have introduced that vast multitude of Spirits subordinate to the Supreme Being, whom they honour in Temples, and in particular Chappels, and to whom they sacrifice three sorts of Victims, a Hog, a Fish, and a piece of a Fowl. They have even carried Superstition the length of deifying several of their Emperors; whereby we see that the *Chinese*, a People otherwise very ingenious, are nothing short in point of Superstition and Idolatry, of the other Nations whom they have always taken a pride to contemn. This Sect has filled *China* with Diviners and Impostors, who impose upon the Vulgar, and sometimes upon the Great, by delusive Arts and Magick Rites, wherewith they are but too apt to be infatuated.

In fine, about the sixty-fifth Year after Jesus Christ, the Emperor *Mingti*, thro' a vain Curiosity, was the means of introducing a Sect still more dangerous; the History of it, which I am to give in a few Words, will take up the second part of this Chapter, upon the Theogony of the *Indians*.

This Emperor, struck with some Words which *Confucius* had often repeated, namely, *that it was in the West they would find the Holy One*, sent Ambassadors into the *Indies* in quest of him, and to learn the Law he taught. These Envoys believed they had at last found him out, among the Worshipers of an Idol named *Fo* or *Foé*. They transported into *China* the Idol, and together with the Fables of which the *Indian Books* were full, their Superstitions, Metempsychosis, and in fine, Atheism. They reported that in this part of *In-*

dia which the *Chinese* call *Chun-tien-cho*, *Moyé* the King's Wife dream'd that she was swallowing an Elephant. When the time came that she was to be delivered, the Child tore her right Side, and no sooner had he come from the Womb of his Mother, than he stood up, made six steps, pointing with one hand to Heaven, and with the other to the Earth, and pronounced these Words: *There is none but I in Heaven or upon Earth who deserves to be honoured*: They gave him the Name of *Che-Kia*, or *Cha-Ka*. At the age of 19 Years he forsook his Wives, his Sons, and all his terrestrial Cares, retired into a solitary Life, and put himself under the Conduct of four Philosophers. At thirty Years he had a plenteous Infusion of the Divinity, and became *Fo*, or *Pagode*, as the *Indians* express themselves, and thought of nothing but propagating his Doctrine every where. His lying Miracles were surprizing to all, and procur'd him the Veneration of the whole Country, and a prodigious number of Disciples, who were his Instruments in infecting the East with his impious Tenets. The *Chinese* call these Disciples *Ho-Chang*; the *Tartars*, *Lamas*; the *Siamese*, *Talapoins*; and the *Japonesse*, *Bonzes*; for this Sect is diffused among all these People now mentioned.

In the mean time, *Fo* arriv'd at the age of 79 Years, conven'd some of his Disciples, and after having explain'd to them his Doctrine, died; and they vented a hundred Fables about this Death. As the *Metempsychosis* was the principal Article of this Doctrine, they gave it out that their Master was born eight thousand times, and that he had appeared in the World sometimes under the figure of an Ape, sometimes under that of a Dragon, then of an Elephant, &c. All this probably was to establish the Worship of this pretended Divinity, under the Symbol of these different Animals, which actually became Objects of the *Indian* Worship.

The *Chinese* having received this Idol, erected to him a world of Temples; and his Sect, tho' always outlaw'd by the Court of Rites, has made immense progress in the Country, under the direction of the *Bonzes*,
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the most despicable of all Mortals, the most superstitious, and the most ignorant.

In fine, to abridge what is to be found at very great length, in the beginning of Father *Du Halde's* third Volume of the History of *China*, the Doctrine of *Fo* is divided into external and internal. The first, full as it is of gross Superstitions, is taught by the greater number of the *Bonzes*. The second is reserv'd for the more Learned, and it consists in saying, that Vacuity is the Principle and the End of all things; that from nothing our first Parents derived their Original, and to nothing they returned after their Death; that Vacuity is what constitutes our Being and our Substance, and that it is from this Nothing, and from the mixture of the Elements, that all Productions came, and thither they afterwards return: In fine, that all Beings only differ from one another by their Figures and Qualities; and in this manner they pretend, their Master, when dying, explain'd his Doctrine, that is to say, his Atheism, to his favourite Disciples.

I shall say but little of the Theogonies of the other Nations; because they seem hardly digested into a System. For example, the *Brachmans* in the *East-Indies* have a Tradition of their God *Vichnou*, metamorphosed into a Tortoise; and by way of explication they tell us, that by the fall of a Mountain the World began to stagger, and to sink down gradually towards the Abyss, where it had perished, if their beneficent God had not transformed himself into a Tortoise to bear it up.

The *Chinese*, of whom we were now speaking, have adopted this Tradition, and they apply it, as Father *Kircher* remarks (1), to their flying Dragon, who, they say, sprung from a Tortoise, and became the Prop of the Universe that rests upon him. The *Troglodytes* had probably the same Fable among them, since they had a high Veneration for the Tortoise, and had an Abhorrence of their Neighbours the *Helinophagi*, so called, because they fed upon the Flesh of the Tortoise.

(1) *China Illust.* p. 187.

C H A P. VIII.

Theogony of the Indian Brachmans.

I Ought not to forget the Theogony of those *Indian* Priests we call *Bramins*, or *Brachmans* (a). They got this Name from *Brahma*, who, according to the *Indian* Doctrine, is the first of the three Beings whom God created, and by whose means he afterwards formed the World. This *Brahma*, say their *Brachmans*, composed and left to the *Indians* the four Books which they call *Beth*, or *Bed* (1), in which all the Sciences and all the Ceremonies of Religion are comprized; and that is the reason why the *Indians* represent this God with four Heads.

The word *Brahma*, in the *Indian* Language, signifies, *He who penetrates into all things*. The *Brachmans* make up the first and the most respected Tribe of the *Indians*, and are solely set apart for the Worship of their God, and the Ceremonies of Religion. A famous *Brachman*, named *Bebergir*, communicated to the *Mahometans*, whose Religion he embraced, the *Amberthkend*, which contains the Doctrines of the *Indians*.

Father *Kircher*, who has given a Print of the God *Brahma*, has enlarged a good deal upon the Mythology of the *Indians*, in relation to him (2). The Gods of the *Brachmans*, says this learned Jesuit, are *Brahma*, *Vesne* or *Vichnou*, and *Butzen*, and they are the Chiefs of all the other Gods, whose number amounts to thirty-three Millions; but all Mankind are sprung from *Brahma*, and this God has produced as many Worlds as there are Parts in his Body. The first of these Worlds, which is above the Heavens, sprung from his Brain; the second, from his Eyes; the third, from his Mouth; the fourth, from the left Ear; the fifth, from the Palate and from the Tongue; the sixth, from the Heart; the

(a) They are the same with those whom the *Greeks* called *Gymnosophists*. *Pythagoras* studied their Doctrine and Manners. They were the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Philosophers, who went naked in the Woods, abstaining from all the Pleasures of human Life.

(1) See *Hebr. Bibl. Or.* p. 212. (2) *China Illust.*

the seventh, from the Belly ; the eighth, from the parts which Modesty forbids to name ; the ninth, from the left Thigh ; the tenth, from the Knees ; the eleventh, from the Heel ; the twelfth, from the Toes of the right Foot ; the thirteenth, from the Sole of the left Foot ; and lastly, the fourteenth, from the Air which encompassed him at the time of these Productions. If the *Brachmans* be ask'd the reasons of a Theology so ridiculous, they answer, that the different Qualities of Men gave rise to it. The Wise and Learned are meant by the World sprung from *Brahma's* Brain ; the Gluttons come from his Belly ; and so of the rest. Hence these Priests are so curious in observing Physiognomy and personal Qualities, pretending thereby to divine, to what World every one belongs.

When once Men are delivered up to Superstition, there is no Opinion so wild but they may fall into it. These same *Brachmans* have imagined seven Seas: One of Water, one of Milk, one of Curds, a fourth of Butter, a fifth of Salt, a sixth of Sugar, and in fine, a seventh of Wine ; and each of these Seas has its particular Paradises, some of them for the Wiser and more Refin'd, and the rest for the Sensual and Voluptuous ; with this difference, that the first of these Paradises, which unites us intimately with the Divinity, has no need of any other sort of Delights ; whereas the rest are stored with all imaginable Pleasures.

It appears, from what I have been now saying, that the *Indians* follow the ancient Doctrine of the *Egyptians*, which the Author just quoted names Θεομορφωσις, or divine Transformation (1).

As for the other wild Notions of the *Indians* about the Formation of the World, which they believe to be a Work spun by a Spider, and which shall be destroyed when the Work returns into the Bowels of that Insect ; I here wave these, because they regard the Cosmogony, rather than the Theogony, which was chiefly intended in this Chapter.

C H A P. IX.

Theogony of the Americans.

WE are not to imagine that the Savages of *America*, a wandering and unsettled Race, ever apply'd themselves to form a System of Religion. There are however, Traditions to be found among some of them, which may form a kind of Theogony. In this manner, according to Father *Laffiteau* (1), the *Iroquois*, one of the most considerable of these savage Nations, account for the Origin of the World. In the beginning, say they, there were six Men, (the People of *Peru* and of *Brazil* agree upon the same number;) as yet there being no Earth, these Men were carried in the Air at the mercy of the Winds. Having no Women, they foresaw that their Species would soon come to an end; but having got notice there was one in heaven, they resolved that one of them, named the *Wolf*, should transport himself thither. The Enterprize was difficult and dangerous; but the Birds wafted him up thither upon their Wings. Being arrived there, he waited till this Woman came out, as her way was, to draw water. So soon as she appeared, he offered her some Present, and seduced her. The Lord of Heaven, knowing what had happen'd, banished the Woman, and a Tortoise received her upon its Back. The Otter and the Fishes drawing up Mud from the bottom of the Water, formed of the Body of the Tortoise a small Island, which grew greater and greater by degrees; and such, according to these Savages, is the Original of our Earth.

This Woman at first had two Sons, of whom the one, who was arm'd with offensive Weapons, slew his Brother who had none. She was afterwards deliver'd of several Children; from whom the rest of Mankind are sprung.

This Tradition, if it be exactly reported, is undoubtedly a Remnant of the primitive History of the World,

(1) *Mœurs des Sauvages*, Tom. 1. p. 43 of the Edition in 4to.

World, of *Eve* banish'd from the terrestrial Paradise, and of the murder of *Abel* by *Cain*. For in short, it is possible that these Savages, descended from the same Stock with the rest of Mankind, may have preserved a Tradition, which they might well alter, tho' they could not totally erase out of their Memory.

Altho' we had no knowledge of the Traditions of the other *American* Nations, it is highly probable that their Notions were mostly the same with those of the *Iroquois*, since the People of *Peru* and *Brasil* in *South-America*, agree with them as to the number of Men there were at the beginning, as we have said. But 'tis not only by their Theogony that the *Americans* have equal'd the *Greeks* and other Nations of our Continent, in the whimsical System they invented concerning their Original; they resemble them too pretty often in their Fables. Thus, for instance, their way of accounting for the Production of Rain, was, that a young Girl was in the Clouds, sporting with her little Brother, and he broke her Pitcher full of Water. Is there not here a great Similitude to those Fountain-Nymphs, and River-Gods, who poured forth Water from their Urns? They too were persuaded, like the *Greeks*, that there were Gods who inhabited the Rivers and other Collections of Water, since at one of their Festivals, the People of *Mexico* had a solemn Practice of drowning a young Boy, to be Company for these Gods. According to the Traditions of *Peru*, the *Inca Manco-Guina-Capac*, Son of the Sun, found a way by his Eloquence to make the Inhabitants of the Country quit their Retirements in the Woods, where they lived after the manner of the Beasts, and brought them to live under reasonable Laws. Just so did *Orpheus* with the *Greeks*, and he too passed for the Son of the Sun. It is remarkable that both these People, so remote the one from the other, should have agreed to fancy that such as had extraordinary Accomplishments were the Offspring of the Sun. If the *Greeks*, and, in imitation of them, our ancient *Gauls*, had a religious Veneration for Trees, and believed them to be the Abode of *Dryads* and *Hama-*
dryads,

dryads, the *Abenauis*, as Father *Lafficaux* reports (a), had a famous Tree, whereof they told several Wonders, and it was always loaded with Offerings ; nor did they doubt of its having something divine. We find they had likewise among them, consecrated Groves, much like all the rest of the Idolatrous World.

As for what relates to Sorceries, Conjurations, Diviners, Enchantments, these People of the new World resemble but too much those of the old. Their Belief was every where the same about the benevolent and malignant *Genii*, of whom the Universe was imagin'd to be full ; over whom presided, as Lord and Sovereign of the other Gods, the *Manitou* of the *Algonquins* Nations, the *Chemien* of the *Caraibes*, the *Okki* or the *Ares-Koui* of the *Hurons*. As for the Festivals and Mysteries, we shall find by reading the Author I just now quoted, that those of the *Americans* had a great affinity with the Orgies of the *Greeks*. As to the Immortality of the Soul, and its state after Death, the Savages thought much the same way as did the *Greeks*, even at the time when they were most civiliz'd. Did not the *Americans* believe that the Souls of the Wicked were condemned to dwell in certain Lakes, miry and loathsome, as the *Greeks* sent them to wander along the Banks of *Styx* and *Acheron* ? Was it not likewise their Opinion that the Souls of those, who had led a regular Life, had places of delightful Abode, which bore a considerable Resemblance to the *Elysian* Fields ? They have, like the old *Romans*, their Women hired to mourn at Funerals, and like them celebrate Feasts for the Dead ; and what is still more surprizing, they distinguish, like the *Greeks*, between the Soul and its Shade, or Phantom (1), and believe that while the Soul is in a happy Mansion, the Shade is hovering about the place of Interment.

The sacred Fire, preserved by almost every Nation of the World, as I shall shew in the Article of

(a) *Mœurs des Sauvages*, tom. 1. p. 149. As most of the Examples I make use of are taken from that Work, it may suffice to have cited it once for all. (1) See what is said upon this Head in the third Section of the sixth Book.

of *Vesta*, was also the Object of the superstitious Worship of the *Americans*. The Nations most adjoining to *Asia*, have Temples, where the sacred Fire is carefully preserved; and these Temples are mostly built in a round Form, as were those of *Vesta*. In *Louisiana*, the *Natches* have one of them, where a Guard watches continually for the preservation of the Fire, which is never suffered to go out. Every body knows how famous those Temples were under the Reign of the *Incas*; but what appear'd very surprizing, was those Companies of Virgins set apart for the Service of the Sun, whose Laws were even more severe than those of the *Roman Vestals*(1), and the Punishments, when they broke their Vows, precisely the same, since they were buried alive. They who had debauch'd them were punished with far more Rigour than at *Rome*, since the Punishment extended not only to the whole Family, but even to the Place where they were born; its whole Inhabitants were utterly extirpated, nor did they leave so much as one Stone in it upon another. The sacred Fire was equally revered in *Mexico*, and committed to the Care of Vestals, who led a very regular Life; and if the Savages of this vast Continent had not all of them Temples to maintain it there, the Halls of their Counsel, made much after the fashion of the *Prytanea* of the *Greeks*, were employ'd for this Use, chiefly among the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*.

The Idols, often monstrous, as in our own Continent, either charg'd with Symbols like those we call *Pantheas* (a), or sometimes even resembling those of *Priapus*, prove, that the People I am speaking of were nothing short of the old Inhabitants of our Country, in the extravagance of their Idolatry and Fables.. Would it have been consistent with the Corruption of the human Heart, not to place upon the Altars every thing that sooth'd Vice and Irregularity of Manners?

The Custom of sacrificing upon high Places, a Custom so ancient, and whereof the Prophets so often accuse

(1) Garcilasso, L. c. 1.

(a) See *Montfaucon's* Antiquity, Vol. I. Part 2. B. 4. Ch. 8.

cuse the idolatrous Nations, was likewise known among the *Americans*. To be convinc'd of this, we need only read the Relation of the *Sieur Rochefort* (1), in the place where he speaks of the Mountain *Olaïmi*, upon which the *Apalachites*, a People of *Florida*, offer Sacrifices yearly to the Sun, in a Cavern which serves for a Temple to this Divinity. Their veneration for Idols, which are nothing but either mis-shapen Stones, or sometimes of a conical figure, is a farther proof, that their Idolatry resembled that of the Ancients, who, before the Art of Sculpture, paid Honours to such like Stones, or simple Pillars, as we shall see elsewhere.

The Sacrifices of these Savages were at first very simple, as they were among the primitive Idolaters of our World; and this Simplicity still remains among some of their Nations, where they content themselves with offering up to the Gods the Fruits of the Earth, or with making Libations to them of Water; others hang up on Trees or Pillars, the Skins of the Beasts they have slain in Hunting: There are of them who throw into the Fire some Leaves of Tobacco in honour to the Sun, and into the Rivers and Streams to appease the *Genii* that preside over them. Those of the *Caribbee* Islands offer up the *Cassave* and the *Ouicou*, that is, their Bread and their Drink, to the Gods who are the Guardians of these Plants, as the *Greeks* and the other Nations offered their Sacrifices to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. What tho' the Names of those Gods are not the same in either Continent, the Ideas are still the same, and it is precisely the same kind of Idolatry.

But in *America*, as amongst ourselves, these ancient Manners not having always subsisted in that primitive Simplicity, which is the Characteristick of the first Ages in every Nation of the World; they whom we are speaking of, like the Pagans in our own Continent, carry'd Superstition to their Gods to the length of sacrificing to them human Victims. The Sacrifices of this sort were in use especially in *Mexico*; and tho' they were less known among the other Savages, yet there were
of

(1) Hist. Mer. des Isles Antilles.

of 'em however, who, at a certain Season of the Year, offer'd their Children to the Gods who watch'd over the Fruits of the Earth. The Relation of the *Sieur le Moyne*, informs us, that in that part of *Florida*, which is nigh to *Virginia*, the People of that Country, who look upon the Sun as the Father of their Chiefs, offer up to that Luminary, their great Divinity, their Children in Sacrifice; as the *Canaanites* sacrificed them to their *Moloch*, who was likewise the Sun; only with this difference, that the latter burn'd them in a Furnace which was contrived within their Idol, as I shall shew in speaking of that God, whereas the former knock'd them on the head in the midst of an Assembly of the People, and in presence of the Chief, who himself represented the God who was believ'd to be his Father.

The Sacrifices in the new World, as in the old, were accompany'd with Instruments, with Dances, and with all the marks of publick Rejoicing; but I won't carry this Parallel any farther, which would oblige me to copy the Work which I have cited, where the learned Author descends to a very particular Detail. What I have said is sufficient to shew, that the Mind of Man, left merely to its own Light, is carried out to nothing but Error and Delusion; and that, in spite of the Refinement of the best-regulated Nations, their Sentiments have been pretty much the same all the World over, where they wanted the knowledge of the true Religion.

In fine, there are few Countries, where much the same Fables have not been found: Every where Ideas of things not in Nature, an extraordinary Race of Men, who called themselves the Sons of Heaven, or of the Stars, or of the Rivers, &c. every where Cheats, who wanted to carry on Imposture, by the Story of a singular and extraordinary Birth. The *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, from whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* derived their Fables, are not the only People who have invented them: There are some that bear a Resemblance to theirs, to be found among Nations that can't be suspected of having learn'd 'em from them. *Kaisouven* boasted, that he was born of a River-God, the more easily

to delude the People of *Corea* by the dazzling Idea of this imaginary Birth. The *Coreans* must needs have attributed Divinity to the Rivers and Mountains, like the *Greeks* and *Romans*, since upon their becoming tributary to *China*, the Emperor confirmed their King in the Privilege he enjoy'd of sacrificing alone to the Mountains and Rivers.

The Origin of one Nation of the eastern *Tartars*, named *Kao-Kiuli*, of the Race of the *Fou-Ya*, bears a considerable Resemblance, in respect of the Fables with which it is intermix'd, to our Fictions in the western World; and the *Roman* History, notwithstanding its being so grave and serious, presents us with Notions near a kin to what I am going to relate of these People. The Prince of the *Kao-Kiuli* had in his Dominions a Daughter of the God *Hobang-Ho*, whom he kept shut up in a Prison. One day as she was struck with the Reflection of the Sun-beams, she conceiv'd; and she brought forth an Egg, which they broke, and in it they found a Male-Child. When he was grown up, they gave him the Name of *Tchu-Mong*, which imports a good Pilot. The King of the Country, who took a liking to him, on a day carried him out to hunt, and seeing his Address, became jealous of him; which *Tchu-Mong* perceiving, fled from him; and being ready to fall into the hands of those who pursued him, at the passage of a River, he address'd his prayer to the Sun his Father: Then the Fishes of the River rising up to the Surface of the Water, supply'd him with a Bridge, on which he cross'd over. What is there in this more extravagant, than in the Fables of *Perseus's* Birth, and that of *Leda's* Children (a)?

If we know Nations that sacrificed their Children to their false Deities, and if the *Greeks* offer'd up *Iphigenia* to procure a favourable Wind, are we not told by F. Halde of most ancient Histories, where we may read of Islanders in the eastern Sea, who, during the seventh Moon of every Year, use solemnly to drown a young Virgin?

If

(a) See the 4th Vol. of F. Halde's History of China, p. 343.

If the *Romans* fabled that their *Janus* had two, nay four Faces, as is to be seen upon ancient Monuments, have not the *Indians* their Idol *Menipus*, who has many Heads of different shapes? Does it not pass current among the same *Indians*, that there is a Country where Men have two Visages, that withal they are extremely wild and untractable, that they speak no Language, and suffer themselves to die for Hunger when they are taken: They add, that they had taken one of them clad in Linen, who rose out of the Sea; a Story not much unlike to that of *Oannes*, which we have mentioned above.

If the *Egyptians*, and after them *Pythagoras*, taught the *Metempsychosis*, is not the same Doctrine spread over all the *Indies*, and is it not the Foundation of the Idolatry of *Foé*? Which is so far true, that the great *Lama*, who calls himself a living *Fo*, gives it out, that he has been born several times, and that he shall be born again; insomuch that when he dies, they make diligent Search for the Child whose figure he reassumes, that they may substitute him in his room: And tho' it is easy to see, that this is a Child he has artfully provided to succeed him, the Mystery whereof is well known to the other *Lamas* his Confidants, yet this Farce has been acted for several Ages, without being in the least suspected by the People.

We remark'd, when we were upon the Origin of the Fables, that Numbers of them had been introduced by means of a gross kind of Philosophy. Perhaps there never was one in *Greece* of so extraordinary a nature as was that of the *Chinese* Philosophers, with relation to the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. A Princess, said they, had an hundred Children; fifty of them dwelt along the Sea-shore, and the other fifty in the Mountains: Hence came two great Nations, who are often at war together; when the Inhabitants of the Shores get the better of those in the Mountains, and put them to flight, the Sea flows; when they are repuls'd by them, and fly from the Mountains towards the Shores, it ebbs. This manner of Philosophizing,

148 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES . Book II.
says M. Fontenelle, from whom I have borrow'd this
Passage, is not unlike the Metamorphoses of Ovid. So
true it is, that the same Ignorance has produced the
same effects in every Nation.

Such are the Cosmogonies and Theogonies of the
most ancient Nations. Others, whose Religion and
Fables are consider'd in the Sequel of this Work, tho'
 sunk in an Abyss of the grossest Idolatry, yet had
not a Genius philosophical enough to form any Concep-
tions about the Formation of the World, or the Ori-
gin of the Gods, whom they contented themselves to
worship according to the Tradition of their Country.

C H A P. X.

*Of the Pagan Theology, and that of the Poets in
particular.*

HAVING represented the different Theogonies of the
Ancients, that is, the Theology peculiar to eve-
ry Nation; it may be of use to shew more particularly
the general Theology of the Pagan World, especially
that of the *Greeks* and of their Poets. My design is
not to lay open all its Abominations: This method
would now be useless. The primitive Fathers of the
Church, and the Defenders of the Christian Religion, as
they found themselves necessarily engaged in that Task,
in order to sap the Foundations of Paganism, which was
the predominant Religion of their times, so they ac-
quitted themselves in it with so much Learning and
Strength of Argument, that they at last obliged the
most knowing Philosophers, to explain by Allegories,
oftentimes ingenious, a System, the bare Representation
whereof was shocking. To this Dilemma they were
reduced by *Justin*, *Arnobius*, *Athenagoras*, *Lactantius*,
Clemens Alexandrinus, *Minutius Felix*, but above all by
Tertullian in his *Apologeticks*, one of the most excellent
Performances Antiquity has left us, and by *S. Augustin*
in his Book of the City of God, a Work which, ab-
stracting from the other views of the Author, may be
consider'd as a Treasure of profane Literature.

To

To speak accurately, the Philosophers did not wait for the time of those great Men I have been naming, to perceive the Absurdity of their Theology. Allegory had been introduced to help out the monstrous Fables that were intermix'd with Religion, upwards of 400 Years before the Christian Æra. *Plato* had brought it in fashion, and his Disciples improv'd it: Nay *Pythagoras*, long before *Plato's* days, had represented the establish'd Religion of his time in such a light, as made its Absurdity partly to disappear. But my meaning was, that this way of allegorizing was never more in vogue than in the time of *Jamblichus* and *Porphry*, who lived both of them in the first Ages of Christianity. I shall examine, in the Reflections which I shall make upon Idolatry, the little Success which attended the allegorical manner of explaining the Fables and Mysteries of Religion; and I shall shew, that notwithstanding the Subtilties of the Philosophers who used it, that same Religion, and the Fables upon which it was founded, still continued, even to the entire destruction of Paganism. We now come to the Subject.

Varro distinguished Theology into three Parts, the fabulous, μυθική, the natural, φυσική, and the political, πολιτική, which *S. Augustine* renders, *fabularis, naturalis vel philosophica, civilis*: The first was the Theology of the Poets; the second that of the Philosophers; and the third that of the Ministers of Religion. *Varro* endeavour'd to promote this Distinction, whereof *Q. Scævola* the High-Priest is thought to have been the Founder, the same who was slain by one of those Assassins employ'd by *Marius*.

The Theology of the Poets was rejected by the wiser Pagans. *Varro*, as we have it from *S. Augustine* (1), acknowledg'd that it imputed to their Gods Actions, which one would have blush'd to ascribe to the vilest of Men: *Denique, in hac omnia Diis attribuuntur, quæ non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemptissimum hominem cadere non possunt*. *Varro* did not condemn the second kind of Theology, that of the Philosophers; but he was of opinion, it ought to be confined

(1) De civ. Dei.

to the Schools, because it reason'd with freedom upon the Nature of the Gods, which, according to him, had a dangerous Tendency.

The third kind of Theology made up the System of Religion, and was the Foundation of the Worship paid to the Gods; and if it was not the most esteemed by the abler Judges, it was at least the most venerable, and the only one that was follow'd in practice. The poetical Theology therefore was exploded, as we have seen; but yet it has found Partisans in these last Ages. Several modern Authors, charm'd with the fine Strokes that occur in the Works of the Poets, concerning the most sublime Truths, have spoke of them in such high Strains of Encomium, that it would seem they consider them as most excellent Divines. Father *Thomasin*, Priest of the Oratory, has been at great pains to collect (1) whatever they have said upon Divinity and upon Morality, and he thinks he has discover'd in them several Passages conformable to Holy Writ, and to the Light of Nature. The Author of the Book, entitled, *Homer Hebraizing*, has not contented himself with considering the Poets as great Divines; he has undertaken to prove, that *Homer*, in both his Poems, had in several places copied *Moses* and the Prophets. A celebrated *English* Author (2), after he has cry'd up the Theology of the Poets, that of *Orpheus* especially, recites the finest of their Sentiments upon the Divinity. In fine, a modern Author, whose Works have occasioned his being more than once disgraced, has gone farther than any I have yet named, since in his Remarks upon *Virgil*, he makes no scruple of preferring that Poet to most of our Divines; alledging that, with respect to Providence and the Deity, his Sentiments are most orthodox. He has even had the presumption to compare the Conduct of *Jupiter* with relation to *Æneas*, to that of God with respect to *David*.

For any thing we can learn from these Authors, almost all the most essential Truths are to be found in the Works of the Poets. Piety, and the Worship of the true

(1) Lect. des Poet.

(2) Cudw. Intel. Syst.

true God, are there taught in a sublime manner, tho' veil'd under sensible Images. Thus, to single out some of these Truths, the Unity of a God, his Omnipotence, his infinite Goodness, his Immensity, his Eternity. The Council of the Gods, which *Homer* speaks of, where *Jupiter* always presides, is, according to them, an Imitation of those mysterious Councils, which God, in the Book of *Job*, holds with the Angels. When they tell us, that all Goods and Evils came from the hand of God, by the ministration of subaltern Deities, this is a Copy of what the Scripture says of the Angels, who are his Ministers. When they give *Jupiter* such a peculiar Pre-eminence, it is evident, that under this Name they understood the true God, and not *Jupiter* the Son of *Saturn*, and King of *Crete*. In fine, when *Aratus* says, all is full of God, the Earth, the Sea, the Fields, and Man himself, or, as *S. Paul* expresses himself, in the precise Words of this Poet, *Sumus genus Dei, in ipso vivimus, movemur, & sumus* (1), is it not evident, that he must needs be speaking of the Immensity of God?

To these speculative Truths, the Authors I mention join others which are practical; and think the Poets have settled, not only what Duties we owe to God, but those of Men to one another, as well as the other purely moral Precepts. Their infernal Regions, and their *Elysian* Fields, are proper Restraints from Lust, and Incentives to the practice of Virtue. Those Judges, who examine with so much Severity the Actions of Men; and the Furies, who chastise the Guilty with such rigour; could all this have been contriv'd without a deep Insight into Morality? In fine, to represent the Sentiment of these Authors in a few Words, it suffices to say, that upon all occasions they rack their Invention to draw parallels between the Truths they find in the Poets, and those in the sacred Writings.

I own, for my part, the reading of the Poets has given me a quite other Idea of their Theology. 'Tis true, they sometimes speak of the Divinity in a sublime manner, but they are by no means consistent with them-

(1) Acts xvii. 28.

selves upon this Subject; and after they have given their Gods the magnificent Epithets of Immortal, Omnipotent, &c. they represent them with Imperfections, which, as has been said, belong only to the worst and most corrupt of Men. Insomuch that I am astonish'd, how learned Men can so highly extol their Theology, while *Plato*, for this same Theology, which to him appear'd so monstrous, banish'd them from his Commonwealth. *Cicero* had not such favourable Thoughts of the Poets as the Authors I am speaking of; on the contrary, he censures them for setting before us the Debaucheries of the Gods, their Quarrels, their Battels, their Dissensions. *Nec multo absurdiora sunt ea quæ poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt, qui & ira inflammatos, & libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, feceruntque ut eorum bella, pugnas, prælia, vulnera videremus, odia præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, &c.* (1). This Author says elsewhere, that these same Poets had describ'd the Debaucheries of the Gods, their Adulteries, &c.

It is true, that they stile those fabulous Gods of theirs Immortal, but at the same time there is not one of 'em or whose Genealogy they have not inform'd us; they name their Fathers, their Mothers, the place of their Birth, and all the Circumstances of their Life from their Infancy. 'Tis from them we learn that *Jupiter*, the greatest of Gods, was the Son of *Saturn*, and that *Saturn* was the Son of *Uranus*; and so of the rest. Sometimes they speak of their Sepulchres too. In *Homæ*, the greatest of their Poets, we see the Gods squabbling together, falling foul of one another, wounded by Mortals, pouring forth shrieks and lamentations at seeing their Blood shed: They are every now and then giving gross abusive Language; *Jupiter* and *Juno* are there represented eternally at odds, a thing scandalous between Husband and Wife. *Euripides*, willing to excuse *Phædra*, who had conceived a violent Passion for the Son of her Husband, throws the blame upon *Venus*, who wanted to revenge upon *Hippolytus* the

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(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

Contempt he had thrown upon her Worship and Votaries. Another Tradition which *Racine* has followed (1), no less dishonourable for *Venus*, intimated that she was thus taking her revenge upon the Sun, *Phædra's* great Grand-father, for having discover'd her Intrigue with the God *Mars*; and it is from the same motive of resentment, that this Goddess had inspired *Pasiphaë* *Phædra's* Mother with that infamous Passion which made so much noise.

In the same Play, *Euripides* brings in *Diana*; and this Goddess, to comfort *Hippolytus* in his dying moments, tells him that she could not indeed reverse the order of Destiny, but to give him revenge, she would kill one of *Venus's* Gallants with her own hand. These then are their powerful Gods, subjected to Fate, and not being able to accomplish all the Mischief they would, perpetrate that which they can. What thoughts can one have of a Theology, whose end being to exalt Man to the Gods, has depress'd these same Gods, I say, not only to the Condition of Men, but even to their greatest Frailties?

Can any thing be conceived more fantastical, than the Idea which the Poets give of their Gods? What shall we say of that mixture of Power and Weakness, of Eternity and Death, of Happiness and Misery, of Tranquillity and Disturbance? What shall we think of the Railleries which *Aristophanes* throws out against the Gods in some of his Comedies, and of the Blasphemies which *Æschylus* pours forth against them in his *Prometheus*?

But, 'tis said, the Poets speak often of the Providence of the Gods, and of the Care they exercise over Men. What Providence! Let us single out one of the Subjects of Fable where it is most conspicuous, a Subject described by the greatest Poets with peculiar Care; I mean the War of *Troy*. This War destroy'd multitudes of People, and ruin'd a flourishing Kingdom; it was attended with Miseries without number, with Seditions, Broils, and all the other

Com-

(1) Tragedy of *Phædra*.

Companions of sweeping Desolation. All the Gods took part in it; Heaven was divided into two Factions: There was no Plot, no Stratagem, nor sly Artifice, but every one of the Gods put in practice. To be sure they can't be accused of being idle during the Course of this War; their Providence was sufficiently employ'd. *Homer* describes all their Motions in the fullest manner; the other Poets have follow'd his Example. Here then is a proper point of view, whence we may clearly discern their theological Sentiments about Providence: Let us see then what was the Motive of this War; let us trace it back to its Source.

Was the chastising an impious Nation the thing in question; was it to avenge oppress'd Innocence, or the Indignities offer'd to the Gods themselves; or to give the World a signal Example of Justice and Equity? Nothing like it; But to glut the Resentment of a Goddess, for the Slight put upon her Beauty, was all the Affair.

At the Marriage of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, *Discord* throws in an Apple for the fairest of the Company. The Gods not daring to make themselves Umpires in the Difference that arises upon this Occasion between three Goddesses, send them to *Phrygia*, to get the Decision of a young Shepherd who was renown'd for Equity. The Shepherd, whom each of the three Goddesses would fain corrupt by magnificent Promises, decides in favour of *Venus*; she was actually the greatest Beauty, so that nothing could be said against this Sentence: Yet here was enough to exasperate the other two. *Juno*, the wife *Juno*, from that moment resolves upon the destruction, not of *Paris* only, tho' even that had been a very unjust piece of Revenge, but of the whole Empire of *Priam* his Father, and of all *Phrygia*. The Rape of *Helen*, who had been betrothed to *Paris*, became the Signal of a bloody War: All *Greece* rises in Arms, while *Juno* leaves no Stone unturn'd to engage all the Powers above in her Interest; she makes use of a thousand Stratagems to bring over the other Gods, and gives them the most insinuating Promises; she runs
over

over all the Cities of Greece to animate them to the War. The City Troy is besieged, and for a Course of ten Years the Queen of the Gods plays the Game of a Woman quite frantick, and tries to lay her Husband asleep, that he may not see the Overthrow of the *Trojans*, and so forth. *Minerva* has the contrivance of the wooden Horse: *Juno* appears in Arms, and herself throws open the Gates of the City, rousing the *Greeks*, too cool for her Vengeance:

—————*Hic Juno Scæas sævissima portas*
Prima tenet, sociumque furens a navibus agmen
Ferro accincta vocat (1).

While *Neptune* her Ally beats down the Walls with his Trident. The *Greeks* enter the Town, a thousand Disorders are there committed, which 'tis not necessary to describe: But we must not forget, that *Virgil* is at great pains to let us see, they are to be attributed to the Wrath and Revenge of the Gods:

-----*Verum inclementia divûm*
Has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Trojam (2).

Troy then is reduc'd to ashes; *Paris*, *Priam* and his other Children massacred or made Slaves: Thus it was full time for the Wrath of *Juno* to be appeased.

But, with the Poets, a Goddess, whose Beauty has been injured, is not so easily attoned. They represent her pursuing the Remains of the fugitive *Trojans* with implacable rage; she will needs cut them off from that retreat in *Italy*, which was promis'd them by the Fates.

Troas reliquias Danaum-----arcebat longè
Latio, &c (3).

Here she meanly supplicates *Æolus*, a subaltern Divinity, to move him to raise a Storm, contrary to the orders of *Neptune*, who had changed sides, and whose Providence was then interested for the *Trojans*. Sometimes she endeavours to detain *Æneas* in *Africk* by the Charms of Pleasure: There she makes *Iris* appear under the figure of *Beroë*, to oblige the *Trojan* Matrons to burn their Fleet. No sooner has *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, than she dispatches the Furies to *Turnus* and *Amata*,

(1) *Æne.* L. 2. v. 612.

(2) *Ibid.* v. 602.

(3) *Id.* *ibid.*

mata, to excite them to expel him their Country, and kindles a bloody War; and not being able absolutely to hinder the execution of the orders of Destiny, she strives at least to retard it by all sorts of means. As the decree of Destiny intimated, that *Lavinia* was to be married to the *Trojan* Hero, she will needs cause him to pay her Dowry in the Blood of an infinite number of his own Countrymen.

Non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis;

At trahere, atque moras tantis licet addere rebus:

At licet amborum populos exscindere regum.

Hac gener atque socer cœant mercede suorum.

Sanguine Trojano & Rutulo dotabere, virgo (1).

Every body knows what this Goddess did to support *Turnus's* Party, and all the game *Virgil* makes her play in the course of this War. In fine, finding Destiny too powerful for her, as the last effort of her vengeance, she tries if *Jupiter* will grant, that the *Latins* shall not assume the name of the *Trojans* their Conquerors, that *Troy* and its memory might the more easily be abolish'd.

Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,

Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucrosque vocari.

Occidit, occideritque suas cum nomine Troja (2).

Is it possible to conceive a more compleat Revenge? Was ever Resentment carry'd farther? or was it ever rais'd on a more frivolous foundation?

————— *Manet altâ mente repositum*

Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuria formæ.

————— *Et rapti Ganymedis honores (3).*

Cry up after this the Theology of the Poets, as to the Providence of their Gods, and the Care which they take of the most notable Events, These, according to them, are the motives whence they act. Alas! what could they teach more impious? What a fine Pattern of Resentment and Revenge were they able to give, especially to the Ladies, who idolize their Beauty?

Were I at liberty to run over the other Examples, of which the Poets are full, we should see that the spring of

(1) *Æne. L. 7. v. 313.* (2) *Ib. L. 12. v. 823.* (3) *Ib. L. 1. v. 30.*

of all the Actions of the Gods is either Revenge, Love, or some other Passion: That the true motive of *Jupiter's* Travels up and down the Earth, was nothing else but to debauch some Mistress; that while the reparation of the Disasters done by the Deluge, or by the Conflagration of *Phaeton*, were made the pretext, *Calisto* and *Europa* were the real occasions of his pilgrimages: That if *Diana* sends a Boar to lay waste the *Calydonian* Plains, it is owing to *Oeneus's* having neglected her in a sacrifice;

-----*Oeneos spreta per agros*

Misit aprum (1).

In fine, that *Venus* for the same reason turn'd the Daughters of *Tyndarus* into madness (2). If *Niobe's* fourteen Children are kill'd before her eyes by invisible darts, it is for her having presumed to compare herself to *Latona*. If *Cadmus* sees his House fill'd with Disorder and Blood-shed, *Aëteon* his Grand-son devoured by his Dogs, *Pentheus* torn in pieces by the *Bacchanals*, and himself transform'd to a Serpent, the reason is, that he had a Sister and a Daughter, whose Beauty had charm'd *Jupiter*, and excited the Jealousy of *Juno*. *Ino* for having nursed *Bacchus*, is turn'd to Madness, with her Husband *Athamas*; the latter dashes his own Son against a Rock, and this unfortunate Queen of *Thebes* throws herself headlong into the Sea with *Melicertes*. If *Andromeda* sees herself exposed to the Fury of a Sea-monster, it is because her Mother had compared her Beauty to that of the *Nereids* (3). *Venus*, to be avenged of *Diomedes*, who had wounded her at the Siege of *Troy*, made his Wife become a Prostitute.

However much recourse may be had to Allegory, yet what can we think, when we see *Cybele* the great Mother of the Gods, *Læta Deum partu, centum complexa nepotes*, running after the youthful *Atys*, making so many advances to captivate his Heart, and punishing him so severely for his Indifference?

Such,

(1) *Ov. Met. l. 8. v. 281.*
Oréf.

(3) *Met. l. 4.*

(2) *Stesich. apud Schol. Eurip. in*

Such, according to the Poets, are the motives of Revenge in the Gods, and for the most part, it is not upon the Guilty they inflict such dreadful Punishments; or if that is sometimes the case, it is not in order to reclaim them, but to render them more criminal. *Clio* upbraids *Venus* for being so excessively fond of *Adonis*; instead of improving so wholesome an Admonition, the Goddess resents it by wounding her with Love to a young Man, by whom she had *Hyacinth*. *Cyanippus* forgets *Bacchus* in a Sacrifice, he makes him drunk, in consequence of which, he commits an Incest. The Daughters of *Prætus* prefer their Beauty to that of *Juno*; the Goddess turns them frantic, and makes them become Prostitutes. One of the Daughters of *Danaus* having gone to draw Water for a Sacrifice, was attack'd by a Satyr, who offer'd violence to her; she invoc'd *Neptune* to her assistance; who having rescued her from the Attacks of the Satyr, made the same assault upon her which she had just now declin'd: Miserable Relief!

This now is what the Poets teach us, in relation to the Providence of their Gods, and their cruel Resentments: A Providence, anxious and disturb'd; Resentments dreadful for exceeding slight Provocations: Chastisements, not for the punishment of Vice and the support of Virtue, which would be good Divinity; but inflicted intentionally, to avenge some personal Affront; not upon the Guilty, but upon the Innocent; or if the Guilty too are involved therein, 'tis only to make them more wicked and abandoned. You won't see those Gods forward to chastise Impiety or Injustice; they vent their spight upon none but those who forget them in Sacrifice, or who compare their Hair or Complexion to that of some Goddess: Like those petty Lords, who have very little concern that their Vassals be profligate and licentious, so they do but forbear hunting upon their Grounds, and give presents from time to time to their Wives. Was any thing more apt to excite Ambition and the most unjust Designs, than the History of *Saturn*, who had used his Father

ther *Uranus* so ill, and that of *Jupiter* who had treated his in like manner, and dethron'd him?

This would be the proper Place to explain the Theology of the Poets, with respect to the Morals of their Gods; but I should be afraid of putting the Reader to the blush, by reciting their infamous Characters. What sort of God is that *Jupiter* of theirs! No Chastity on earth was proof against his Assaults; no beastly Figure he had not assum'd to insnare sometimes virtuous Princesses, sometimes innocent Shepherdesses. All the other Gods were stain'd with the like Crimes. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and the other Fathers, bring a thousand Stories of those Gods, from the Writings of the Poets, which are shocking to Modesty (a). No Crime, Disorder, or Lewdness they were not guilty of; and the Poets, those pretended sublime Divines, are they who have been at most pains to perpetuate their Memory. *Homer*, and after him *Ovid*, tell us how the Sun surprized *Mars* and *Venus* in Adultery; the last subjoins very loose Reflections. In a word, all the Metamorphoses he speaks of, are rather Monuments of the Imperfection of the Gods, and of their Debaucheries, than of their Providence and Power. These Considerations should be a seasonable Warning to every reasonable Person to be upon his guard against that Value, which so many People have for the Divinity of the Poets; and shew those who want to defend them, that, excepting a few vague Expressions that have dropped from them about the immortal Essence of their Gods, their Vigilance, that universal Spirit which animates all things, a strain to which they by no means keep up in the rest of their Works, their whole System consists in representing to us Gods inconstant and self-interested in their Providence, turbulent and outrageous in their Resentment, debauched and infamous in their moral Character.

After all these Preliminaries, which I thought proper to handle at some length, 'tis time to enter upon the History of Idolatry, the Origin and Progress whereof, I am now to examine.

BOOK

(a) They made this use of them, to confound the Partisans of Idolatry.



B O O K III.

Which treats of Idolatry.

A Preliminary Remark.

THO', properly speaking, this whole Mythology, at least what makes up the first Volumes, respects Idolatry, since therein we speak of nothing but the Gods and their Worship; yet I thought proper in this Book, to trace its Origin and Progress; to examine what the first Gods of the Pagan World were; to name the most of them, to divide them into different Classes, and speak of their Nature and the Ranks they held in the Theology of the several Nations by whom they were worshipped; for they were far from being all upon a level, and from having Functions ascribed to them of equal dignity. In fine, to comprehend in it whatever relates to Idolatry in general, Temples, Altars, Victims, Sacrifices, Festivals, Supplications, Priests, Instruments of Sacrifice, Vows, Oracles, &c. reserving the particular History of the Gods, and of the Worship paid them, for the following Books.

Before we enter upon the Subject, it is necessary to give the true Notion of the words Idolatry and Idols. Idolatry is a *Greek Word*, compounded of two others, signifying *Worship* and *Representation*, whether by way of Statue, or any other manner. The term εἰδωλον, as *Tertullian* has well observ'd (1), is a Diminutive from εἶδος, which imports *Image*: *Ad hoc necessaria est vocabuli interpretatio, εἶδος Græce formam sonat; ab eo per diminutionem εἰδωλον deductum, atque apud nos formulam*

(1) Lib. de Idol. c. 3.

mulam fecit ; igitur omnis formula, vel forma, Idolum se dici ex poscit. The learned Dr. *Rainold* however (1), won't agree to this Etymology, and maintains that the word *Εἶδωλον*, is not a Diminutive from *εἶδος*, but signifies Forms and Figures of all sorts, even the greatest ; and in this, every body will be of his mind : but he has not taken notice that the word *εἶδος* signifies the essential, internal, and true Form of a thing ; whereas that of *Idol* denotes the external Form or Representation of the thing, be it small or great. In a word, the Form and real Extension of the human Body, consisting in the Assemblage of its Flesh, Bones, and Skin, is called *εἶδος* ; but the Representation of that same Body, whether painted, or in *Relievo*, was called *εἶδωλον*, *small Form*, false and merely apparent Form.

Some of the Learned derive the Etymology of the name *Idol* from two *Greek* Words, the one of them signifying *Image*, the other *Anguish*, conformably to the *Hebrew* word *Hatsabbim*, which imports the same thing ; thereby giving us to understand, that *Idols* are the Source of Anguish and Chastisements, wherewith God punished such as revolted from himself to their Worship.

This being laid down, by the word *Idolatry* we are to understand the Worship, which was paid to the Statues and other Representations of the Gods ; and by that of *Idols*, whatever represented them.

C H A P. I.

Of the Origin and Progress of Idolatry.

SOME perhaps may be persuaded, that what I have said of the Theogony of the several Nations, might suffice for our understanding the Origin of Idolatry ; and to be sure it is included therein. But there are so many other things to be said upon the Subject, that I judged it required to be treated separately.

S. *Epiphanius* distinguishes the ancient Religions into four (2). *Barbarism*, which continued from *Adam* to *Noah* ;

(1) *Traët. de Idol.*

(2) *Adv. Har. V. 1 1.*

Noab ; *Scy:bism*, from *Noab* to *Serug* ; *Hellenism* ; and *Judaism*, which commenc'd under *Abraham*. Other Authors divide the Religions of those early Times, only into *Sabism* and *Hellenism* : *Epiphanius*'s Division is juster, and is favoured by the History of the World ; and indeed, from *Adam* to *Noab*, all is quite dark, except what Accounts of that Period we have from *Moses* ; thus *Epiphanius* might well call that time, *Barbarism*. The *Scythian* Nations had a peculiar Religion, distinct from that of the *Greeks* and others ; besides, the Dispersion of those People is very ancient. There is reason therefore for placing their Religion before *Hellenism*, since a part of the *Greeks*, and their Religion came from *Phenicia* : *Hellenism* too is justly put before *Judaism*, since that holy Religion which had *Abraham* for its Father and Founder, is the Reformation of the rest, and the strongest Bulwark against Idolatry, which overspread the Earth in the time of this holy Patriarch.

Epiphanius's Division has not however been received by all the Learned. F. *Petavius* says, it has not any Foundation ; and the truth is, it is imperfect, since it takes no notice of *Sabism*, the Religion of the old *Persians*, who worshipped the Fire, as we may see in the learned Performance of Dr. *Thomas Hyde* (1), and in *Owen* (2) ; nor does it include the whole of *Egyptianism*, which the Scripture speaks of.

Whether Idolatry took its rise before the Deluge.

At the beginning, Men knew and serv'd only one God, the Creator, Omnipotent, Eternal. *Adam*, immediately come out of the hands of God, preserved the purest Idea of him in his own Family, and there need be no doubt of its having continued in the Branch of *Seth* until the Deluge. God had given our first Parents too many Manifestations of himself, for them to be unacquainted with him. He thought it not enough to draw his Image on the Works of Nature, and to enlighten their Mind by the Illumination of his Grace ; he conversed with them, and instructed them either immediately, or by the Mediation of his Angels ; thus they had

(1) De Relig. vet. Pers.

(2) De Ortu & Progr. Idol. p. 193.

had the clearest and soundest Idea of the supreme Being, which it is possible for Man to have; and consequently the Worship they paid to God, and which he himself had prescribed, was pure and undefiled. We can't have the same thoughts of *Cain's* Family: His Posterity not only fell into Idolatry, but into all the other Crimes which brought on the Deluge; whereof, to be sure, Idolatry, which the Scripture frequently terms either Fornication or Adultery, was one of the principal Causes. The Sons of Men, that is, according to Interpreters, the Offspring of *Cain*, were abandoned to the most infamous Passions; the pure Idea of an all-perfect Being begun insensibly to wear out, and among carnal Men it became connected with Sense: Thus they very soon affixed it to sensible Objects; and that which appeared most beneficial and perfect to their eyes, was worshipped as their greatest God.

The learned *Maimonides*, in his Treatise upon the Origin of Idolatry, which is translated into *Latin* in a Piece of *Assius* upon the same Subject, thus expresses himself. “The first Origin of Idolatry must be referred to the time of *Enos*, when Men began to study the Motion of the Stars and of the heavenly Bodies, and reckon'd them created by God to govern the World. They imagined God had set them in the Heavens to make them partake of his own Glory, and serve him as Ministers; whence they concluded, it was their Duty to give them Honour. Upon this Foundation they began to build Temples to the Stars, to offer Sacrifices to them, and to prostrate themselves before them, in order to obtain Favours from him who had created them, and this was the first Origin of Idolatry. Not as if they believed there was no other God besides the Stars; but they were persuaded, that in adoring them, they fulfilled the Will of the Creator. In time, certain false Prophets arose, pretending to be sent from God, and that they had Revelations for appointing such and such a Star to be worshipped, nay, for appointing Sacrifices to be offered to the whole Host of Heaven; and they made Figures of

M 2

“ them,

“ them, which they exposed to be publickly worshipped.
 “ Thereupon they began to set up their Representa-
 “ tions in Temples, under Trees, and upon the tops
 “ of Mountains. They flock’d together for their Ado-
 “ ration, and the Prosperity they enjoy’d was attributed
 “ to the Worship they paid to them. Hence it came a-
 “ bout, concludes *Maimonides*, that the Name of God
 “ was intirely banished from the Mouths and Hearts of
 “ Men.”

Tertullian, not to mention others, who likewise be-
 lieved Idolatry had commenced before the Deluge (1),
 supported his Opinion by the Book of *Enoch*; but we
 have made it appear that this Piece, tho’ of very great
 Antiquity, carried all the Marks of an Apocryphal
 Book.

This is likewise the Sentiment of the Generality of
 the most learned Rabbins (2); they found it upon a Pas-
 sage in *Genesis* (3), where it is said of *Enos*, *Iste cepit*
invocare nomen Domini; which is thus expressed in an-
 other Version: *Tunc profanatum est in invocando nomine*
Domini; and this Difference arises from the word *cha-*
lal, which equally imports, to begin, and to profane.
 The Idea we have of the ancient Giants from the sacred
 Books, as well as from profane Authors, where they
 are represented as Men of an unbounded Insolence, and
 infinitely corrupt, is a good Confirmation of the Opi-
 nion of these Rabbi’s. The Enterprize of these pre-
 sumptuous Men against Heaven, does it not intimate
 their Intention to dispute his Sovereignty? But we are
 not to dwell longer upon the Period which preceded
 the Deluge; a Period, about which *Moses* has said
 little, and from what he says of it, we can draw no
 Conclusion with respect to Idolatry. For in short, the
 Passage they solely rely upon, is very hard to be un-
 derstood, and would require the discussing of some
 Questions that would lead me too far from my Subject.
 You may consult the learned Dissertation of Father
Souciety, and the Reflections of M. *Fourmont*, who, altho’
 he

(1) De Idol. c. 3.

(2) See *Maimon. de Idolo. R. Jarsy, &c.*

(3) C 4. v. ult.

he agrees that nothing can be concluded from it for Idolatry before the Deluge, believes nevertheless, that it was introduced in that Period, and he assigns five Causes of it, which equally subsisted after *Noah*. *Admiration*; hence the Worship of the Stars, especially of the Sun and Moon, Objects so striking, so useful, and consequently so proper to attract the Worship of Men. *Natural Affection*; a Mother has an only Son whom she doats upon, of him she is bereaved, causes a Statue to be erected to him, and this Image becomes the tutelar Deity of the Family; as we see in the Book of *Wisdom*. This Example recorded in Scripture is not the only one which might be quoted. *Fear*; all the world knows that ancient Verse,

Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor;

and none was ever better acquainted with this human Weakness, than our Missionaries to *America*, who were told upon all occasions, if God be good, he has no need of our Service. 'Tis the Demons alone, or the mischievous *Genii* we ought to worship, to keep them from doing us harm. From the same Source, no doubt, came the Gods among the *Romans*, called *Averrunci*, that is, the Averters of Evil; hence too the Goddess *Angerona*; the Fever, the deify'd Diseases, and Fear it self, which became one of their Divinities. *Hope*; to this it is we owe the Origin of the salutary Gods, such as *Apollo*, *Esculapius*, and the rest, on whose Aid they founded their Hope of being cured. Lastly, *Flattery*; and it is needless to quote examples of the Gods who owe their Original to this.

To these five Causes, a sixth may be added, the Corruption of the Heart: A corrupt Heart adores its own Defects and Excesses; its Crimes are its first Divinities.

A modern Author, from a persuasion that Idolatry did not take its rise till after the Deluge, gives a very singular Account of its Origin: according to him, Atheism had spread itself over the World. "This disposition of Mind towards God, says he, is the capital Crime; for Atheists are much more odious to the

“ Divinity than Idolaters. Besides, this Principle is
 “ more capable of leading Men to that excessive Cor-
 “ ruption the World fell into before the Deluge. The
 “ Knowledge of a God, continues he, of whatever
 “ Nature he is conceiv’d, and the Worship of the Deity,
 “ is apt of it self to be a Restraint upon Men ; so that
 “ Idolatry was of some use to bear down the Corrup-
 “ tion of the World. ’Tis therefore probable, that the
 “ horrid Vices Men were fallen into before the Deluge,
 “ proceeded only from their not knowing nor serving
 “ God. I am even of opinion, that Idolatry and
 “ Polytheism, after the Deluge, derived their Origin
 “ from the Impiety and Atheism that reigned before it.
 “ Such is the Temper of Men ; when they have been
 “ severely punished for any Crime, they run into an-
 “ other Extreme. This was actually, says he, the
 “ Case of the *Jews* : As they were very sharply chas-
 “ tised for having abandon’d themselves to Idolatry,
 “ and neglected the Celebration of the Sabbath, upon
 “ their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, they con-
 “ ceived such a Detestation of Idols, that they were
 “ inclined more than once to revolt, rather than suffer
 “ their Governors to bear Ensigns, on which the *Ro-*
 “ *man* Eagles were painted ; and allowed themselves to
 “ be defeated on different occasions, because they would
 “ not break the Sabbath. I conjecture, concludes the
 “ same Author, that something like this was the Case
 “ with Men after the Deluge : As they reckon’d that
 “ this terrible Judgment, which carried such evident
 “ Indications of the divine Wrath, was sent for the
 “ Punishment of Atheism, they run into the opposite
 “ Extreme ; they adored whatever seemed to deserve
 “ their Worship”. We readily agree with this Author,
 that the greatest of all Crimes is Atheism, and that Ido-
 latry, notwithstanding all that M. *Bayle* has said to de-
 stroy this Assertion, is capable of furnishing a Curb a-
 gainst the Irregularity of Manners, which Atheism has
 not in its power : But who told him that Men before
 the Deluge had been arrived at that excess of Impiety ?
 He ought at least to have excepted the chosen Race,

the Posterity of *Seth*. 'Tis very true, *Moses* says (*a*), that from the Commerce of the Sons of God, that is, of the Successors of *Seth*, with the Daughters of Men, by whom we are to understand, those who descended of *Cain*, were born the *Nephelim*, who fell into the grossest Enormities, as their very Name imports; but he says not a word about their having become Atheists. Now what more can we know about those first Men, than what this sacred Historian has related?

However it be as to the beginnings of Idolatry, certain it is, that the Knowledge and Worship of the true God were again united in the Family of *Noah*, which remained alone upon the Earth after the Deluge. That holy Patriarch, in gratitude to God for his Preservation, offered him a solemn Sacrifice of every clean Animal that came out of the Ark, and no doubt he would be sure to recommend it to his Children and Grand-children, to preserve with Veneration the Worship prescribed to him by God himself. Thus, before the division of Tongues, and while the Children and Grand-children of that Patriarch made up but one Family and People, there is the highest probability that this Worship was not altered in its Purity. *Noah* was still alive, he was the Head of that People. *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, Witnesses themselves of the Vengeance of God upon their Contemporaries, living in the midst of their Families, would they have allowed their Children to abandon that same Worship? Nothing we read of in Antiquity can incline us to this Belief. In all likelihood therefore, it was not till after the Dispersion of that People, that Idolatry arose. And while the true Religion was for a longer time preserv'd in some Families, especially in that from which *Abraham* sprung, others abandoned it for the Service of vain Idols, which their Ignorance, or rather the Corruption of their Hearts had formed.

In the mean time, *Noah* survived the Introduction of this abuse, nor was he able wholly to correct Man's

M 4 fatal

(*a*) See what has been said on this Subject in the preceding Book, p. 122, and following.

fatal Byass to seek after sensible Objects of Worship; and even in his life-time (for he died not till about the time of the Birth of *Abraham*) Idolatry was widely diffused over the Earth.

It is not easy to tell precisely, either by whom, at what Period, or with what Object it begun; the Scripture speaks of it only occasionally and by the by. The first time it is mentioned, is in speaking of the Son of *Zilpah*, *Leah's* Handmaid. As soon as this Child was born, *Leah* pronounced these two Words, *Bagad*, and she gave him the Name *Gad*. *Selden* says (1), the *Hebrews* explained this Word to mean, *Propitious-Star* (2), and that *Gad* in *Arabick* signifies good Fortune. *S. Augustine* contends, that *Leah* on this occasion spoke after the manner of Idolaters, and that she invoked the Propitious Star at the Birth of her Son. “*Certe aut Leah propterea locuta est, quod adhuc Gentilitatis consuetudinem retinebat* (3).” The same term *Gad*, occurs in *Ishaiab*; the Vulgate translates it, *Fortune*: *Qui ponitis Fortune mensam* (4), and the Septuagint, *Demca, δαιμόνιον*, which may denote all the Gods in general.

The second time Idolatry is mentioned in *Genesis*, is when *Jacob* left *Laban's* House, and *Rachel* secretly stole away the *Teraphim* of her Father. The Vulgate renders that word, *Idols*: *Rachel furata est Idola patris sui* (5): And this Translation is justified from *Laban's* Expostulation with *Jacob*: *Why have you stolen away my Gods? Cur furatus es Deos meos* (6)? These Passages, 'tis true, plainly intimate that Idolatry prevailed in the time of *Jacob*, which cannot be controverted; it was even much earlier than he, since *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, where his Ancestors dwelt, was an Idolatrous City, which *Abraham* his Father abandoned, but they do not inform us of the Date of its Establishment in the World.

The Author of the Book of *Wisdom* offers two or three Sources of Idolatry. First, the affectionate Concern of a Father for the loss of his Son, snatch'd away before

(1) De Diis Syriis. (2) Mazal-Tob. (3) In Gen. Q. 91.
(4) Is. 65. 11. (5) Gen. 31. (6) Ibid.

before his time. To solace himself for his Death, he provides an Image of this Son, and performs divine Honours to him in his Family. From his Family the Worship is propagated to the City, and this private God soon becomes a publick Divinity (*a*). The second, was the Beauty of the Work of a Sculptor; the Divinity was thought to inhabit in Statues so finely wrought (1). The third, which returns to the same, is when a Potter formed a well-proportion'd Statue, and consecrated it as a Deity: *Et cum Labore vano Deum fugit de eodem Luto, &c.* Calvin (2), as an Argument for his rejecting the Book of *Wisdom*, alledges that the Author was grossly mistaken about the Origin of Idolatry; but it was owing to his being unwilling to see that he who composed this Book, never designed to handle dogmatically the Origin of Idolatrous Worship, and that all he had in view was to give a few Examples, transiently, of that Species of Idolatry, which led the Ancients to worship Statues, and to confer divine Honours upon dead Men.

It is not therefore from the sacred Books we can learn the true date of the Establishment of Idolatry, nor have we any Author in Antiquity, worthy our following on this Subject. What we ought to think of it is this.

The Patriarchs had too many Manifestations from God, as was hinted already, either to be unacquainted with him themselves, or to leave their Posterity ignorant of him. Thus *Noah's* immediate Descendants preserv'd the Purity of Worship, the Laws of which they had from God's own mouth. This Worship was perpetuated not only in *Abraham's* Line, but sometimes even in Countries the most addicted to Idolatry, Men were found who worshipped God in Spirit and in Truth. *Melchizedek* King of *Salem*, *Jethro*, *Moses's* Father-in-law, and *Job*, are not perhaps the only Persons who retained the Knowledge of the true God.

This

(*a*) Acerbo enim lectu dolens pater, cito sibi rapti filii fecit imaginem, & illum qui tunc quasi homo mortuus fuerat, nunc tanquam Deum colere cœpit. Deinde interveniente tempore . . . hic error tanquam Lex custoditus est, &c. *Sap.* 15. v. 15, and 16.

(1) *Id.* c. 15. v. 8. (2) *Calv. Inst.* l. 1. c. 1.

This Religion, pure in its beginnings, suffered great Alterations afterwards, but 'tis impossible to point out the true Date of the Changes it underwent. Only in general we know, that Ignorance, and the Passions still more, introduced a Mixture into it which corrupted all. From that time the Idea of God became obscure: They brought his Works into a competition with himself; and by a Perversion, strange indeed, but too true, the Beauty of the Creatures, which ought to have raised Man to the Knowledge of the Creator, made him be forgotten who had raised them from nothing, and the Worship of his Works substituted in room of that which was due to himself.

One thing well worthy remarking, is, that whatever Alteration was made in the primitive Worship, the Substance thereof has been always the same. Take a survey of all the Religions in the World, and almost every where you shall find the same Ministers at the Altars, the same Character of Sacrifices, the same legal Observations, as we shall see when we come to the Priesthood and Victims: Insomuch that methinks we may say of Worship in general, what *Procopius* of *Gaza* says of Purifications in particular, when he compares those that were prescribed by the Law of *Moses*, with those that were practised in the Pagan World. For the sole difference he finds between them is, that the *Jewish* Purifications were more perfect, and without any Mixture of Superstition, while those of the Pagans were infected therewith.

The dependance of the Soul of Man upon the Senses and Imagination, not allowing him to see God any other way but thro' a Glass darkly, as *St. Paul* speaks (1), renders us incapable of being made acquainted with him, but under sensible Images; which Images were so many Emblems capable of raising us up to him, so far at least as the present State will bear, as the Portrait sets before us him whose Picture it is. Those Emblems were multiplied in process of time to infinity, and cast an impenetrable Obscurity upon Religion.

The

(1) 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

The *Egyptians* carried this Symbolical and Hieroglyphical Science, farther than the other Nations; tho' we dare not assert that they were the Inventers of it. This much at least is certain, that in all the Religions we know in the *East* and *West-Indies*, there is not one of them whose Theology is not full of the like Emblems. If we take *Diodorus Siculus's* Testimony (1), the *Cre- tans*, who vaunted that most of the Gods had been born amongst them, boasted at the same time that they had been the first who founded for them a Worship, Sacrifices, Mysteries, which from them had been propagated to every other Nation.

Be that as it will, the Philosophers, especially the *Platonists*, attempted to establish a particular System, with relation to the Origin of Idolatry, which, if it were well proved, would be very capable to lessen its Absurdity. They maintain'd that the Idea which the wise Men of Antiquity had formed to themselves of God, was that of a Being superiour to whatever exists; of a Spirit present in all the bounds of the Universe, who animates all, who is the Principle of all Generation, and communicates Fertility to every Being; of a Flame lively, pure, and always active; of an Intelligence infinitely wise, whose Providence continually watches over all, and extends over all; in a word, an Idea of a Being to whom they had given different Names, answering to his superiour Excellence; but such as always bore the stamp of that supreme Right of Possession, which is only inherent in the absolute Lord, and in him from whom all things flow.

Porphry, after *Theophrastus*, even strain'd his utmost efforts to prove, that Religion, in its beginnings, was founded upon Usages of great purity, and upon Ideas very different from what prevail'd in his time. He alledges, that in the beginning, no sensible Image was worshipped, no bloody Sacrifice offer'd, and that the Names and Genealogies of that multiplicity of Gods known in his time, were not then so much as invented.

Sentiments of the Pagans about the Origin of Idolatry.

Pure

(1) L. 2,

Pure Acts of Homage, said he, were paid to the first Principle of all Things, Herbs and Fruits were presented to him, and Libations of Liquors perform'd, in acknowledgment of his sovereign Dominion.

Such, according to him, was Paganism, and the Religion of the Learned ; that which was combated with so much success, was only the Religion of the ignorant Populace. Thus that expert Philosopher pretended, by a refined System, to excuse Idolatry : But those he had to do with were not to be thus imposed upon. It was urged against him, that no where, except among the Patriarchs and the *Jews*, had such a Religion as he described been found ; and that the grossest Idolatry was the established System. To direct us in tracing out the Origin of Idolatry, we must have surer Guides than the Pagan Philosophers.

The Fathers consider'd the thing in a moral light, and alledged, with a good deal of reason, that Idolatry came into the World only thro' the corruption of the Heart of Man. Pride, Love of Independence, Propensity to sensual Pleasures, are the true causes of its establishment ; and 'tis too evident to be denied.

C H A P. II.

At what period Idolatry began.

BUT when was this Disorder introduc'd, and by what degrees did it arrive at that height of Abomination, which will always put Humanity to the blush ? *Epiphanius* is of opinion (1), that *Serug* the Grand-father of *Terah Abraham's* Father was the Founder of it ; but the Scripture barely insinuates (2), that the Forefathers of that Patriarch were engaged in the worship of Idols, without saying they were the Inventors thereof. *Josephus* (3) advances, that this evil was even then so general, that *Abraham* was the first who durst assert that there was but one God, and that the whole Universe was the Work of his hands : And there are Fathers who have not even scrupled to say, that

(1) B. i. de Hæres. (2) Jos. xxiv. v. 2. (3) Ant. L. i. ch. 9.

that this Patriarch himself had been an Idolater. Altho' I agree with *Josephus*, and with the more learned *Rabbi's*, who deny it (a), it is certain however, that Idolatry was spread in his Life-time, and that God preserv'd him from this Contagion, or at least put him beyond its reach, by bringing him out of *Chaldea*, where he dwelt.

It ought therefore to have been traced higher. *Nimrod* is he to whom the Origin of Idolatry is commonly ascrib'd. 'Tis alledg'd, that it was he who introduc'd the Worship of Fire, which has been of so long duration (1).

The City *Ur* was so called, because there the Fire was worship'd, and this is what had given rise to the Fable, which says, that the King who reign'd in the time of *Abraham*, had caused him to be thrown into the Fire, because he set himself in opposition to that Superstition, and that God rescu'd him from it in a miraculous manner; a Rabbinical Fable, founded upon what is said in Scripture, that this Patriarch came forth from *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (b). But whatever Idea the Scripture gives us of the Insolence of *Nimrod*, who was Projector of the Tower of *Babel*, a project which one may look upon as a kind of Insurrection against Heaven, yet it gives no insinuation of his having induced the *Chaldeans* to worship sensible Beings.

There is as little Foundation for saying, that *Ninus* was the first Author of Idolatry: It is of an earlier date than his time, since he lived only about the time of the first Judges, as *Usher* undeniably demonstrates (c), whereas the Scripture taxes *Terah* and *Nabor* with Idolatry a long time before. We can only allow, not to recede far from the opinion of *Jerom* and *Cyril*, that this Founder of the *Assyrian* Empire, was one of the first who introduced that species of Idolatry, which had

(a) *Rabbi Maimonides* however is of opinion, that he was an Idolater until the age of forty-eight years.

(1) *Hugo Victor* in Gen. c. x.

(b) See *Jerom's* *Hebraick Questions upon Genesis*.

(c) This Author places the Reign of *Belus* in the Year of the World 2682, and that of *Ninus* in 2687.

had for its Object the Worship of great Men, having built a Temple to the honour of his Father *Belus*. But there was an Idolatry of a much greater Antiquity, as we shall shew immediately.

ARTICLE I.

That it was in Egypt and Phenicia it had its Rise.

'TIS, no doubt, in the Family of *Ham* we are to seek for the true Origin of Idolatry. The unfortunate Children of an accursed Father were the first who forgot the wise Counsels of *Noah*; and following the Propensity of their own heart, and abandoning themselves to their passions, sought out sensible Objects, to whom they might offer a superstitious Worship. As the two Sons of *Ham*, *Canaan* and *Mizraim*, settled the one in *Phenicia* and the other in *Egypt*, these are the two Kingdoms whence Idolatry took its rise. I believe it began much later in Countries peopled by the Descendants of *Sheim* and *Japhet*.

Egypt and *Phenicia* then were the first Nurseries of Idolatry: This is the opinion of *Eusebius* (1), who had not a little examined into this Subject; of *Lactantius* (2), and of *Cassian* (3), the former of whom ascribes its Original to *Canaan*, and the latter to *Ham* his Father. This is what several *Rabbi's* have thought upon the Subject, who even reckon that those two Patriarchs had been Idolaters before the Deluge. *Vossius* (a) says, it is beyond doubt, that Idolatry had its rise in the Family of *Ham*, and by consequence in *Egypt*: This Author adds, that it is agreed to by all the Ancients. And without mentioning *Diodorus*, and several others, it suffices to quote *Lucian* (3), who says in so many words, that the *Egyptians* are the first who honoured the Gods and paid them a solemn Worship. *Herodotus*, in the beginning of his History (4), is not so positive on the head as *Lucian*, but what he says is much the same; *The Egyptians*, according to this learn'd Historian, *are the*

(1) Præpar. Evan. c. 6, & 9. (2) De fals. Rel. B 2. (3) Col-lat 8. c. 21.

(a) Remarks upon *Maimonides's* Treatise concerning Idolatry.

(3) De Dea Syria. (4) Ch. 4.

the first who knew the Names of the twelve great Gods, and from them it is that the Greeks learn'd them. This Author asserts the same thing in several places, and particularly in the fifth Chapter of the second Book, as we shall see afterwards.

Egypt has always been consider'd as the center of Idolatry ; so it is represented in several places in Scripture: There prevail'd Magick, Divination, Auguries, the Interpretation of Dreams, the unhappy Fruits of a superstitious Worship. Even from the time of *Moses*, Idolatry was there at its highest pitch, which supposes a great Antiquity ; for, in short, it is a considerable time before a compleat System of Religion comes to be establish'd. *Moses* even seems to have given the *Jews* such a multitude of Precepts, only to oppose them in every thing to the *Egyptian* Ceremonies: What concerns the Sacrifices, the use of Meats, and Polity, these were establish'd merely to keep them at a distance from the practices of that idolatrous People.

This, without doubt, is the Country where Idolatry commenc'd ; from thence it pass'd into *Phenicia*, if it did not even begin there at the same time (*a*) ; and from *Phenicia* it was propagated to the East, into the places inhabited by the Posterity of *Sem*, into *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and the places adjacent, and in the West, where the Posterity of *Japhet* fix'd their residence, that is to say, in *Asia minor*, in *Greece*, and in the Isles: This is the course it is made to take by *Eusebius* and other ancient Fathers ; and we are not to hearken to the *Greeks*, when they tell us, that Idolatry took its rise, either in the Island of *Crete* under the reign of *Melissus*, or at *Athens* under *Cecrops*, or in *Phrygia*, since they were not acquainted with the true Antiquities, and we are sure they had their Religion and Ceremonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, with the Colonies that

(*a*) Several learned Men maintain, that Idolatry had its rise in *Phenicia*, and from thence spread itself into *Egypt*. It is very difficult to debate upon a Fact of such Antiquity. All will be reconciled by saying, as I have done, that it began perhaps at one and the same time in both these Countries, both peopled by the same Family.

that came to them from these ancient Kingdoms, as all the Learned are agreed, and as *Herodatus* expressly declares.

We conclude then, that *Egypt* and *Phenicia* are the two Countries where Idolatry took its rise. Whether it began while *Hem* himself was alive, is what I am not able to determine; but this at least is certain, that it was widely diffused under the reign of his Son *Mizraim*.

ARTICLE II.

What was the first Object of Idolatry.

IF, after having found out the most probable Æra of Idolatry, and discover'd the Places where it began, we want now to know what was its first Object; we are to observe the same method, and give the different Opinions of the Learned. If we believe the famous *Vossius* (1), the most ancient Idolatry was that of two Principles. Men seeing a World full of Good and Evil, and not being able to conceive, that a Being of essential Goodness could be the Author of Evil, invented two Divinities equal in Power, and eternal; they believ'd all Good came from the good Principle, and that the bad did all the evil he possibly could; that the latter seeing the good Principle design'd to create a World, had thwarted his purpose as far as he was able; that upon this ensued a sharp War between these two Beings, which was the thing that retarded this Creation, until the moment that the good Principle got the better; that the other in revenge, had scattered up and down in it all sorts of evils and miseries. This learned Author adds, there is no possibility of determining the precise date of this Error, or who was its original Author, but he looks upon it, with reason, to be very ancient.

Plutarch (2) gives a long Enumeration of those who taught it, not only among the *Greeks*, but the *Barbarians* too; and to be sure the *Persians*, continues *Vossius*, must have had this Opinion very early, since the famous *Zoroaster* found it establish'd there: For altho'
'tis

(1) L. 1. de Orig. Idol. (2) De Iside.

'tis not known who this *Zoroaster* was, nor in what time he lived, yet we know well that he is very ancient, and there is some appearance that it is *Mizraim* himself, the Son of *Ham*, who was called after his death *Zoroaster*, as you would say *Living-Star*, because he had led the *Egyptians* to pay a religious Worship to the Stars.

Here we may remark by the by, that a learned *English* Author (1), who was better acquainted than *Vossius* with the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, has given great light to the History of *Zoroaster*: He was called *Zeratucht* or *Zerducht*, and lived in the time of *Darius* Son of *Hystaspes*. This great Man, far from having introduced Idolatry among that ancient People, exerted his utmost endeavours to destroy it, and reclaim'd the more reasonable to the Knowledge of one sole Principle, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as they had been taught by *Sem* and *Abraham* their primitive Patriarchs: But because *Sabism* (a), that is, the Worship of the Stars and Planets, was the predominant Religion, he was obliged to strike a medium; and lest they should have been obstinately untractable, he prescrib'd a sort of subordinate Worship to be given to the Sun and to the Fire, which is the Principle of Fertility, with some Ceremonies purely of a civil nature, such as are still practis'd at this day in the *Indies*, and especially in the Neighbourhood of *Surat*, by the *Magi* descended of those ancient *Persians*, who, according to this Author, are by no means Idolaters, whatever may be said of them by the *Mahometans*, who would fain draw them over to their Religion; since 'tis true, as he asserts, that they worship but one sole God, the first Principle of all Beings, and offer up to him nothing but their Vows and Prayers; and if they adore the Fire and the Sun, it is because they look upon him as the purest Image of the Creator, and the Temple where he has establish'd his Throne (b).

N

But

(1) *Thomas Hyde*, Religion of the ancient *Persians*.

(a) This Word imports *Copia*, and *Sabaite*, *Copiarus*; as much as to say, one who worships an Host. See *Hyde*, loc. cit.

(b) See the History of the Worship of *Mithras*, l. 7. c. 11. p. 600.

But to return to the Idolatry of the two Principles; *Vossius* maintains, that it spread itself in a little time over all *Egypt*, except *Thebais*, where the Worship of the true God was preserv'd; and he alledges, that all that the *Egyptians* fable about *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and the persecutions of the latter against his Brother, ought to be understood of these two Principles, and their eternal War: And this, without doubt, is what that ancient People, whose whole Theology was full of Symbols, intended to teach us by the mysterious Fable, which intimated, that *Osiris* had shut up in an Egg twelve white pyramidical figures, to denote the infinite Blessings he was design'd to multiply upon Mankind; but that his Brother *Typhon* having found a way to open this Egg, had secretly convey'd thither twelve other Pyramids that were black, by which means Evil came to be always blended with Good (a).

We may add, that whatever the Philosophers have said concerning this good and bad Principle; whatever the *Persians* have given out of their two two Divinities *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; the *Chaldeans* of their benign or noxious Planets; the *Greeks* of their salutary or pernicious *Genii*; all these, I say, derive their Origin from that ancient *Egyptian* Theology, veil'd under the Fables of *Osiris* and *Typhon*. This Opinion, if we will trace it back to its true Source, was owing to Mens having been always puzzled how to account for the introduction of Evil into a World, which was the Work of a God infinitely good and beneficent. As for the other Fables that were there intermix'd, they took their Origin, no doubt, from the Tradition of the Combat between the good and bad Angels.

Be that as it will, this Opinion made vast progress. *Pythagoras* fetch'd it from *Egypt*, and then propagated it thro' all *Italy*. The famous *Manes*, not to mention what other progress this Error made, spread it thro' the Christian World in the fourteenth Century, where he had several Disciples. *S. Augustin* himself went into it for some time, but having discover'd its absurdity, he

(a) See the History of *Osiris*, L. 6. c. 1. art. 1.

he afterwards combated it with so much success, that it was from that time look'd upon as a cause quite desperate; till M. Bayle (a) resolv'd to revive it, and to set up for the Advocate of the *Manicheans*, whether, as is highly probable, to cut out work for the Divines of all Parties, or to shew that the most desperate Cause, by falling into able hands, may be so managed as to puzzle the greatest Genius's, or for some other reason which we shall not dive into; and seeing himself attack'd on all hands by illustrious Adversaries (b), he has employ'd all the Artifice of a curious refin'd Wit, to give some credit to so bad a Cause. *Vossius* is of opinion, that this Error had its rise among the *Chaldeans*, from whom it was communicated to the *Persians* and *Indians*, and to almost all the People of the Earth; which holds true, provided we don't mean *Manicheism* such as *Manes* taught it, but consider it under the different Forms it had.

From the Idolatry of two Principles, *Vossius* proceeds to that of Spirits; and he examines the Causes that influenced Men to worship them. He finds two; the Knowledge they had of the Excellency of their Nature, and the surprizing Effects believed to be produced by them; and doubtless Oracles, Apparitions and magical Operations contributed not a little to make their Power and Sovereignty be acknowledg'd. Their Worship was almost every where establish'd, especially towards the bad Angels; and this to be sure is the sense of the Scripture-language, which calls all the Gods of the Gentiles Demons (1). This sort of Idolatry is still to be found in all the Countries where the Gospel has not been embraced, as the Relations of all our Missionaries attest. But here we must apply the judicious Remark of M. *le Clerc* (2), that it is a mistake to believe, that those Idolaters who worship two Beings, the one beneficent and the other malicious, understand thereby the good and bad Angels, as if they knew the

N 2

System

(a) See in his Dictionary the Articles of the *Manicheans* and *Paulicians*.

(b) Messieurs *Bing*, *Le Clerc*, *Bernard* and *Jaquelot*.

(1) *Dii Gentium Dæmonia*. (2) Art. crit.

System of the Fall of the one, and of the Fidelity of the others; whereas by *Genii* they mean certain Powers dispersed thro' the World, who produce in it good and evil.

To the Worship of *Genii*, *Vossius* joins that of Souls departed, which was establish'd in several Countries, if we credit *Mela*, *Herodotus* and *Tertullian*, especially in *Africk*, where those of great Men were held in high veneration: But as this is the species of Idolatry that has made greatest progress in the World, since, as we shall shew, most of the Pagan Gods were none other than the great Men who distinguish'd themselves among them, let us enlarge upon this Point, and propose the Conjectures of a person of great ability (a), about the Origin of this species of Idolatry.

Two things, he reckons, introduced it into the World, Gratitude and Fear, or the veneration they bore to the illustrious Dead, and apprehension of the Evils to which we are obnoxious. The regard they had for their Ancestors, brought in the Custom of funeral Solemnities; their ambition to please the Living, made them run out extravagantly in praising the actions of the Dead; Panegyricks were sung at their Funerals, their Names cry'd up to the skies; and as, before the introduction of the poetical Hell and *Elysian* Fields, it was the opinion, that the Souls wander'd in Houses and places they had frequented during their union with the Body, they erected in the most venerable part of the House a sort of Altar, where their Pourtraits were preserv'd with respect, and there they burn'd Incense and sweet Odours. They had one constituted to have the Over-sight of the Worship they paid them; and hither they repaired upon pressing Exigencies, to implore their Assistance. A desire of continuing a lucrative service, made those Priests invent Stories, where they intermixed Miracles and many things supernatural, sometimes to alarm the incredulous, sometimes to animate the devout. These Ministers framed Romances too upon the Lives of those great Men, which they conceal'd

(a) *F. Tournemine*: See the *Journal of Trevoux*, Anno 1702.

ceal'd for a long time, and pass'd them upon the World afterwards for true Histories: And however their Contemporaries might be proof against the Cheat, those who came a long time after, had no opportunity of learning the History of those great Men but from the mouth of their Priests; and every thing they saw carrying an air of Divinity, and publick Temples having come in the room of private Chapels (*a*), it became the fashion in good earnest to honour those first Men as Gods. It was even dangerous to be prying into the Original of establish'd Worship: It was like to have cost *Æschylus* his Life, that in one of his Plays he was thought to have reveal'd somewhat of the Mysteries of *Ceres*. Accordingly in the Temples, those especially of *Osiris*, was to be seen a Statue of *Harpocrates* holding a finger on his Mouth, to denote, as *Varro* has it, that the Mystery of his Life and Death was prohibited to be reveal'd; and this was likewise the signification of the *Sphinxes* in the same Country, placed at the entrance of Temples, as the Emblems of Silence.

The second Cause of Idolatry, according to the same Author, is the Fear of Evils to which we are liable: They had a notion, for example, that many Evils were occasion'd by the influences of the Stars; these were thought to be animated and immortal, because they saw them without any alteration. Thus, the most effectual way, they thought, to obtain their favour, was to appease them whenever they believed them incensed; and from that time they began to prostrate themselves before the Sun and Moon, and all the Host of Heaven, as the Prophets so often upbraid the Nations.

Thus, in short, religious Worship was regulated according to human Exigence; the Exigences of Society introduced the Worship of illustrious Men, those of Nature that of things inanimate.

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Mon-

(*a*) Or rather the Tombs they had erected to them were so stately, that they were afterwards looked upon as Temples, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* remarks, *Superstitio templa condere persuasit, quæ, cum prius hominum sepulchra fuerunt magnificentius condita, templorum appellatione vocata sunt, &c.* And this undoubtedly was one of the principal Sources of Idolatry.

Monfieur *le Clerc* (*a*) alledges the moft ancient fpecies of Idolatry to be that of giving a religious Worſhip to Angels. The Opinion that prevail'd about their mediation between God and Men, procured them certain regards out of Gratitude and Fear, in proportion to the Bleffings that were thought to be deriv'd from them ; then they came to pay them a Worſhip ſubordinate to that of the firſt Being ; at laſt they gave them Adoration, and they neither ſpared Incenſe nor Sacrifices in order to appeaſe them when they were thought to be out of humour: *Sacrificarunt Dæmoniis, & non Deo* (1). From the Worſhip of Angels, according to this Author, they proceeded to that of the Souls of illuſtrious Men: Then taking into their heads to ſay, that thoſe Souls ſeparate from Bodies, were united to certain Stars, which they animated, they came at laſt to worſhip thoſe Stars themſelves.

Without entering into a critical Examination of theſe different Opinions, which want not probability, I explain in the following Chapter, what is my own Sentiment on a Subject of ſo great Obſcurity.

C H A P. III.

Where we prove that Idolatry commenc'd with the Worſhip of the Stars.

I Am perſuaded, that Idolatry began by the Worſhip of the Heavenly Bodies, and eſpecially of the Sun. As Men could have no other reaſon for abandoning the true God, but that the Idea of a Being purely ſpiritual was defaced upon their carnal Minds (*b*), it is not probable they would chooſe Men like themſelves to be the firſt Objects of their Adoration ; 'tis more likely they

(*a*) Index Philol. ad Hiſtor. Philoſop. Orient. in voce *Angelus*.

(1) Deut. c. xxxii.

(*b*) Homines imbecillis intellectus non valentes corporalia tranſcendere, non crediderunt aliquid eſſe ultra naturam ſenſibilem, & ideo inter corporalia poſuerunt præminere & diſponere mundum quæ pulchriora & digniora eo videbantur, & eis impendebant divinum cultum, & ejusmodi ſunt corpora cœleſtia, ſcilicet Sol & Luna & Stellæ. *Divus Thomas*, Opus. de Symbolo Apoſtol.

they would cast about for such sensible Objects as bore the Character of the Divinity, whose Idea they had not entirely lost, and which might be a more significant Symbol of him. Now nothing was more capable of seducing them than the Heavenly Bodies, and the Sun especially: His Beauty, the bright Splendor of his Beams, the Rapidity of his Course, *exultavit ut Gigas ad currendam viam* (1); his Regularity in enlightening the whole Earth by turns, and in diffusing Light and Fertility all around, essential Characters of the Divinity, who is himself the light and source of every thing that exists; all these were but too capable of impressing the gross Minds of Men with a Belief, that there was no other God but the Sun, and that this splendid Luminary was the Throne of the Divinity, *in Sole posuit tabernaculum suum* (2). God had fix'd his Habitation in the Heavens; *Cælum Cæli Domino* (3); and they saw nothing that bore more marks of Divinity than the Sun.

We can't therefore question the Antiquity of the Worship of the Sun and other Luminaries: And if there was occasion for adding Authority to so natural Arguments, I should have upon my side not only several great Men who have been of the same mind, but also almost all the Rabbins, and especially the learned *Maimonides*, who, in his Treatise upon the Origin of Idolatry, thinks it began in this manner, and that before the Deluge.

Considering what Ignorance Men were in as to the Nature of the true God, says that learned Rabbi, nothing must needs have struck them more than the sight of the Sun and Stars. Men never lost this Principle, that the Divinity essentially comprehends supreme Beauty; and not having sufficient Lights to rise to the Idea of an immaterial and invisible Substance, they found nothing more admirable in Nature than the Sun and Stars. Gratitude, natural enough to Men when they receive a Benefit, fortify'd them still more in the

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same

(1) Ps. xix. 5. (2) Ib. ver. 4. (3) *Hesiod* says much the same thing word for word. *ὅς ὑπέρτατα δώματα καίει*, Qui supremas habitat domos. & *Arist* L. 1. de Cælo, ch. 3. says, all Nations are agreed that the Gods dwell in Heaven.

same persuasion: They could not doubt of the Sun's being the Source of Fertility, that it was to his heat they ought to ascribe the Fruitfulness of the Earth, which, without the warming influences of his Beams, would be but a barren Lump, without Trees and without Fruits. The Revolutions and regular Motions of the Celestial Spheres, soon persuaded them that the Stars were animated: And this Error has found but too many Partisans. Even learned Men and Philosophers came to espouse this Opinion, especially the *Platonicks*, and *Plato* their Master. It was from that Philosophy, *Pbilo* the Jew deriv'd this Doctrine, *That the Stars are so many Souls incorruptible and immortal* (1). It was upon the Principles of this same Doctrine, that *Origen* labour'd to establish the same Opinion (2). *Augustin* seems to waver in his sentiments about this matter; but he afterwards retracts (3). There is a good deal of probability that it was likewise *Aristotle's* Sentiment; for however some of his Commentators say, he only gives the Stars Intelligences to direct them, yet there are others of them who hold, that he look'd upon these Intelligences as the internal and essential Forms of the Stars.

Eusebius (4) delivers his thoughts more clearly upon this Article: "That Men, says he, in the first and
 " earliest Times, never dream'd either of erecting
 " Temples, or Idols, having neither Painting at that
 " time, nor the Potter's Art, nor Sculpture, nor Ma-
 " sonry, nor Architecture, is, I suppose, what eve-
 " ry thinking Man evidently sees: But that over and
 " above all these, they had not so much as heard of
 " those Gods and Heroes so renown'd since; and that
 " they had then neither *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*,
 " *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Bacchus*, nor any other God male
 " or female, such as have been found in latter Times
 " by thousands both among *Greeks* and *Barbarians*.
 " Farther, that there was no Demon, whether good or
 " bad, whom Men revered; but that they adored the
 " Stars only, call'd *Sol*, from *Sol* to run, as we are
 " told

(1) Lib. de Somniis. (2) In his Books entitled, *περὶ Ἀρχαίων*.
 (3) *Retract.* C. 7. (4) *Fræp. Evang.* L. 2. c. 9.

“ told by the *Greeks* themselves: In fine, that the Stars
 “ were not honour'd as they are now by Animal Sacri-
 “ fices, nor by Rites of Worship since invented, is a
 “ Fact that depends not upon our single Testimony,
 “ but is attested by the Pagans themselves.”

I might subjoin the Authority of profane Authors, who have been of the same opinion ; but I content myself with two Testimonies ; one from *Diodorus Siculus* (1), who says,

“ Men in earlier times, struck with the Beauty of
 “ the Universe, with the Splendor and Regularity
 “ which every where shine forth, made no doubt but
 “ there was some Divinity who therein presided, and
 “ they ador'd the Sun and Moon under the Names of
 “ *Osiris* and *Isis*.”

Whereby this learned Author gives us to understand, that the Worship of the Stars was the first Object of Idolatry, and that *Egypt* was the place where it began.

The other is that of *Plato*, if indeed he be the Author of the Dialogue, intitled *Epinomis*, where we have these Words: *The first Inhabitants of Greece, as I conjecture, acknowledg'd no other Gods but those which are at this very day the Gods of the Barbarians, namely, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the Stars and the Heavens.*

I may add, it is likewise the Sentiment of *Sanchoinathon*, as we have seen in the Fragment of him I cited.

But nothing proves so much the Antiquity of this kind of Idolatry, as the care *Moses* took to prohibit it :
 “ Take heed, says he to the *Israelites*, lest when you
 “ lift up your eyes to Heaven, and see the Sun, the
 “ Moon and all the Stars, you be seduced and drawn a-
 “ way to pay Worship and Adoration to the Creatures,
 “ which the Lord your God has made for the Service
 “ of all the Nations under Heaven:” *Ne forté eleves*
oculos tuos in Cælos, & videns Solem, & Lunam, &
Stellas, ----- & impulsus adores atque colas ea (2).
 On which *R. Levi Ben Gerson* remarks, that *Moses* men-

mentions the Sun before the other Stars, because his Beauty and Usefulness are more apt to seduce, than that of the Moon and Stars.

As it was after the departure out of *Egypt*, and when the *Jews* were in the Desert, that God indited to them this Precept of the Law, there is the highest ground to believe, that it was to make them forget the *Egyptian* Superstitions of this nature, and to guard them against being drawn into those of the other Nations they were very soon to be among ; for this Worship was at that time spread over all, as we shall shew presently, and this is the reason why *Job*, to testify his Innocence, says :
 “ If I beheld the Sun when he shined, or the Moon walk-
 “ ing in her Brightness ; if my Heart has been tickled
 “ with a secret Joy, and I have put my Hand to my
 “ Mouth to kiss it ; which is the height of Iniquity,
 “ even a Renunciation of the most high God.” *Si*
vidi Solem cum fulgeret, & Lunam incedentem clare, &
letatum est in abscondito cor meum, quæ est iniquitas max-
ima, & negatio contra Deum altissimum (1).

Upon which Passage, we have four Remarks to make. First, this was therefore the Idolatry of his Age, and the only one too ; for to be sure if there had been other kinds of it, he would have equally clear'd himself of them.

Secondly, that to adore the Sun, implied an absolute acknowledging him for the supreme Deity, and no other, *Abnegassem Deum desuper* ; or, as the Vulgate has it, *Negatio contra Deum altissimum*.

Thirdly, that we learn from this Passage, not only the Antiquity of the Worship of the Sun, since *Job* lived before *Moses* (a), but also that they acknowledged the Divinity of this Luminary, by putting the Hand to the Mouth ; and this Custom was likewise used towards other Gods, as we learn from several Authors. *Minutius Felix* ridicules *Cecilius*, who kissed his Hand as he passed by the Statue of *Serapis* : *Cæcilius Simulachro Serapidis*

(1) *Job* xxxi. v. 26, 27, &c.

(a) This is the Sentiment of *Beda*. See the Interpreters upon it ; for it is needless here to enter into the Debate.

Serapidis denotato, ut Vulgus superstitiosus solet, manum ori admovens, Osculum Labiis impressit (1). *Apuleius*, on the contrary, upbraids an impious Person, that he had no respect to the Gods, and that he passed by their Temples without putting his Hand to his Mouth to salute them: *Nulli Deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit, nullum Templum frequentavit, si fanum aliquod prætereat, nefas habet, adorandi gratia, manum Labiis admovere* (2).

In the last place we observe, it was with a view to acknowledge the Divinity of the Sun, that the Pagans in Prayer, turned towards the East, and had all their Temples directed to that quarter; whereas the *Jews*, that they might not imitate them, had always their Sanctuary towards the West. The primitive Christians likewise used to turn their Churches towards the rising Sun, not to adore that Luminary, but to pay their Devotion to the Sun of Righteousness, who diffuses Light over the Mind (*a*), and warms the Hearts of those who worship him, by the Influences of his Grace.

Authors are not agreed as to the Place where the Worship of the Sun was introduced; some hold it was in *Chaldea*, because that ancient People were always addicted to Astronomy, and were the first who observed the Motion of the Stars; as if it required astronomical Observations to be capable of admiring the Sun, and knowing his Influences, when indeed we need but open our Eyes, to be struck with his Glory and his Beauty. It is much more probable, that *Egypt*, which I but just now proved to have been the Nursery of Idolatry, was the Place where the Sun began to be worshipped under the Name of *Osiris*.

From *Egypt*, this Idolatry was spread thro' the neighbouring Countries, or rather thro' the World, since this Luminary has been the Divinity of every Nation, even those that are most barbarous. I am not now to enter upon a particular proof of a Truth so well known; any thing I could say may be seen in *Vossius*, in Father *Thomassin*, who

(1) Dial. intit. Octavius. (2) Apul. l. 1.

(a) See *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom. 70. contra Valent. Chap. 3. &c.

who has only copied him, and in several others. I shall only remark, that the *Ammonites* worshipped him under the Name of *Moloch*, to whom they sacrificed their Children; the *Chaldeans*, under the Names of *Belus*, *Baal*, or *Baal-Semen*, which imports the Lord of Heaven; the *Arabians* their Neighbours, who, as *Strabo* (1) and *Stephanus* relate (2), made a daily Offering to him of Incense and other Perfumes, called him *Adoneus*; the *Moabites*, *Baal-Phegor*; the *Persians*, *Mithras*. He was named *Asabinus* by the *Ethiopians*; *Liber*, or *Dionysius*, by the *Indians*; *Apollo*, or *Phæbus*, by the *Greeks* and *Romans* (3). In fine, others called him *Hercules*, *Belenus*, &c. In a word, there was no Nation but paid a superstitious Worship to this Luminary. *Cæsar* tells us in particular, it was so with the *Germans*, who, according to this Author, own'd no other Gods but those from whom they received some Benefit, as the Sun, the Moon, and the Fire: *Deorum numero eos solum ducunt, quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, Vulcanum, & Lunam.* *Herodotus* says as much for the *Massagete*, who, according to this Historian, sacrificed Horses to him, to signify by the fleetness of this Animal, the rapid Motion of the Sun (4). In fine, all the Travellers, even the most modern, give the same account of almost all the Nations, of whom they have left us any History, especially of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*. If we credit an Author who has publish'd a learned Work upon the Manners of the Savages (5), there is not in the vast Continent of *America*, any known People, but worship the Sun. Even the *Incas* of *Peru*, and their Descendants at this day, as well as the *Natches* of *Louisiana*, like the ancient Kings or Heroes, who pretended to be the Sons of *Jupiter* or *Hercules*, call themselves the Offspring of the Sun, as we have already remark'd in speaking of their Theogony. The *Jews* themselves were sometimes carried away by this Superstition, since the Scripture teaches us, that *Josias* flew

(1) L. 10. (2) L. 9. (3) See upon all these, *Vossius de Idol.* l. 2. (4) *Herod.* liv. 1. c. 226. (5) P. Laffiteau *Mœurs des Sauvages*, Tom. 1. p. 131.

ſlew the Horſes and burned the Chariots that had been conſecrated to the Sun: *Et abolevit equos quos dederant Reges Juda . . . Et currus Solis combuſſit igni* (1).

In the Obeliſk which *Sixtus V.* cauſed to be ſet up hard by *S. John de Latran*, (the ſame whereof *Hermæpion* had tranſlated into *Greek* the *Egyptian* Characters that were repreſented upon it, and of which we have ſome Fragment preſerv'd by *Ammianus-Marcëllinus*) the Sun is called the Lord of Heaven, the Creator of the World, *Mars*, the God of War. The *Ethiopians* not only owned the ſame Luminary for their Divinity, as has been already ſaid, but their Princes too made their boaſt of being deſcended from him, ſince *Heliodorus* (2) makes *Charicleus* thus ſpeak; O Sun, the Founder of the Origin of my Anceſtors. *Rhameſes*, King of *Egypt*, takes the ſame Deſignation in the Obeliſk I have mentioned. *Semiramis* bears it likewise, upon ſome Monuments mentioned by the Ancients. *Adad* and *Ben-Adad*, the firſt of them ſignifying the Sun, and the ſecond, the Son of the Sun, were Names common to the Kings of *Syria*, as *Marſham* obſerves. The Kings of *Persia* took ſuch-like Titles, as did ſeveral other Eaſtern Princes. *Æetes* King of *Colchis*, valued himſelf upon being deſcended from the ſame Luminary, as well as *Medea*, *Pafiſphæ*, and ſeveral others, of whom I have no deſign to give a compleat Liſt, nor to ſpeak of all the Towns that bore his Name, or were conſecrated to him. I have ſaid enough to ſhew the Univerſality of his Worſhip.

We may even affirm in general, that there is no People whoſe Religion is known to us, neither in our own Continent, nor in that of *America*, that has not paid him a religious Worſhip, if we except ſome Inhabitants of the torrid Zone, who are continually curſing the Sun for ſcorching them with his Beams.

Every body knows that *Macrobius* (3) undertakes to prove, that all the Gods of Paganism may be reduced to the Sun. This Author allows the Poets the honour
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(1) 2 Kings xxiii. 11.
i. i. c. 17, &c.

(2) Hiſt. of *Ethiop.*

(3) Sat.

190 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
of having followed the Sentiments of the Philosophers, especially in reuniting all the Divinities in the Sun, who being the Ruler of the other Orbs, whose Influences act upon this lower World, must of consequence be the Author of the Universe. He enters next upon a detail of all the Gods that may be reduced to the Sun, and there he finds not only all those whom we have named, but *Cælus* too, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Ammon*, *Bacchus*, *Serapis*, *Adonis*, *Esculapius*, *Hercules*, *Atys*, *Pan*, and several others.

This same Author, and after him *Vossius*, reduce almost all the Divinities of the feminine Sex to the Moon; as *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Lucina*, *Venus*, *Urania*, the Goddess of *Syria*, *Cybele*, *Isis*, *Vesta*, *Astarte*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Libitina*, *Proserpina*, *Hecate*, and several others, who were only formed from the *Egyptian* Goddess *Isis*, whose Name imports *Ancient*, and who was among that People, the Symbol of the Moon; and here, without doubt, we have the first Objects of Idolatry, and the Foundation of the whole Pagan Theology (1).

From the Adoration of the Sun and Moon, they went to that of the other Stars, especially of the Planets, whose Influences were more sensible; in a word, they worshipped the whole Host of Heaven.

This sort of Idolatry which has the Stars and Planets for the Objects of its Worship, goes under the name of *Sabism*. As to what may have given rise to this Denomination, the Learned are not agreed among themselves; the thing at bottom is of no great consequence: but what is more essential to be known, is, that this Sect is the most ancient of all, as cannot be doubted: It was the most general, and continues at this very day, chiefly in *Asia*, among those whom they call *Pharisis*, *Mendaians*, or the Christians of St. *John*. They who are of opinion that the Origin of this sort of Idolatry is to be referr'd to *Zoroaster*, are certainly mistaken; for whether this Man, so celebrated in the Writings of the Ancients, lived only in the time of *Darius*, Son of *Hystaspes*, as is proved by *Thomas Hyde* (2) and *Prideaux*

(1) See *Vossius loc. cit.*

(2) *De Rel. Vet. Perf.*

deaux (1), or whether he was much more ancient, as *Moyle* seems to demonstrate (a); he cannot be looked upon as the Author of this Sect, much more ancient than himself, since it was subsisting in the time of *Abraham*, and since the City *Charan*, whither this Patriarch repaired, after leaving *Ur* or *Our* of *Chaldea*, has been always looked upon as the Metropolis of *Sabism*. I should even be inclined to think, that it was not so much *Sabism* which *Zoroaster* established, as *Magism*, another very ancient Sect, whose principal Doctrine was the Adoration of Fire. This last derived likewise its Origin from *Chaldea*, and reigned chiefly in *Ur*, where *Abraham's* Ancestors had dwelt, and which he himself afterwards abandon'd. This Sect, which we are carefully to distinguish from *Sabism*, altho' both of them had partly the same Tenets (2), still continues at this day, if we give credit to *Thomas Hyde*, among the *Gauri*, or *Guebri*, who inhabit the Extremities of *Persia* to the South, near the Frontiers of the *Mogul*.

There are learned Men of opinion, that the ancient Philosophers, those especially of *Chaldea*, had given a handle for *Sabism*. It is true indeed, that they reason a great deal about the Stars, about their Influences, and their Beauty, perhaps too they believed them to be eternal Beings, and consequently so many Divinities, or at least that there were Gods who resided in them, and regulated their Courses and Influences. They even gave out, and it is a very ancient Opinion, that the Body of the Star was no more than its Vehicle, or a sort of Machine, that serv'd to carry the Gods who conducted them; but what occasion was there for such refined Reasoning, to influence gross and carnal Men to address their first Prayers to those luminous and resplendent Bodies? Was it not enough for them to turn their Eyes towards the Sun, to behold how he both enlightens the World, and communicates to it Heat and Fertility, in order to judge that he was as the Parent of Nature,

(1) *Connections of*, vol. 2.

(a) See Letters upon this Subject, in the 6th Vol. of *Prideaux's History*.

(2) See *Prideaux* in the Place quoted above.

Nature; that by him it was vivify'd, and without him would be nothing but a lifeless Expanse, without Light and without any Production, as we noted before? All the Nations that worshipped the Sun, the *Mexicans*, the *Peruvians*, and other Savages of *America*, did they wait for the Decisions of Philosophers to teach them to prefer their Vows and Prayers to this Luminary? But be that as it will, *Sabism* is to be looked on as the most ancient Sect in the Pagan World. It arose not long after the Deluge, since it was known to *Abraham's* Ancestors, to *Terah* and *Serug*, and perhaps before them too. This is the Sect which has made the greatest progress; I have mentioned the different Nations that adopted it; and if we believe the most learned Rabbi's, and the eastern Authors, almost the whole World has been infected by it. In fine, of all the Sects, this has been of longest duration, since there are still numbers of Idolaters who adhere to it.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Progress of Idolatry.

THE first Race of Men, some time after their Dispersion, were extremely rude; even the *Greeks*, who became afterwards so polite, were no better at first, if we credit *Diodorus Siculus*, than those whom they were wont to call *Barbarians*. We are not therefore to imagine that Idolatry, in its first setting out, was a study'd System; that Theology was then encumber'd with that Apparatus of Ceremonies they added to it in after-times. Nothing could be more simple, nor at the same time more gross, than the Religion of the primitive Idolaters. They were at little or no charge either to represent the Gods, or pay them a religious Worship. We learn from *Pausanias*, that the *Athenians*, in the time of *Cecrops*, made Offerings to *Jupiter Cælestis*, of nothing but simple Cakes; and these being called *Bous*, made People take up a groundless Notion that they sacrificed to him Oxen. The *Scythians*, according to
Clemens

Clemens Alexandrinus (1), in ancient times adored a Scymitar; the *Arabians*, a rough unhewn Stone; and among other Nations, they contented themselves with erecting a Trunk of a Tree, or some Pillar without Ornament. These Pillars they called *Zoara*, because they were peeled when of Timber, and a little smoothed when they were of Stone. In the *Orkneys*, the Image of *Diana* was a Log of Wood unwrought; and at *Cytheron*, the *Juno Thespia* was nothing but a Trunk of a Tree cut off; that at *Samos*, but a simple Plank; and so of others.

What began to enlarge the Sphere of Idolatry, and consequently is to be reckon'd one of the main Causes of its Propagation, was the Invention of Arts, especially of Painting and Sculpture. Fine Statues commanded higher Veneration, and People were more easily induced to believe, that the Gods whom they represented resided in them. Statues even frequently augmented the number of the Gods, as *St. Augustine* observes with respect to the Muses, who originally were but three, as shall be shewn in their History; but having been represented by three different Statuaries, their Statues appeared so fine, that they consecrated all the nine; and thus enlarged the number of these Goddesses.

From the Worship of the Stars, whom we shew'd in the former Chapter to have been the first Gods of Paganism, they proceeded to that of other material Objects; the Heavens especially, the Elements, the Rivers and the Mountains; last of all to the Worship of Men, whom they raised to the rank of Gods.

I have told the Reasons that induced Men to adore some of their own Species. Gratitude, the Affection of a Wife to her beloved Spouse, or of a Mother to her darling Son; the Beauty of the Work of a Statuary, illustrious Atchievements, the Invention of necessary Arts; all these made them honour the Memory of some great Men, were Obligations upon them to preserve their Pictures, distinguish their Sepulchres, which at

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(1) *Orat ad Gentes.*

last became publick Temples, as is prov'd by *Eusebius* (1) and *Clemens Alexandrinus*: Such were the Tombs of *Acrisius*, of *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, *Ismarus*, *Cleomachus*, *Cinyras*, and several others. We shall shew at greater length, in a separate Article, from the Authority of the Fathers and profane Authors, that most of the Pagan Gods had been Men.

I am aware that the order, which I have followed in tracing the Progress of Idolatry, disagrees with *Sancho-niathon*, who places the Apotheosis of Men in the first Ages; but it is more probable that they did not run out at first to that excess of Folly, but directed their Adoration to the Stars, and the different parts of the Universe, before they made Gods of Men like themselves.

In fine, if the Progress of Idolatry was not precisely in the manner I have described it, there is at least a strong Probability that it was so; for, tho' the Author just now mentioned tells us, that *Cælus* or *Uranus*, one of the first Men he speaks of, was deify'd after his Death, he intimates however, that there had been an Idolatry of another sort before this. “The *Phenicians*, says he, “and the *Egyptians*, are the most ancient of the *Barbarians*, and from them every other People derived the Custom of ranking among the Great Gods all the Inventers of things useful in Life, and to this use they apply'd the Temples that were built before.”

But be that as it will, it is plain from this Author, that it was still in *Phenicia* and *Egypt* that this sort of Idolatry began; and in the latter, probably not long after the Death of *Osiris* and *Isis*. They two having distinguished themselves by their shining Merit (2), the People whom they had taught Agriculture, and several necessary Arts, thought they could no otherwise acquit themselves of the infinite Obligations they had laid them under, but by honouring them as Divinities. But because it might have appeared shocking to see divine Honours paid to Persons but newly dead, it was probably given out, that their Souls were reunited with the Orbs,
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(1) *Præp. Evang.* l. 2. c. 6.

(2) See the History of *Osiris*.

from whence they had formerly come to animate their Bodies. From that time, they were taken for the Sun and Moon, and their Worship was confounded with that of these two Luminaries, as has been said already.

This Custom of deifying Men, was propagated from *Egypt* to the other Nations, and we find that the *Chaldeans*, much about the same time, raised their *Belus* to the Order of the Gods. The *Syrians*, *Phenicians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, all of them imitated the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*; and Heaven, as *Cicero* observes, was soon peopled with deify'd Mortals: Which was likewise true in another sense, since upon their Deification, they gave out that their Souls were united to certain Stars which they chose for their Habitation. Thus, *Andromeda*, *Cepheus*, *Perseus* and *Cassiopeia*, made up the Constellations that bear their Names; *Hippolytus*, the Sign of the *Charioteer*; *Esculapius*, the *Serpents*; *Ganymede*, *Aquarius*; *Phaeton*, the *Chariot*; *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Gemini* or the *Twins*; *Erigone* and *Astrea*, *Virgo*; *Atergatis*, or rather *Venus* and *Cupid*, *Pisces*, or the *Fishes*; and so of others. This Custom passed to almost every Country, and penetrated even into *Ghina*, where the Astronomers called the twenty-eight Constellations, which in their System comprehend the whole Stars, by the Names of as many of their Heroes, whom they affirm to have been transformed into Stars. The *Egyptians* only gave the Names of Animals to the Constellations, and this was the Foundation of that Worship afterwards paid to them (a).

Such is the Progress of Idolatry, which was carry'd at length to that excess, which I am to describe.

They worshipped at first, as we have said, only the Sun, Moon, and Stars; next, they looked upon Nature herself, or the World, as a Divinity. This is what the *Assyrians* adored under the Name of *Belus*; the *Phenicians*, under that of *Moloch*; the *Egyptians*, of *Hammon*; the *Arcadians*, of *Pan*; the *Romans*, of *Jupiter*: And as if the World had been too great to be governed by one sole Deity, they assign'd every part of it to a particular

ticular God, that he might have the more leisure and less trouble in governing it; or, to speak more properly, 'twas Nature in her various Scenes they intended to adore, and over each of her parts a Divinity was made to preside. They worshipped the Earth, under the Names of *Rhea*, *Tellus*, *Ops*, *Cybele*, *Proserpina*, *Maia*, *Flora*, *Faunus*, *Pales*, and *Vertumnus*; the Fire, under those of *Vulcan* and *Vesta*; the Water of the Sea and Rivers, under those of *Oceanus*, *Neptune*, *Nereus*, the *Nereids*, *Nymphs* and *Naiads*; the Air and Winds, under the Names of *Jupiter* and *Æolus*; the Sun, under those of *Apollo*, *Titan*, *Osiris*, &c. the Moon, under those of *Diana*, *Isis*, &c. *Bacchus* was the God of Wine; *Ceres*, the Goddess of Corn; every River and Fountain had its tutelar Deity; Hell, its *Pluto*; the Sea, *Neptune* and *Tethys*; the Woods and Mountains, their *Nymphs* and *Satyrs*.

The Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia* which settled in *Greece*, brought thither their religious Worship, and this Worship spread itself by degrees thro' the different Provinces of which *Greece* was composed. This was even one of the highest marks of Esteem, that a City could give its Neighbours, to adopt their religious Worship and Ceremonies; for each of them had their own Priests, and other Ministers, who regulated divine things, added to or retrenched from the primitive Worship. Of all these, a confused Medley was made up, whereby the Religion of the *Greeks* became, of all others, the most monstrous and superstitious. Read *Pausanias's* Travels, you shall find all along, Temples, Altars, Statues of Gods, of different Metals, of different Forms, and with particular Names, which they had got either from the Place, from some pretended Prodigy, or some publick Vow.

The Passions too and Affections had Divinities assign'd to them: *Venus* and *Priapus* presided over Generation; *Morpheus* over Sleep; *Hebe* and *Horta* over Youth; *Juturna* among the *Latins*, and *Hygieia* among the *Greeks*, were the Goddesses of Health; and

Isis of Sickneſs (*a*). They eſtabliſhed a *Bellona* for War, a *Pomus* for the Gardens, *Furies* for the infernal Regions. All theſe Divinities had Temples, Altars, and Sacrifices; and as the Paſſions never forget themſelves, there was no Crime but had a Patron God. The Adulterers own'd *Jupiter*; the Ladies of Gallantry, *Venus*; Jealous Wives, *Juno*; and the Pick-pockets, *Mercury* and the Goddeſs *Laverna*. This is not all; there were Deſtinies to over-rule every Action in life. Over Marriage preſided *Juno*, *Hymeneus*, *Thalaffius*, *Lucina*, *Jugatinus*, *Domiducus*, and ſeveral others, whoſe infamous Occupations are enough to put every virtuous Perſon to the bluſh (1). Big-bellied Women, or in Child-bed, invoked the *Bona Dea*, *Juno*, *Lucina*, *Hecate*, *Sospita*, *Mena*, the *Nixii Dei*, *Intercidona*, *Mater Matuta*, *Deverra*, *Egeria*, *Fluonia*, *Pertunda*, *Prorſa*, *Postverta*, *Rumilia*, Divinities whoſe Names, as well as thoſe of the other Gods who preſided over every Action in life, denoted their Functions. For Children, they invoked the Goddeſs *Nascio* or *Natio*, *Opis*, *Rumina*, *Potina*, *Cunina*, *Levana*, *Parentia*, *Carnea*, *Eduſa*, *Oſilago*, *Statilinus*, *Vegitanus**, *Fabulinus*, *Juventa*, *Nondina*, *Orbona*; and this laſt Goddeſs was for Orphans, or to comfort Fathers and Mothers for the loſs of their Children. When the Child was laid down on the ground, they recommended him to the Gods *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*; For fear too that the God *Silvanus* ſhould do him harm, there were three other Deities who watched at the Gates, *Intercido*, *Pilumnus*, and *Deverra*. For we muſt know, that at the Nativity of a Child, they knocked at the Gate firſt with an Ax, then with a Mallet, and laſt of all, they ſwept the Porch, believing that *Sylvanus* ſeeing theſe three Signs, durſt not attempt to harm the Children, whom he thus judged to be under the protection of thoſe three Divinities. *Statilinus* preſided over Children's Education; *Fabulinus* taught them to ſpeak; *Parentia* kept away from

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them

(*a*) At preſent we only name all theſe Gods. In the third Vol. they make up a part of the History of the Roman Divinities.

(1) S. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

* Commonly called *Vaticanus*.

them frightful terrifying Objects ; *Nondina* * presided over the Names given them ; *Cunina* had the charge of the Cradle ; in fine, *Rumia* preserv'd the Milk to their Mothers. The *Epidotes* were Gods that presided over the growth of Children, as their Name declares (a).

Tho' Gods who watched over the Birth and Preservation of Children were thus numerous, yet there were at least as many for the Fruits and Harvests. S. *Augustine*, who in his Book of *the City of God*, has preserv'd to us the Names of several Gods, whom it would be in vain to search for elsewhere, enumerates sixteen of 'em who watched over the sown Corn and over the Crop. A *Seia* for the Grain new sown : *Segetia*, when it began to spring up : *Tutilina*, to preserve it in the Granary ; *Proserpina*, while the Stalk was forming ; *Pateлина*, when it was ready to put forth the Ear ; *Nodotus*, when it began to knot ; *Patilena*, *Flora*, *Hostilina*, *Lacturtia*, *Matuta*, *Rumina*, and *Robigus*, and several others, to whom they offered Sacrifices in the different Seasons of the Year. They had besides a *Venus Libitina*, to preside at Death ; *Plutus* and *Ops*, for Riches ; *Janus*, *Forculus*, *Cardea*, and *Limentina*, to take care of the Gates ; *Clusius* and *Patuleius* were the Gods they invoked at opening or shutting them (b) ; *Laterculus* and the *Penates*, for the Hearths ; *Jupiter Erceus* †, for the Walls ; the Goddesses *Flora*, *Pomona*, and the Gods *Vertumnus* and *Priapus*, were Guardians of Orchards, Flowers, and Fruits, as *Deverrona* watched over the Crop. The God *Terminus* took care of the Fields and Marches. They had likewise a *Hippona* for Horses, *Bubona* for Oxen, *Mellona* for Bees. *Murcia* was the Goddess

* The Males were purify'd and got a Name on the ninth day after their Birth, and the Females on the eighth day. See *Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 16.*

(a) Ἐπίδα, superaddo, augeo, to augment.

(b) Forculus quasi a Foribus ; Cardea, a cardinibus ; Limentina, a Limine. All the other Gods had Names conformable to their Offices, both among Greeks and Romans. See S. *Augustine de Civitate Dei*, l. 4, 5, and 6. *Lactantius* after *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, &c.

† Or *Herceus*, from ἑρκεος Septum ; to him Altars were consecrated by private Persons, within the *Aula* or Court of the House. *Scidas in voce ἑρκεος Ζευς*, & *Arnob. l. 7.*

Goddess of Sloth ; *Ossilago* was invoked when they were about to rectify strain'd or broken Bones. *Agénoria* was for inspiring Courage. *Hebe* presided over Youth, *Senuius* over Old-age ; *Momus*, for Raillery ; for Jollity, *Vetula* ; for Pleasures, *Volopta* ; for Poverty, *Pénia*. The great Talkers invoked *Aius Locutius* ; *Harpocrates* and *Sigalion* were the Gods of Silence. *Pellonia* was established to free them from whatever was annoying ; *Populonia*, to divert all sorts of Devastation. They had made a Divinity of Life under the Name of *Vitula**, and the Fever too had its Altars. They had a God of Ordure, named *Stercutius* ; one for other Conveniencies, *Crepitus* ; a Goddess for the Common-sewers, *Cloacina*.

Over Justice presided *Astrea*, *Themis*, and *Dicé*. Over the coining of Brass Money, *Æs*, *Æsculanus*, and *Æres* ; over Specie of all sorts, *Juno-Moneta*, or simply, *Moneta*. *Aristæus* and *Mellonia* were the Gods of Bees ; *Sclecia*, the Goddess of Tempests ; *Æolus* the God of the Winds. *Vallonia* and *Epunda* took care of things exposed to the Air. *Myagrus*, *Muyodes*, and *Achor*, were the Gods of Flies. *Pavor*, *Timor*, *Pallor*, were those whose Invention was owing to Terror, Fear, and Paleness which accompanies them. Imprudence itself had its tutelar Divinity, whom they named *Coalemus* : *Catius* made Persons smart and witty, and *Comus* the God of Revels, gay and contented. In fine, there was nothing which had not a friendly Divinity. The *Romans* had two of 'em for Love ; the one for mutual Flames, the other to avenge slighted Lovers (a) ; and this Passion was the Divinity of greatest Antiquity, and most universally ador'd. The same People had likewise two Temples of Modesty, one dedicated to the Chastity of the Nobles, and the other to that of the Populace : In fine, there were of them every where to be seen erected to Peace, Victory, Poverty, Faith, Clemency, Piety, Justice, Liberty, Concord, Fortune, Discord, Ambition. Men

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were

* Vid. Macro. Sat. l. 3. c. 2.

(a) Ovid calls him a Love of Forgetfulness ; *Lethæus Amor*, l. 2. de Remed. Amoris.

were apprehensive of Evil, desirous of Good, wanted to gratify their Inclinations without remorse ; and this was the Original of all those Divinities, natural and metaphorical, whose Names correspond to their Employments, who were looked upon as so many *Genii* dispersed thro' the World, whose Motions they thought were regulated by them, and believing them to be of a malevolent Disposition, they courted their Favour by Prayers and Sacrifices. The Poets invoked *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and the *Muses* ; the Orators, *Suada* and *Pitbo* ; the Physicians, *Esculapius*, *Meditrina*, *Consus*, *Hygieia*, and *Telesphorus* ; the Servants and Maids, the Gods named *Anculi*, and *Anculae* ; Shepherds, the God *Pan* ; Cow-herds, the Goddess *Bubona* ; Horsemen, *Castor* and *Hippona*.

As each Profession had its Gods, so had every Action in Life : Thus over different Actions presided, *Volumnus*, *Volupia*, *Libentia*, *Horfa*, *Horfilia*, *Stimula*, *Strenua*, *Stata*, *Adeona*, *Ageronia*, *Agonis*, *Abeona*, *Fesloria*, *Fugia*, *Pellonia*, *Catius*, *Fidius* or *Sanctus-Fidius*, *Sanctus* or *Dius*, *Murcia*, *Nonia*, *Numerica*, *Vacuna*, *Vertumnus*, *Victus*, *Vestitus*, *Vibilia* (a). They likewise invented Gods for every part of the Body ; the Sun presided over the Heart, *Jupiter* over the Head and Liver, *Mars* over the Entrails, *Minerva* over the Eyes and Fingers, *Juno* over the Eyebrows, *Pluto* over the Back, *Venus* over the Reins, *Saturn* over the Spleen, *Mercury* over the Tongue, *Tethys* over the Feet, the Moon over the Stomach, the Genius and Modesty over the Forehead, Memory over the Ears, Faith or *Bona Fides* over the right Hand, Compassion over the Knees.

They deify'd every Virtue, as we said before ; Clemency, Concord, Justice, Mercy, Piety, Modesty, Prudence, Wisdom, Honour, Truth, Peace, Liberty, and many others.

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(a) We have quoted no Authorities for all this ; they who want them need but read the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories, especially *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, *Livy*, &c. and *S. Augustine*.

It is not to be expected that I should give a larger Account of these subaltern Divinities; their Names sufficiently point out their Offices, and the bare naming them is enough to give one a notion of them, when they occur in the Poets and Mythologists. I shall only remark, 1. That almost the whole of these Divinities were of *Roman* Invention, as their Names sufficiently discover; whereby we see how many Gods, known to none but the *Romans* themselves, had been introduced by those Lords of the World, tho' they had besides adopted almost all the Gods of every Nation which they subdued. 2. That the greater part of these Divinities were the Invention of Sculptors and Painters. 3. That some of them were peculiar to certain Families, and sometimes even to single Persons. 4. That all these deify'd Virtues were nothing but Symbols that represented them, either upon Medals, where numbers of them are to be found, or upon other Monuments, and in Inscriptions. 5. That their Worship was neither in so great Reputation nor Extent, as that of the great Gods; and yet a great many of 'em had their Altars and Chapels, and were invoked at certain times; as before Harvest, at the Vintages, when they gather'd the Fruits, in Diseases upon Men or Beasts, &c.

Besides these Gods, whose number is already exorbitant, every Nation had some peculiar to itself; as others were affected by certain Towns; and this particularly among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; whether they were believ'd to have been born in those Towns, or to afford them a particular Protection. In a word, the whole world almost was divided among several Divinities, and excepting the great Gods who were acknowledged universally, tho' honoured more particularly in certain Places, the rest were worshipped only among some Nations, and in certain Countries. Hence those Gods were called *Topick*, or Popular, and have mostly derived their Names, as we shall see in their History, from the different Places where they were honoured.

Thus *Jupiter* was peculiarly honoured in *Crete*, where he was believed to have been brought up, at
Diète,

Diæe, on Mount *Ida*, on Mount *Olympus*, at *Pirea* in *Epirus*, at *Dodona*. *Juno* at *Argos*, at *Mycenæ*, at *Phalifca*, at *Samos*, at *Carthage*. *Ceres* in *Sicily*, and at *Eleusis*. *Vesta* or *Cybele*, throughout all *Phrygia*, above all at *Berecynthus*, and *Pessinus*. *Minerva* at *Alalcomene*, *Athens* and *Argos*. *Apollo* at *Chrysa*, a City in *Phrygia*, at *Delphos*, at *Cylla*, at *Claros* one of the *Cyclades*, at *Cynthus* a Mountain in *Delos*, at *Grynium*, at *Lesbos*, at *Miletos*, *Patara*, *Phaselis* a Mountain in *Lycia*, at *Smyntus*, *Rhodes*, *Tenedos*, *Cyrrha*, among the *Hyperboreans*, and elsewhere. *Diana* at *Ephesus*, *Delos*, *Mycenæ*, at *Brauron* in *Attica*, at *Magnesia*, upon Mount *Menala*, at *Segesta*, &c. *Venus* at *Amathus* in *Cyprus*, at *Cythera*, *Gnidus*, *Paphos*, *Idalia*, upon Mount *Eryx* in *Sicily*, upon *Ida* in *Phrygia*. *Mars* at *Rome*, among the *Getes*, and other northern People, as the *Scythians* and *Thracians*. *Vulcan* in the *Æolian Islands*, at *Lemnos*, near Mount *Ætna*; and in earlier times in *Egypt*, whose first Divinity he was, according to the best Authors. *Mercury*, upon *Helicon*, and the *Cyllenian Mountains*, at *Nonacria*, and generally thro' all *Arcadia*. *Neptune*, in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, at *Tænarus*, and upon all the Seas. *Nereus*, upon the Sea-Coasts, and by Seamen. *Saturn*, in several Places of *Italy*. *Pluto*, in all the Sacrifices offered to the Dead. *Bacchus*, at *Thebes*, *Nysa*, *Naxos*, &c. *Esculapius*, at *Epidaurus*, at *Rome*, and elsewhere. *Pan*, upon Mount *Menalus* in *Arcadia*. &c. *Fortune*, at *Antium*; *Æolus*, in the Isles that bore his Name. These were the principal Places in *Greece*, in *Asia minor*, and in *Italy*, where the Gods were honoured with a particular Worship.

Lastly, to compleat the Absurdity, they worshipped the brute Animals and Reptiles: Nor was it only particular Persons that offer'd them Incense and Sacrifices, but whole Cities where their Worship was established; thus *Memphis* and *Heliopolis* ador'd the Ox, *Sais* and *Thebes* the Sheep, *Cynopolis* the Dogs, *Mendes* the Goats, the *Assyrians* the Pigeons (a). In some Towns they

worship'd

(a) We shall explain in the 6th Book, what we are to think of the Worship paid to mere Animals.

worship'd the Monkeys, in others the Crocodiles and Lizards, the Ravens, the Storks, the Eagle, the Lion; and these Towns even frequently bore the Name of the Animals that were the Objects of their Worship, as *Cynopolis*, *Leontopolis*, *Mendes*, &c. The Fishes too became the Object of a superstitious Worship, not only among the *Syrians*, who durst not so much as eat of them, but also in several Towns in *Egypt*, *Lydia* and other Countries. Some placed upon their Altars Eels, others Tortoises, and others Pikes (*b*).

They did not stop here: The Insects, the very Serpents were worship'd in *Egypt*, and in several other Countries. *Epidaurus* and *Rome* had Temples erected to the Adder, which they believ'd represented *Esculapius*. There was nothing, even to the smallest Insects, but became the Object of this foolish Superstition: The *Thessalians* honour'd the Pismires, to whom they thought they ow'd their Original; the *Acar-nanians* the Flies; and if the Inhabitants of *Accaron* did not worship them, they at least offer'd Incense to the Genius who drove them away, and *Beelzebub* was their great Divinity. In fine, the very Stones were the Objects of publick Worship; as that which *Saturn* had swallow'd instead of *Jupiter*, and that which among the *Phrygians* represented the Mother of the Gods, and the God *Terminus*, who was a sort of March-stone or piece of a Rock.

Were we now to speak of the Heroes and Demi-Gods, what a prodigious Number of them shall we find? Their Temples were diffused over all the Earth, and their Worship, tho' less solemn than that of the Gods, made a considerable part of the Pagan Religion. *Æneas*, surnam'd *Jupiter-Indigetes* had a Chapel erected to his honour upon the banks of the River *Numicus*; *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Picus*, *Evander*, *Fatua* or *Carmenta*, *Acca-Laurentia* or *Flora*, *Matuta*, *Portumnus*, *Mania*, *Anna-Perrenna*, *Vertumnus*, *Romulus*, and several others, were honoured in the *Latin* Country.

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(*b*) For all these, consult *Vossius* de Idol. who treats of them at great length.

Hercules (a), *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen*, *Agamemnon*, and most of the Heroes of the Golden Fleece, or of the Siege of *Troy*, had Temples and Altars in most of the Cities of *Greece*. *Laconia* honour'd *Hyacinthus*, and *Timomarchus* who fought for the *Lacedemonians* against the People of *Amyclæ*; not to mention *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Paris* and *Deiphobus*. The *Messenians* offer'd Incense and Sacrifices to *Polycaon*, to his Wife *Messena*, to their Son *Triopas*, and to the celebrated *Machaon* Son of *Esculapius*. The *Arcadians* granted divine Honours to *Calisto*, to his Son *Arcas*, to *Aristeus* who had quitted the Island of *Cos* where he was born, for *Arcadia* where he taught that People the Art of training up Bees. The People of *Argos* honour'd *Perseus*, *Lynceus*, *Hypermnestra*, *Io*, *Apis*. The *Acarnanians* rever'd *Amphilochus*, and consulted his Oracles. The People of *Athens* had fill'd that famous City with the Temples of *Cecrops*, of his Daughters *Aglauros*, *Herse* and *Pandrosos*, of *Celeus* and *Triptolemus* his Son, of *Erechtheus* and his Daughters: There also were to be seen the Temples of *Ægeus*, *Theseus*, *Dedalus*, of *Perdix* his Nephew, of *Androgeos*, *Alcmena*, *Æacus*, of *Iolaus* the famous Companion of *Hercules* in his Labours, of *Codrus*, and an Infinity of others. At *Delphos* was to be seen that of *Neoptolemus*; at *Megara* that of *Alcathous*; among the *Oropians* that of *Amphiaræus*. *Thebes* was famous, not only for the Worship of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, *Cadmus*, *Hermione*, but also of that whole illustrious Family: Thus *Ino* and *Melicerta* had their Temples and their Altars there, as well as *Hercules*, *Iolaus*, and *Amphiaræus*. In *Elis*, the Women sacrificed once a year to *Hippodamia*, the Daughter of *Pelops*. *Telesphorus* was honour'd at *Pergamus*; *Damia* or *Lamia*, at *Epidaurus*; *Nemesis* at *Rhamnus*; *Sanctus* or *Sangus*, among the *Sabines*; *Adramus* and *Pelicus*, in *Sicily*; *Coronis* at *Sicyon*; *Theagenes*

(a) There is none of the Gods *Indiges*, whose Worship was more extensive than that of *Hercules*. *Greece*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africk*, *Libya*, *Egypt* and *Phenicia* had Temples and Altars erected to him.

agenes among the *Thebians*; *Boreas* in *Thrace*; *Pater-Curis* among the *Volscans*; *Tellenus* at *Aquileia*; *Tanais* in *Armenia*; *Ferentina* at *Ferentum*; *Tages* in *Etruria*, the modern *Tuscany*; *Feronia* in several Places of *Italy*; *Marica* at *Minturnæ*; the *Graces* at *Orcho-menos*; the *Muses* in *Pieria*, and at *Lesbos*; and *Amphilochus* at *Gropos*. *Thessaly* sacrificed to *Peleus*, to *Chiron*, to *Achilles*. The Island of *Tenedos* to *Tenes*; that of *Chios* to *Aristeus* and *Drimachus*; *Samos* to *Lysander*; *Naxos* to *Ariadne*; the *Æginetæ* to *Æacus*; the People of *Salamis* to the famous *Ajax*, Son of *Telamon*; the Island of *Crete* to *Europa*, *Idomeneus*, *Molon* and *Minos*. In *Africk* were to be seen the Temples of several Kings. The *Moors* honour'd *Juba*; the *Cyrenians* *Battus*; the *Carthaginians* *Dido*, *Amilcar*, &c. The *Thracians* *Orpheus*, and their Legislator *Zamolxis*.

There would be no end of it, were we to run over all the other Places celebrated for the Worship of some particular Divinity, since the whole Earth was full of Temples and Altars, raised not only to the great Gods, but also to the *Indigetes* (a); and, generally speaking, every People and City advanced their Founders and Conquerors to a Place among the Gods. If Proofs should be thought necessary for all that I have said upon this last Article, we need but read *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, who mentions Temples consecrated to all those Heroes; and among the Moderns, *Meursius* in his excellent Treatise of the Festivals of *Greece*; the first Book of *Vossius*, and *Rosinus* (1).

In fine, if to all these Gods we add the *Genii* and the *Junones*, who were as guardian Angels to every Man and Woman, we shall have no difficulty in believing what *Pliny* says, that the number of the Gods surpassed that of Men (b); far less what *Varro* reports, who makes the number amount to thirty thousand.

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(a) For all these *Indigetes* and their Worship, consult *Pausanias* and *Strabo*; and, among the Moderns, *Meursius's Græcia Feriata*, and *Vossius de Idol.* Lib. 1. (1) L. 2, & 3.

(b) Major cœlitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi potest, cum singuli quoque ex semetipsis totidem Deos faciant, Junones, Geniosque adaptando sibi. *Plin*, L. 2.

I am far from denying there were some in every Age; thro' almost every Country of the World, who sincerely rejected those ridiculous Deities, at least the most of them. I know God reserved to himself some Servants among the most idolatrous Nations; that *Salem* had its *Melchisedeck*, the *Idumeans* their *Job*, the *Chaldeans* their *Abraham*: But excepting these, we may believe that the whole Earth was overspread with the Darkness of Idolatry; that there were none but the *Jewish* People in a Corner of the World, who retained the Idea and Worship of the true God; nay, that same People, who are but too justly charged with Ingratitude, and always immers'd in Sensuality, notwithstanding the conspicuous Favours they received from their God, and the continual Prohibitions of the Prophets, suffered themselves but too often to be drawn away by the fatal Propensity which they had to Idolatry.

It may be objected against what I have been now saying of the Progress of Idolatry, that all the false Divinities of the Pagans were but different Attributes of the true God; that they adored his Justice, for example, in *Themis*, his Sovereign Power in *Jupiter*, his Eloquence in *Mercury*, his Wisdom in *Pallas*, and so of the rest; but this would not make them the more excusable, having thus distributed and parcel'd out among the several Gods, the Perfections of a Being who is one in Essence. We may judge the same way of the Poets and Philosophers, who believed God to be the Soul of this vast Universe, that gave it Life and Motion.

*Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitai molem, & magno se corpore miscet:*

. *Deum namque ire per omnes*

Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum (1).

This was the favourite Opinion of the Stoicks, as *Cicero* tells us (2): Every one gave to this universal Soul of the World, the Name of some Divinity. *Strabo* said it was *Jupiter*; according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, it was *Saturn*; *Macrobius* would have it to be the Sun;

Apu-

(1) *Æn.* 1. 6.

(2) *Quæst. Acad.* 1. 4.

leius the Moon: Others *Pan*, or *Juno*, or *Minerva*; or rather, according to the Opinion of *Zeno* (1), it was one and the same Soul of the World, that took all these different Names, according to the different Relations of its Power: That it was called *Dios*, because by it all things are made; *Athena*, because its Empire is in the Heavens; *Hera*, or *Juno*, because it presides over the Air; *Poseidon* or *Neptune*, because it resides in the Water; *Vulcan*, because it dwells in the Fire (2). To acknowledge and adore as a Divinity, this universal Soul, which is a portion of the World, extended like the Body it animates, this is indeed a more refined sort of Idolatry than that of the Vulgar; but still 'tis to pay that Homage to a material Object, which is due to God alone; or rather it was an Atheism like that of *Strato*, *Pliny*, *Spinoza*, and the greatest part of the *Chinese* Literati.

But having proved that Idolatry arrived only by degrees at that pitch of Absurdity we have seen, it remains to shew in a few words, in what manner the Worship paid to false Gods, arose to the very height of Abomination.

As in the first Ages, most Nations knew neither Towns nor Houses, and dwelt only in Huts, or under moveable Tents, wandering about to different Places in quest of fix'd Settlements, it was neither easy nor convenient for them to build Temples and set up Idols; and this is what obliged them at first to choose for the Exercise of their Religion, Caverns, Groves, and Mountains, the Priests and Legislators having considered those retired Places, as exceeding proper to give a more venerable Aspect to the Mysteries of Religion. *Pliny* expresses himself clearly upon this Subject. The Trees, says he, and Fields were in old times the Temples of the Gods. *Arbores fuere Numinum Tempia, priscoque ritu simplicia rura.* This is what gave rise to the Consecration of Groves, a Custom that lasted as long as Idolatry itself.

We

(1) See *Diog. Laert.* (2) This was likewise the Sentiment of *Varro.* See *S. Augustine de Civ. Dei*, l. 27. c. 23.

We are to observe, in the first place, that when they came to build Temples, the sacred Groves still continued to be in use, and oft-times they inclosed them with a Plantation. Secondly, that those first Temples had no Idols. 'Twas not till the Invention of Architecture that the Art of making Figures came to be known. *Herodotus* (1) and *Lucian* (2) let us know this much of the *Egyptians* and *Scythians*. If we may believe *Plutarch* after *Varro* (3), the *Romans* were 170 Years without Statues or Idols, and even *Numa Pompilius* prohibited them by a Law equally wise and judicious: Accordingly, when they found the Books of that Prince, which had been a long time lost, they caused them to be burned, probably because they condemned a Custom then become too universal to be abolished, unless we will say they burned them as doubtful or spurious Books. In like manner, *Silius Italicus* tells us, that the Temple of *Jupiter Annon* was without any Idol, and that the eternal Fire they preserved there, represented the Divinity of the Place. In fine, not to be tedious by too many Quotations, *Tertullian* lets us know, that even in his time there were several Temples that had no Statues; and this is the meaning of the Author of the Book of *Wisdom*, when speaking about Idols: *Neque enim erant ab initio, neque erunt in perpetuum*.

We are to remark in the third place, that before Statuary was invented, they paid a religious Worship to shapeless Stones, to Pillars, and other things of that nature; this is what we learn from several Authors. *Sanctioniathon* says, the most ancient Statues were nothing but unhew'd Stones, which he calls *Bætilia*; which Word probably comes from *Bethel*, the Name which *Jacob* gave to the Stone he set up for an Altar, after his wrestling with the Angel (4). *Pausanias* speaks of the Statues of *Hercules* and of *Cupid*, that were nothing but two Masses of Stone. The same Author adds, that there were seen even in one Place, thirty square

(1) Lib. 1.
Dei, l. 4. c. 31.

(2) *De Dea Syria*.

(4) *Gen.* 28.

(3) See *S. Augustine de Civ.*

square Stones, which had the Names of so many Divinities. The *Scythians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), worshipped a Sword which represented the God *Mars*. Other Nations, as *Justin* has it, directed their Worship to a Spear; and hence came the Custom of giving Spears to the Statues of the Gods, *Ab Origine rerum pro Diis immortalibus hastas coluerunt: Ob cujus religionis memoriam, adhuc Deorum Simulachris hastæ adduntur.*

l. 43. The famous Scepter of *Agamemnon* which *Homer* speaks of, was worshipped by the People of *Chæronea*, as a Symbol of *Jupiter*. In fine, we learn from *Arnobius*, that the *Persians* worshipped the Fire and the Rivers; the *Arabians*, a shapeless Stone; the *Thespians*, a Bough of a Tree; the *Carians*, Wood; the People of *Pessinus*, a Flint Stone; the *Romans*, *Romulus's* Spear; and the *Samians*, a Well. *Videtis temporibus priscis Persas fluvios coluisse, memoralia ut indicant scripta; informem Arabas Lapidem, Acinacem Scythiæ nationes, Ramum pro Cynthia Thespios; Lignum Cariis pro Diana colebatur; Pessinuntios silicem pro Deum matre, pro Marte Romanos hastam, Puteum Samios pro Junone* (2). When the Art of making Statues (the Honour of which is ascrib'd to *Prometheus*) was invented, and *Dedalus* had brought it to perfection, all these Divinities without Form were rejected, and from that time Idolatry began to make considerable progress. They carry'd Superstition so far, as even to believe that the Deities themselves resided in the Statues that represented them; and so universally was this Opinion received, that *Stilpo* the Philosopher having undertaken to prove that the *Minerva* of *Phidias* was not a God, was arraigned before the *Areopagus*, where he was obliged in his own defence, to have recourse to a pitiful Evasion, and to say he had asserted, the Statue was not a God, because it was a Goddess; which however did not hinder him from being banished.

As all Religion necessarily requires a Worship, after having treated of the Rise and Progress of Idolatry,

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and

(1) L. 4.

(2) Arnobius adv. Gentes, l. 6.

and of the Gods it introduced, it is necessary to consider the Worship they paid to those different Divinities; the Altars, Temples, Priests, Sacrifices, Victims, Instruments of Sacrifice, Oracles, Festivals, &c. which shall be the Subject of so many Chapters.

C H A P. V.

Of the Temples of the Pagans, of their Form, Antiquity, &c.

TH E Antiquity of Temples is a thing as unquestionable, as the Time when they began to be used is uncertain. As 'twas in *Phenicia* and *Egypt* that Idolatry took its rise, not long after the Deluge, these are the two Countries, to be sure, where we are to seek for the Origin of whatever concerns the Worship of false Gods, and the Use of Temples, which they introduced. *Herodotus* and *Lucian* expressly tell us so of the *Egyptians*; but we are to observe at the same time, that the System of that false Religion was not established all at once, and that its Ceremonies were only introduced by piece-meal. At first, the Gods were honoured after a gross manner; simple Altars of rough Stone, or Turf, set up in the open Fields, were all the Apparatus of the Sacrifices they offered them. Chapels, that is, close Places, and at last Temples, were only introduced in later times; and accordingly, we do not find that the *Egyptians* had any in *Moses's* time, otherwise he had mentioned them, as he had frequent occasion to do. Thus, I am confident that the Tabernacle he made in the Desert, which was a portable Temple, is the first of the kind that is known, and perhaps the Model of all the rest. The Tabernacle had a Place more sacred than the rest, the *Sancta Sanctorum*, which answers to the holy and more sacred Places in the Pagan Temples, which they called *Adyta*. This Temple, exposed to the view of Nations, bordering upon the Places which the *Israelites* passed thro' for forty Years, might give occasion to those Idolaters to build others like to it,

it, tho' not portable ; at least it is certain, they had of 'em before the building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. The first made mention of in Scripture, is that of *Dagon* among the *Philistines*. But be that as it will, the Custom of building Temples in honour of the Gods, was derived from *Egypt* to the other Nations. *Lucian* (1) says, it was propagated from that Country to the *Assyrians*, under which Name he must needs comprehend the adjacent Countries, *Phenicia*, *Syria*, and others. From *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, it passed to *Greece* with the Colonies, and from *Greece* to *Rome* ; this is the Course of Fables and Idolatry, as we observe so frequently in this Work ; and this Opinion is grounded upon *Herodotus*, and upon all the Evidence Antiquity can afford. *Deucalion* has the glory ascrib'd to him of having built the first Temples in *Greece*, and *Janus* in *Italy*. As for *Italy*, others will have it that the Honour thereof belongs to *Faunus*, from whom was derived the Name *Fanum*, which among the *Latins* signifies a Temple ; but all these Inquiries are equally frivolous and uncertain. What we are better warranted to say, is, that the small Chapels, mostly rear'd up by private Persons, in the open Fields, were very soon succeeded by regular Buildings, and at last by Master-pieces of Architecture. We may see in *Herodotus*, and other Authors, what was the Magnificence of the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, which so many Kings had much ado to finish : A Prince gained no small Honour, if, in the course of a long Reign, he was able to build one Portico of it. In *Pausanias* you have the Description of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (2), which I shall give at the end of this Chapter, with that of other Temples I here mention. That of *Delphi*, as famous for its Oracles, as for the immense Presents with which it was enrich'd, deserves to be known. That of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, that Master-piece of Art, and so renown'd, that a mad Fool (3) thought to immortalize his Name by burning it, was as rich as magnificent. The *Pantheon*, a Specimen of the Magni-

(1) De Dea Syria.

(2) In Elia.

(3) Erostratus.

cence of *Agrippa*, *Augustus's* Son-in-law, is still subsisting, and is dedicated to all the Saints, as it was formerly to all the Gods. In fine, the Temple of *Belus*, or rather that grand and magnificent Tower, composed of seven Stories, whereof the highest contained the Statue of that God, with the other things *Herodotus* speaks of, as it was the ancientest of all those I have named, so it was the most singular, and the most magnificent.

These are the most stately of the Pagan Temples, whereof the Memory is preserved to us in History. The others of less Distinction are so numerous, that it would require whole Volumes to describe them, nor would it be a thing of any use. In *Rome* alone, there are reckoned to have been upwards of a thousand, great and small together. The Antiquaries have given us the Plan and Elevation of some of those Temples, especially *F. Montfaucon* (1), who may be consulted.

As the *Latins* use a variety of Words for a Temple, *Templum*, *Fanum*, *Ædes*, *Sacrarium*, *Delubrum*, &c. the Grammarians and Commentators have search'd into the Etymology of each of these Denominations; but when all is well examined, it appears that these Names signify'd Places consecrated to the Gods, distinguished from one another more by their Size than Form, altho' very good Authors make other Distinctions between them. *Fanum* in early times seems to have denoted the Place designed for a Temple, and to have been the Word appropriated afterwards, to signify a little Temple, as likewise the word *Sacrarium*. Accordingly, *Cicero* (2) twice makes use of these two Words, to describe a small Temple which *Ceres* had at *Catana* in *Sicily*. That Orator elsewhere uses the word *Sacrarium*, for the private Chapels every one had in his own House; but these Chapels were more frequently express'd by the word *Lararium*. *Ædes*, if we believe *Varro*, whose Testimony is quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (3), imply'd that the Temple was constituted by the Augurs; whence he concludes, that every thing they

(1) Ant. expl. Vol. 2. B. 2. (2) In his fourth against *Verrus*
 (3) Noct. Att. l. 14. c. 7.

they called *Ædes*, was not a Temple; but this Distinction is without foundation, for Authors use both Expressions promiscuously for Buildings consecrated to the Gods. The Case was otherwise as to the word *Delubrum*, which, according to *Asconius*, properly signify'd a Temple consecrated to several Divinities, and which had in it several Chapels, as the *Pantheon* was a Temple consecrated to all the Gods. The word *Templum* did not even always denote a Building, since the Augurs apply'd it to the Plots of Ground inclosed with Pallisadoes or Nets, which they mark'd out with the Augural Staff, in order to take the Auguries*.

The Temples of the Ancients were divided into several Parts, which it is proper to distinguish, for understanding the Descriptions they give of them. The first was the Porch, where was the Pool, whence the Priests, *Æditi*, drew the Holy-Water for the Expiation of such as were to enter into the Temples; the *Nave* *ναὸς*; and the holy Place called *Penetræle*, *Sacrarium*, *Adytum*, into which private Persons were not permitted to enter; and last of all, the back Temple, *ἐπισθόδιον*; but this last Division was not in every one. The Temples had often Porticoes, and always Steps of ascent. There were some of them too with Galleries carry'd quite round; these Galleries were composed of a Range of Pillars, set at a certain distance from the Wall, cover'd with large Stones: Temples of this sort were called *Peripteres*, that is to say, wing'd all around; and *Dipteres*, when the Gallery had two Rows of Pillars; *Prostyles*, when the Pillars form'd the Portico without a Gallery; and lastly, *Hypethres*, when they had two Rows of Pillars on the Outside, and as many on the Inside, the Middle being wholly uncovered, much after the form of our Cloysters. *Vitruvius* takes notice of some other Particularities, that may be seen in his Work.

* Or to those Spaces in the Heavens, which the Augur circumscrib'd with his Eye. Hence *Varro* derives the Word *a Templando*, i. e. *Contemplando*.

The inner part of the Temple was often very much adorned ; for besides the Statues of the Gods, which were sometimes of Gold, Ivory, Ebony, or of some other precious Materials, and those of the great Men (*a*) which were sometimes very numerous, it was ordinary to see there Paintings, Gildings, and other Embellishments, among which we must not forget the Offerings, or the *Ex voto* ; that is to say, Prows of Ships, dedicated upon their being saved from Shipwreck, by the assistance, as they thought, of some God ; Tablets, *Tabellas*, for the cure of a Disease ; Arms won from the Enemy, Colours, Tripods, and votive Bucklers, like those two which are in the King of *France's* Cabinet of Medals, the History whereof is in the ninth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres* (*b*). There were especially in the Temple of *Delphos*, and in several Temples at *Rome*, immense Riches of this kind. Besides these sorts of Ornaments, they were not wanting on Holidays to deck the Temples with Branches of Laurel, Olive, and Ivy.

When they were to build a Temple, the *Aruspices* were employed to choose the Place where, and Time when they were to begin the Work. This Place was purify'd with great Care ; they even encircled it with Fillets and Garlands (*1*). The Vestals, accompanied with young Boys and Girls, washed this Spot of Ground with Water, pure and clean, and the Priest expiated it by a solemn Sacrifice. Then he touched the Stone that was to be first laid in the Foundation, and which was bound with a Fillet ; and the People, animated with a mighty Zeal, threw it in thither with some Pieces of Money, or Metal which had never yet passed thro' the Furnace. When the Edifice was finish'd, there was also a Consecration of it, with grand Ceremonies, wherein the Priest, or, in his absence, some of his College presided.

Tacitus

(*a*) See the Description of the most celebrated Temples, at the end of this Chapter.

(*b*) See the Treatise *de Donariis*, by *Thomasinus*.

(*1*) See *Tacitus Hist.* l. 4. c. 53.

Tacitus (1) speaking of the Restoration of the Capitol, has transmitted to us the Form, and other Ceremonies in consecrating Ground, set apart for building a Temple. *Vespasian*, says he, having committed to *L. Vestinus* the Care of restoring the Capitol, that Roman Knight consulted the *Aruspices*, who informed him, that he was first to transport the Remains of the old Temple into the Marshes, and build a new one upon the same Foundations. On the 21st day of *June*, the Sky being clear and serene, the whole space of Ground designed for the Edifice, was enclosed with Fillets and Garlands. Such of the Soldiers as had auspicious Names, enter'd this Inclosure with Boughs in their hands; the Vestal Virgins succeeded, accompany'd by Boys and Girls, whose Fathers and Mothers were still alive, who besprinkled the whole Ground with Water from Fountain, Lake, or River. Then *Helvidius Priscus* the Prætor, preceded by *Plautus Ælianus* the Pontif, compleatly expiated the Inclosure, by sacrificing a Cow and some Bulls, as an Offering to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and the Tutelar Deities of the Empire, praying them to bring to a happy Issue this Building, which the Piety of Men had begun for their Habitation. The other Magistrates who assisted at this Ceremony, the Priests, the Senate, the Knights and People, full of Ardour and Joy, exerted themselves to remove a Stone of an enormous Bulk, in order to drag it to its proper Place. Lastly, they threw into the Foundation, several small Gold Coins, and other pieces of Metal, as we have said.

Of those Temples, some were not to be built within the Precincts of Cities, but without the Walls; as those of *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Venus*, for the Reasons given by *Vitruvius* (2). “When Temples are to be built to the
“ Gods, says that Author, especially to those of them
“ who are Patrons of the City, if it be to *Jupiter*, *Juno*,
“ or *Minerva*, they must be set on Places of the great-
“ est Eminence, whence one may have a view of the
“ bulk of the Town-walls. If it is to *Mercury*, they
P 4 “ must

(1) Hist. ibid. (2) L. 2. c. 2.

“ must be set in the Forum or Market-place, as is ob-
 “ served in those of *Isis* and *Serapis*. Those of *Apollo*
 “ and *Bacchus* must be near the Theatre. Those of
 “ *Hercules*, when there is neither Gymnasium nor
 “ Amphitheatre, should be placed near the Circus.
 “ Those of *Mars* without the City, in the Fields; as
 “ those of *Venus* at the City-Gates. We find, con-
 “ tinues he, in the Writings of the *Tuscan* Soothsayers,
 “ that they have a custom of placing the Temples of
 “ *Venus*, *Vulcan*, and *Mars*, without the Walls, lest
 “ if *Venus* was within the City itself, it might be a
 “ means of debauching young People, and Matrons
 “ too. *Vulcan* was also to be without, that Houses
 “ might not be in danger of taking fire. While *Mars*
 “ is without the Walls, there will be no Dissension
 “ among the People; nay more, he will be in the
 “ place of a Rampart, to secure the Walls of the
 “ City from the Hazards of War. The Temples of
 “ *Ceres* were likewise without the Cities, in Places not
 “ much frequented, unless to offer Sacrifices to her,
 “ that their Purity might not be defiled.” These Di-
 stinctions however were not always strictly observed.

The Idolaters had all possible Veneration for their
 Temples. If we may believe *Arrian*, it was forbid to
 blow one's nose, or spit there; and *Dion* adds, that
 sometimes they clamber'd up to them upon their knees.
 They were a Sanctuary for Criminals and Debtors, as
 we observe in the following Chapter. In fine, in times
 of publick Calamity, the Women prostrated themselves
 in the sacred Places, and swept the Pavements of them
 with their Hair. Sometimes, however, it happened,
 that when publick Disasters obstinately continued, the
 People lost all due Reverence for the Temples, and
 were so outrageous, as to fall a pelting the Walls with
 stones; an Instance whereof we find in *Suetonius* (1).

Tho' commonly both Men and Women enter'd into
 the Temples, yet there were some where the Men
 were forbid to enter; for instance, that of *Diana* at
Rome, in the Street called the *Vicus Patricius*, as we
 learn

(1) In Calig.

learn from *Plutarch*, altho' they might enter into the other Temples of that Goddess. The Reason of this Prohibition is thought to have been, that a Woman, as she was praying in that Temple, had received a most cruel Insult.

Having taken a cursory View of the Pagan Temples, I judge it will not be from the purpose to give a particular Description of some of the most famous ones. By this we may judge to what a pitch Magnificence and Profusion had been carried.

The Temple of Belus.

As this Temple is allowed to be the most ancient of any in the Pagan World, as cannot be doubted ; so likewise was its Structure the most curious. *Berosus*, as *Josephus* relates (1), ascribes the building of it to *Belus*, who was himself worshipped there after his Death. But certain it is, if the *Belus* of that Historian be the same with *Nimrod*, as is very probable, his Design was not to build a Temple, but to erect a Tower, in order to shelter himself and his People from Inundations, if such a one as the Deluge should again happen. We know in what manner God put a stop to that mad Design. The Work continued in the same State it was in at the Confusion of Tongues, and was afterwards set apart for a Temple to *Belus*, who was deify'd after his death. This famous Tower, commonly called the *Tower of Babel*, formed a Square in its Base, each side containing a Stadium in length (a), which made a half Mile in circumference. The whole Work consisted of eight Towers, raised the one above the other, and diminishing gradually, from the lowest to the highest. Some Authors, as *Prideaux* remarks (2), being misled by the *Latin Version* of *Herodotus*, alledge, that each of these Towers was a Furlong in height, which would make the whole a Mile high ; but the *Greek Text* says no such thing, nor is any mention made of the height of the Edifice (b). *Strabo*,

(1) *Antiq. L.* 10. (2) *Connec. Vol.* 1.

(a) The Stadium, or Furlong, was a Space of 120 Toises.

(b) *Herodotus* only says, the Building was one Furlong in length, 120 Toises in breadth.

bo, who has also describ'd this Temple, allows no more than a Furlong for its height ; and as much for each side. The learned Publisher of the Edition of *Pri-deaux* at *Trevoux*, says, that according to the Measure of the *Stadia* used in the Time of *Herodotus*, the only ancient Author, who describes the Edifice from having seen it, it could not be more than sixty-nine Toises or thereabout in height ; that is but a little more than twice the height of the Towers of the Church of *Paris* ; which is not very extraordinary, considering the Magnificence of some Buildings in *Europe*. The same Editor farther remarks, that as this Work was framed only of Bricks, which Men carried upon their Backs, as we learn from the Ancients (1), and as Scripture tells us, concerning the Tower of *Babel*, its Construction has nothing in it surprizing ; and tho' it was higher than the great Pyramid, by a hundred and nineteen Feet, yet as the latter was built, or at least faced with Stones of an excessive length, which were to be hoisted up to so prodigious a height, the building of it must needs have been infinitely more difficult. But be that as it will, we learn from *Herodotus*, that they went up to the top of this Building by a winding Stair, which was on the outside. These eight Towers composed as it were so many Stories, each of which was seventy-five feet high, and in them they had disposed several great Chambers supported by Pillars, and other lesser ones, where People might rest themselves in going up. The highest was the most richly adorned, and that for which they had the greatest Veneration. In this Chamber, according to *Herodotus*, there was a stately Bed, and a Table of massy Gold, but no Statue.

Until the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, this Temple contained nothing but the Tower, and Chambers now mentioned, which were so many private Chapels. But that Monarch, as *Berosus* relates (2), enlarged it a great deal by the Edifices he built all around it, with a Wall that surrounded them, and brazen Gates ; in
framing

(1) Herod. L. 1. Strabo, Lib. 16. Diod. Sic. L. 2. Arri. L. 7.

(2) Apud Joseph. Ant. L. 10.

framing whereof, the Sea of Brass, and the other Utensils of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, had been employed. This Temple was still subsisting in the time of *Xerxes* (1), who, as he returned from his unfortunate Expedition into *Greece*, order'd it to be demolished; having first pillaged its immense Riches, among which were Statues of massy Gold; one of them, as *Diodorus Siculus* has it (2), being forty feet high, and which was probably the same that *Nebuchadnezzar* had consecrated in the Plain of *Dura*. The Scripture, indeed, gives this Colossus ninety feet in height; but this is to be understood of the Statue and Pedestal taken both together.

There were likewise in the same Temple several Idols of solid Gold, and a great number of sacred Vases of the same Metal; whose Weight, according to the same Author, came to 5030 Talents; which, added to the Statue, amounted to immense Sums. In fine, it was from the Temple enlarged by *Nebuchadnezzar*, that *Herodotus*, who had seen it, took the Description in his first Book; and his Authority ought to be more regarded than that of *Diodorus Siculus*, who spoke of it only as he had heard from others. 'Tis true, *Herodotus* says, that in a low Chapel of this Temple, was a large golden Statue of *Jupiter*, that is of *Belus*; but he gives neither its Weight nor Dimensions, contenting himself with saying, that the Statue, with a golden Table, a Throne, and a Foot-stool, were all together estimated by the *Babylonians* at 800 Talents. The same Author adds, that without this Chapel was likewise an Altar of Gold, and a larger one, on which they sacrificed Animals full-grown, because it was not permitted to offer any such upon the Golden Altar, but those only that were not yet weaned; and that they burned yearly upon the great Altar Incense to the weight of an hundred thousand Talents. Lastly, he mentions another Statue of massy Gold, which he had not seen; but was told it amounted to twelve Cubits, or eighteen Feet in height. 'Tis, no doubt, the same that
Diq-

(1) Herod. Lib. 1. App. L. 7. (2) Lib. 2.

Diodorus speaks of, tho' he gives it forty Feet in height ; which Account is the more credible of the two, if it was that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we have great reason to think.

But whatever be in that, I have observed from *Herodotus*, that in the highest Tower there was a magnificent Bed ; and this Author subjoins, that none was allowed to lie there, except a Woman of the City, whom the Priest of *Belus* chose every day, making her believe, that she was honoured there with the Presence of the God.

The Temple of Vulcan at Memphis.

The *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, were the first People in the World who built Temples in honour of the Gods. I have no design to speak of all those that were in that Country ; but that of *Vulcan*, and some others, deserve a particular Consideration upon account of their Antiquity.

Altho' we have not any very full Description of the Temple of *Vulcan*, we may judge from what *Herodotus* says of it in several places of his History (1), that it must have been of surpassing Magnificence. First, as to its Antiquity, it seems to be unquestionable, since that Historian tells us it was built by *Menes*, the first who reigned in *Egypt* after the Gods and Demi-Gods. Probably 'twas not that Prince who gave all that Beauty to the Work, for which it was afterwards admired ; altho' *Herodotus* says, that even then it was grand and highly celebrated, since the primitive Buildings spoke nothing but a noble Simplicity. But the Successors of *Menes* ambitiously vied with one another in embellishing the Work of the Founder of their Monarchy, and in adorning it with the Statues we are going to mention ; for, according to the best Historians, there were no Statues in the ancient Temples of *Egypt*. *Mæris*, a powerful Prince, and extreamly rich, added to this first Temple the stately Porch, that was on the North side. *Rhamfisinitus*, *Proteus's* Successor, raised, according to the same Author, that which fronted to the West,

(1) Lib. 2. C. 99.

West, and placed over-against the Porch two Colossal Statues, each twenty-five Cubits, that is thirty-seven or thirty-eight Feet in height. The one, which the *Egyptians* worship'd, was called by them *Summer*, because it faced to the North : the other, for which they had no regard, was stiled *Winter*, and look'd to the South. In fine, *Amasis* set up before the same Temple an inverted Statue, seventy-five Feet high ; and upon this Colossus, which served for a Foundation, or rather Pedestal, he erected two other Statues, each twenty Feet in height, and of the same Marble with the great one.

It is easy judging, from *Herodotus's* Account, of the Magnificence and Extent of this Temple. In the meantime the inner Part of the Edifice, so far from inviting the Admiration of those who entered into it, only provoked the Contempt and Raillery of *Cambyses*, who broke out into an immoderate Fit of Laughter, at seeing the Statues of *Vulcan*, and the other Gods, like *Pygmies* (1) ; which, in truth, must needs have made a very ridiculous Contrast with the Colossus's in the Porches of which we have spoke. This perhaps was the same Temple which *Menes* had built : for the Works of the *Egyptians* were made to last an immense time.

Egypt had besides a great number of Temples every one of them richer than another ; such as that of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* or *Diospolis* ; and that of *Andera* at *Hermunthis* ; that of *Proteus* at *Memphis*, mentioned by *Herodotus* ; and that of *Minerva* at *Sais*, which, as the same Author tells us, *Amasis* had taken great pains to embellish with a Porch, which far surpassed in Grandeur and Magnificence, all the Monuments which the Kings his Predecessors had left. That same Prince added to it Statues of a prodigious size ; for the *Egyptians* loved Colossal Figures, not to mention Stones, that were hardly to be measured for their enormous Bigness, which came most of them from *Elephantina*, a Town at the distance of twenty days sailing from *Sais*.

(1) See the Article of the *Cabiri*, in the 6th Book.

Sais. The Particularities necessary to be entered into, in order to give a tolerable Notion of so many fine Works, would be too great a Digression ; but I can't forbear to take notice of a sort of Temple, the only one in its kind, I mean that Chapel of a single Stone, which the same *Amasis* had caused to be cut out of the Quarries in the upper *Egypt*, and be transported with incredible Labour and Pains, as far as *Sais*, where it was to be set up in the Temple of *Minerva*. Here is the Account given of it by *Herodotus*. “ But what I “ admire more than all the other Works done by *Amasis*'s Orders, says that Author, he caused to be “ brought from *Elephantina* a House made of one “ single Stone ; which two thousand Men, all of them “ Pilots and Sailors, were not able to transport in less “ than three Years. The Front of this House was “ twenty-one Cubits (1), by fourteen in breadth, and “ eight in height ; and within the Walls five Cubits “ high, and eighteen in length.”

This House never entered the Temple of *Minerva*, but was left at the Gate, whether *Amasis* was provoked to see the Architect, who conducted it, complain heavily of the Labour this Work had cost him, or because one of them, who had been assisting to convey it along the *Nile*, was crush'd to death, as the same Historian relates.

The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

This Temple, which has passed for one of the seven Wonders of the World, was of very great antiquity ; but at first it was not so magnificent as it became afterwards, since, according to *Pliny* (2), all *Asia* conspired for two hundred and twenty, or as he says elsewhere, for four hundred Years, to adorn and embellish it. *Pindar*, in one of his Odes, says, it was built by the *Amazons*, when they were going to make war upon the *Athenians* and *Theseus* ; but *Pausanias* (3) assures us, that this great Poet was ignorant of the Antiquity of that Temple ; since those very *Amazons* had come from the

(1) Thirty-one Feet and a half.

(2) Lib. 36. C. 14.

(3) Lib. 7. ad Init. where the same Author tells us, that one *Crejus* and *Ephesus*, who built the City, were the Founders of it.

the Banks of *Thermodon*, to sacrifice to *Diana* of the *Ephesians* in her Temple, with which they were acquainted, because some time before, being defeated by *Hercules*, and antecedently to him by *Bacchus*, they had fled thither for Refuge as into a Sanctuary.

Dionysius, the Geographer, informs us, there was one yet more ancient, built by the same *Amazons*, which remarkably declared the Simplicity of the first Ages, since it only consisted in a Niche, hollow'd out of an Elm, where was probably the Statue of *Diana*. That which I am going to speak of, was not so ancient; but how magnificent it was, the following Description by *Pliny* will shew. It was built, says he, in a marshy Ground, to secure it from Earthquakes, and Openings of the Earth that sometimes happen there; and that the Foundations of such a weighty Building might stand solid upon this soft and fenny Ground, they strew'd over it a quantity of beaten Coals, and laid over them Sheep-skins with their Wool. This Temple, continues the same Author, was four hundred and twenty-five Feet long, and two hundred Feet broad. The hundred and twenty-seven Columns, which supported the Edifice, were placed there by so many Kings, and were each of them sixty Feet high. Of these Pillars, there were thirty-six beautifully carved, and one of 'em by the famous *Scopas*. The Architect, who carried on this great Work, was *Chersiphron*, or *Ctesiphon*; and 'tis a wonder how he could place Architraves of so prodigious a weight. The Artifice which this skilful Workman made use of for his purpose is singular; he laid great Bags full of Sand upon the top of the Columns, then letting the Sand gently run out, the Architraves came insensibly to their proper Seat. *Chersiphron* found still more difficulty in placing a Stone of a much greater weight, above the Temple-Gate. Here it might be expected that *Pliny*, if he was not inform'd of the thing, should at least have thought upon a way how this immense Stone might have been placed; but instead of that, he coldly relates a Vision of the Architect, to whom *Diana* appeared, exhorting him to take
courage;

courage; and the next Morning, says he, the Stone was seen to descend of its own accord; and settle in the intended Situation. *Atque ita postridie apparuit Lapis; pondereque ipso correctus videbatur.* 'Tis credible enough, that the Roof of the Temple was made of Cedar-planks, as the same Author tells us; but I don't know if we are to credit what he says of the Stair by which they went to the very top, that was made of a single Vine-stock. Neither *Chersipbron*, nor his Son *Metagenes*, finished this so grand and magnificent a Work: other Architects wrought at it; and it was not entirely compleated till after a Period of 220 Years.

The Riches of this Temple must have been immense, since so many Kings contributed to embellish it; and since nothing was more famous in all *Asia* than this Fabrick, either for Devotion, or the infinite Concourse of People that resorted to *Ephesus*. The Account given by St. *Paul* (1) of the Sedition hatch'd by the Goldsmiths of that City, who earn'd their living by making small silver Statues of *Diana*, shews us effectually how celebrated the Worship of that Goddess was.

'Tis further probable, that the Description given by *Pliny*, respects the Temple which was burnt by *Erostratus*, in the manner every body knows. For that which subsisted in his time, had been raised by *Cbeiro-mocrates*, the same who built the Town of *Alexandria*, and who proposed to cut Mount *Athos* into a Statue of *Alexander*. This last Temple, which *Strabo* had seen, was not inferiour in Beauty and Riches to the former; and there were to be seen the Works of the ablest Statuaries in *Greece*. The Altar was almost wholly of *Praxiteles's* Workmanship. *Xenophon* speaks of a Statue of massy Gold, whereof *Herodotus*, who had visited this Temple, says nothing. *Strabo* assures us likewise, that the *Ephesians*, in gratitude, had erected in the same place a Statue of Gold, in honour of *Artemidorus*. *Vitruvius* tells us, that this Temple, of the *Ionick* Order, was *Dipterick*, that is, that there went quite round it two Ranges of Pillars, in form of a double

(1) Acts 19. 24.

double Portico ; that it was seventy-one Toises in length, with more than thirty-six in breadth, and that there were reckoned in it 127 Pillars of sixty Feet high.

This Temple was one of the most celebrated Asylums, which, according to the Author last quoted, extended to 125 Feet of the adjacent Ground. *Mithridates* had confined it to the space of a Bow-shot. *Marc Anthony* doubled that Extent ; but *Tiberius*, to correct the Abuses that were occasioned by those sorts of Privileges, abolished this Asylum.

Nothing is remaining at this day of so stately a Fabric but some Ruins ; an Account of which may be seen in *Spon's* Voyage. We often see this Temple represented upon Medals, with the Figure of *Diana* ; but the Frontispiece, because of the small room left in those sorts of Monuments, is never to be seen there charged with more than eight Pillars ; sometimes with six, with four, or only with two.

The Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Greece had so great a number of Temples, Chapels, and Altars, that they occur'd every where, in Cities, Villages, and in the open Fields. To be convinced of this, one needs but read the Ancients, and especially *Pausanias*, who has apply'd himself particularly to describe them, and speaks of them in almost every Page of his Travels through *Greece*.

Of all these Temples, there were four which *Vitruvius* especially admired ; they were built of Marble, and enriched with such fine Ornaments, that they drew the Admiration of the ablest Judges, and were become the Standard and Model for Buildings in the three Orders of Architecture, the *Dorick*, the *Ionick*, and the *Corinthian*. The first of these fine Works was the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of which we have given the Description. The second, that of *Apollo* in the City of *Miletus* ; both these of the *Ionick* Order. This celebrated Architect placed in the third Rank the Temple of *Eleusis*, built in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, which *Ictinus* made of the *Dorick* Order, of so wide Extent, that it was capable of containing thirty thousand

thousand Souls ; for there were at least so many, and oftentimes more, at the Celebration of the Mysteries of those two Goddesses (1). At first, *Vitruvius* remarks, this Temple had no Columns on the outside, to leave the more room and scope for the religious Ceremonies that were performed at the Sacrifices ; but *Philo* afterwards added to it a magnificent Portico. The fourth was the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Athens*, of the *Corinthian* Order. It had at first been begun by *Pisistratus* ; but the Broils that followed upon his Death, left the Work unfinished for near three hundred Years, till at last *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, undertook the Expence necessary for finishing the Nave, which was very large, and the Columns of the Portico. *Cassutius*, a *Roman* Citizen, and skilful Architect, was chosen for the Execution of this great Work ; and he succeeded in it so well, that there were few Edifices equal to it in Grandeur and Magnificence.

In pursuance of my Design, I single out two of these Temples, that of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which were the two most magnificent. The former, according to *Pausanias* (2), and the admirable Statue of *Jupiter* which was there, were the Product of the Spoils, which the *Eleans* had won from the *Pisans* and their Allies, when they sacked the City *Pisa*. This Temple, whereof *Libo*, a Native of the Country, was the Architect, was of the *Dorick* Order, and on the outside was surrounded with Columns, insomuch that the Place where it was built, formed a stately Peristyle. In this Fabrick, they made use of the Stones of the Country, which however were of a singular nature and exquisite beauty. The Height of the Temple, from the Area to the Roof, was sixty-eight Feet, its Breadth ninety-five, and its Length two hundred and thirty. The Roof was not of Tiles, but of a fine pentelick Marble, cut in the form of Tiles. From the middle of the Roof hung a gilded Victory, and under this Statue, a golden Shield, on which

(1) See Herod. L. 8. c. 65. & Strabo, L. 9. p. 365. (2) In Eliac. p. 303; & seq. Edit. Wechel. 1613.

which was represented *Medusa's* Head; and at each Extremity of the same Roof hung two gilded Kettles. On the Outside above the Columns, a Rope went round the Temple, to which were fastened twenty-one gilt Bucklers, consecrated to *Jupiter* by *Mummius*, after the sacking of *Corinth*. Upon the Pediment, in the Front, was represented with exquisite Art the Chariot-Race between *Pelops* and *Oenomaus*, and *Jupiter* in the middle. *Oenomaus* and his Wife *Sterope*, one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, the Chariot with four Horses, and *Myrtilus* the Charioteer of *Oenomaus*, were upon the right hand of the God: *Pelops*, *Hippodamia*, and the Charioteer with his Horses, were on the left. All these Figures were done by *Pæonius*, a Native of *Thrace*. The back Pediment, the Work of *Alcamenes*, the best Statuary in his time next to *Phidias*, represented the Battle of the *Centaur*s with the *Lapithæ*, at the Marriage of *Pirithous*. A great part of *Hercules's* Labours were represented upon the Inside of this Fabrick; and upon the Gates, which were all of Brass, were to be seen among other things, the Hunting of the Boar of *Erymanthus*, and the Exploits of the same *Hercules* against *Diomedes* King of *Thrace*, *Geryon*, &c. In fine, for we can't particularize every thing, there were two Ranges of Columns, supporting two Galleries raised exceeding high, under which was the Way that led to *Jupiter's* Throne.

This Throne and the Statue of the God were *Phidias's* Master-piece; and Antiquity produced nothing so magnificent nor so finish'd. The Statue, of an immense height, was of Gold and Ivory, so artificially blended, that it could not be beheld but with astonishment. The God wore upon his Head a Crown, which resembled the Olive-Leaf to perfection; in his right hand he held a Victory, likewise of Gold and Ivory, and in his left a Scepter of exquisite Taste, refulgent with all sorts of Metals, and supporting an Eagle. The Shoes and Mantle of the God were of Gold; and upon the Mantle were all sorts of Animals and Flowers engrav'd. The Throne was all sparkling with Gold and precious

Stones. The Ivory and Ebony, the Animals there represented, and several other Ornaments by their Assemblage formed a delightful Variety. At the four Corners of the Throne were as many Victories, that seem'd to be joining hands for a Dance, besides two others that were at *Jupiter's* Feet. The Feet of the Throne, on the fore-side, were adorn'd with *Sphinxes*, who were plucking the tender Infants from the Bosom of the *Theban* Mothers; and underneath were to be seen *Apollo* and *Diana*, wounding *Niobe's* Children to death with their Arrows. Four Cross-bars that were at the Feet of the Throne, and went from one end to the other, were adorned with a great number of Figures extremely beautiful; upon one were represented seven Conquerors at the *Olympick* Games; upon another appeared *Hercules*, ready to engage with the *Amazons*, and the number of Combatants on either side was twenty-nine. Besides the Feet of the Throne, there were likewise Pillars to support it. In fine, a great Ballustrade painted and adorned with Figures, rail'd in the whole Work. *Panæus*, an able Painter of that time, had represented there, with inimitable Art, *Atlas* bearing the Heavens upon his Shoulders, and *Hercules* in an Attitude stooping to ease him of the Load: *Theseus* and *Pirithæus*, the Combat of *Hercules* with the Lion of *Nemea*, *Ajax* offering violence to *Cassandra*, *Hippodamia* with her Mother, *Prometheus* in Chains, and a thousand other Subjects of fabulous History. In the most elevated Place of the Throne, above the Head of the God, were the Graces and Hours, of each three in number. The Pedestal which supported this Pile, was equally adorned with the rest. There *Phidias* had engraved upon Gold, on the one side, the Sun guiding his Chariot; on the other, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, the Graces, *Mercury*, and *Vesta*.

There *Venus* appeared rising out of the bosom of the Sea, and *Cupid* receiving her; while *Pitho*, or the Goddess of Persuasion, was presenting her with a Crown. There also appeared *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Minerva* and *Hercules*. At the bottom of the Pedestal,

you

you might have seen *Amphitrité* and *Neptune*; and *Diana* or the Moon, who appeared mounted on horse-back. In fine, a woollen Veil, of a purple Dye and magnificently embroider'd, the Present of King *Antiochus*, hung from top to bottom. I say nothing of the other Ornaments of this noble Structure, nor of the Pavement which was of the finest Marble, nor of the Presents consecrated to the God by several Princes, nor of the prodigious number of Statues that were in the Temple, as well as in the Neighbourhood of it. For all these, *Pausanias* may be consulted, from whom I have taken this Description. I only add, that in order to judge of the Greatness of *Jupiter's* Statue, about which the Ancients are not agreed, it is sufficient to observe, that the Throne and Statue reached from the Pavement to the Roof, whose Elevation I have marked. It will readily be granted, that a Work of such a nature, of so prodigious an Extent, of so considerable an Height, where Gold blended with Ebony and Ivory, cast a dazzling Splendour, where so many Figures, Bas-reliefs, and Paintings were to be seen, the whole done by the greatest Masters, could not fail to have a very delightful Effect upon those who entered into the Temple. We must not forget that this Edifice was of the *Dorick* Order, the most ancient of all the Orders in Architecture, and at the same time the most suitable to Works of Grandeur.

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

If the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi* was not so magnificent in its Structure as that I have been describing, it was a great deal richer in immense Presents that were sent to it from every Quarter: I say richer, if it be possible to estimate the Master-piece of *Phidias*. At first the Temple of *Delphi* was of very little consideration. A Cavern, whence issued certain Exhalations, that infus'd Vivacity and a sort of Enthusiasm into those who approached it, having made People believe there was something in it divine, an Oracle was founded in this place, as I shall explain at greater length,

length, in speaking of the Oracles (1). The Concourse which this pretended Miracle drew, obliged the neighbouring Inhabitants to consecrate the place ; and they first built there a Chapel, or rather a Hut made of Laurel-Boughs. They gave out, adds *Pausanias* (2), that the Bees raised a second Chapel there, which was of Wax ; and that *Apollo* sent it to the *Hyperboreans*. It is easy to see that this is a mere Fable, which I shall explain in the Chapter of Oracles, and *Pausanias* judges of it the same way. The third Temple of *Delphi* was built of Brass ; which needs not seem very surprising, as the Author remarks, whom I have now quoted, and whom I transcribe almost word for word ; since *Acrisius* King of *Argos* caused an Apartment to be made of Brass, to shut up in it his Daughter *Danaë* ; and in his (*Pausanias's*) time was still extant at *Sparta* the Temple of *Minerva Chalcæcos*, so called because it was wholly of Brass. But that this Temple had been built by *Vulcan*, is what *Pausanias* says he did not believe ; nor that there were upon the Cielings golden Virgins, who sung charmingly, as *Pindar* had imagined, in imitation, no doubt, of the *Sirens* in *Homer*. The Ancients were not agreed about the manner how this Temple was destroyed : some said, the Earth had opened and swallowed it up ; others, that it having taken fire, the Brass whereof it was made melted down. Be that as it will, the Temple was built a fourth time of Stone, and had for its Architects *Agamedes* and *Trophonius*. This Edifice was burnt down to the ground, the first Year of the fifty-eighth *Olympiad*. The last, in fine, which was subsisting in *Pausanias's* time, and which excelled the rest in Grandeur and Riches, was built by the direction of the * *Amphictyones*, with the Money which the People had consecrated for that use.

Altho' we have not a particular Description of this last Temple, it is easy to judge of its Extent, and of the immense Riches it contained, from that Concern which so many Kings and whole Nations had to send Presents

to

(1) See B. 4. c. 1.

(2) In Phocæ.

* The General Council of Greece.

to it. Few or none came to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, (and who was there but either came or sent to it?) without bringing some Offering to the God : And of these Offerings there must needs have been an infinite number ; since altho' this Temple had been pillag'd several times, as may be seen in the Author whom I am copying, *Nero* carried off from it five hundred Statues all of Brass, partly of the Gods, and partly of illustrious Men.

The Pantheon at Rome.

Rome and *Italy* abounded with Temples as much as *Greece*. They were to be met with every where ; and several of them remarkable either for their Singularity or Magnificence. Among the most elegant, we are to reckon that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of Peace ; which, according to *Pliny*, were two of the finest Ornaments of *Rome*. But as I know none of 'em more noble, nor more solidly built than the great Pantheon, commonly called the *Rotunda*, since it subsists at this day entire, under the name of the Church of *All Saints*, to whom it is consecrated, as in Paganism, it was to all the Gods ; I chuse to give the Description of it in preference to others. The Draught of it may be seen in the second Volume of *Montfaucon's* Antiquities, who has taken the Plan of it from *Serlio*, and the Profil from *Lafreri*.

The most common opinion is, that it was built by the Direction, and at the Expence of *Agrippa*, *Augustus's* Son in Law ; tho' there are Authors who maintain, that it was before his time, and that he only repair'd it, and made an addition to it of that fine Portico, which is there still to be seen. Be that as it will, this grand Fabrick, which receives Light only from a hole in the middle of the Dome, so ingeniously contrived, that the whole is sufficiently lighted by it, is of a round figure ; the Architect, it seems, designing to imitate the Figure of the World, as is to be remark'd of a great number of other Temples of the earliest Antiquity. This at least is *Pliny's* Opinion : *Quod form a*

232 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III,
cjus convexa. fastigiatam Cæli similitudinem ostenderet.

The Portico, the Work of *Agrippa*, more beautiful and more surprizing than the Temple itself, is composed of sixteen Columns of granate Marble, each of one single Stone. These Columns are five Feet in diameter, and above seven and thirty Feet high, without including the Base and Chapter. Of these sixteen Columns, there are eight in the Front, and as many behind them, all of the *Corinthian* Order. As in the time of Pope *Eugenius*, there was found near this Edifice, a Part of *Agrippa's* Head in Brass, a Horse's Foot, and a Piece of a Wheel of the same Metal; it would seem that this great Man had himself been represented in Brass upon this Portico, riding in a Chariot with four Horses.

When I said that this Temple is subsisting entire at this day, I would be understood to mean the Body of the Work, raised on so solid Foundations, that nothing has been able to move it. And no wonder; for, according to a *Roman* Architect. whose Manuscript is in *F. Montfaucon's* hands, these Foundations were a Mass not only extending itself under the whole Edifice, but also a great way beyond its Walls. As for the magnificent Works, the Statues, and other precious things, of which it was full, these are all gone to wreck. The Plates of gilt Brass, that covered the whole Roof, were carried off by the Emperor *Constantius* the Third. Pope *Urban* the Eighth made free with the Beams of the same Metal, to form the Canopy of *St. Peter*, and the great Pieces of Artillery, which are in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. The Statues of the Gods which were in the Niches, that are still to be seen within the Temple, have either been pillaged, or buried under ground; nor is it very long ago, since in digging near this Edifice, they found first a Lion of Basalt, which is a fine *Egyptian* Marble; and then another, which served for Ornaments to the Fountain of *Sixtus V.* not to mention a large beautiful Vase of Porphyry, that was placed by the Portico. In general, this Edifice was exceeding

ceedingly magnificent, perfectly well built, in just Proportions, and it still makes one of the fairest Ornaments of Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Of Altars.

AFTER this summary Account of the Temples, it is necessary to speak of the Altars. But as we all along follow the same Method, in saying nothing upon each Subject but what is most material, referring those who would see things more fully handled, to better Treatises; we would premise this Intimation, that F. Bertbold of the Oratory has composed one upon Altars, in which there are few things of moment omitted (1); of this, we are going to give an Abstract, referring to Antiquaries for the Figures.

Without insisting upon the Etymology of the Word *Altare*, a Name which we commonly reckon to have been given to Altars, because they are high built, we say with *Servius*, that the Ancients made some distinction between *Altare* and *Ara*; for altho' the last was equally used, either in speaking of the Celestial or Infernal Gods, yet the word *Altare* was peculiarly set apart to denote the Altars of the former: *Novimus, inquit, aras Diis esse superis & inferis consecratas, altaria vero esse superiorum tantum Deorum* (2). This was *Servius's* Distinction, tho' some Authors add another, and say, that to the Celestial Gods, Sacrifices were offered upon Altars; to the terrestrial Gods, upon the Earth itself; and to the infernal ones, in Holes: F. Bertbold subjoins, that to the Nymphs, Victims were offered in Dens and Caverns.

The Antiquity of Altars is not to be called in question: No doubt it was prior, as we have hinted already, to the building of Temples, not only among the Patriarchs, but among the Pagans too. And as the superstitious Pagan Worship commenc'd in Egypt,

as

(1) *Traſſatus Singularis de Ara*, printed at Nantes, An. 1636, in 12mo. (2) *Servius* upon the 5th Ecl. of *Virg.*

as has been said, this is probably the Country where the first Altars were erected. Accordingly, this is the Opinion of *Herodotus*, and of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, who has copied him (1). Simplicity having always been a Concomitant of Usages newly invented, 'tis plain that the first Altars were nothing but simple heaps of Earth or Turf, which were called *Aræ cespitiæ*, or *gramineæ*; or of rough Stones, &c. and Idolaters at first imitated that simple manner of raising Altars, which was used by *Noah* and the other primitive Patriarchs; but in later times, Altars came to be quite changed, both in Matter and Form. Accordingly, Paganism had of them of several Forms; four-square, long-square, round, triangular; as of different Materials, of Stone, Marble, Brass, and of Gold itself, at least *Herodotus* (2) says so of the Table that was in the Temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*. *Pausanias* observes, that some of them were of Wood, but that it was rare to find any of that sort. That of *Jupiter Olympius* was nothing but a heap of Ashes; others were but a mere Collection of Horns of different Animals: *Innumeris structam de cornibus Aram*, as *Ovid* speaks. *Eustatbius*, who mentions this Altar (3), says it was at *Ephesus*, and that *Apollo* had built it of the Bulls Horns which *Diana* had kill'd in hunting. *Moses* speaks often of the Horns of the Altars, but in another sense, meaning thereby nothing but their Corners.

Altars were no less distinguished in proportion to their Height, than by their Matter and Form. Some reached no higher than to the Knee, others came up to the Waist; some were yet higher, especially those of *Jupiter*, and the other celestial Gods (4), while those of *Vesta*, and the other terrestrial Divinities, were the lowest. Among those Altars, some were solid, others were hollow at the top, to receive the Libations and Blood of the Victims; others, in fine, were portable, to be used in travelling, and upon other occasions. Altars were not all in Temples; there were some of 'em in the

(1) Var. Lec. l. 16. (2) L. 1. (3) Upon the 8th Book of the *Iliad*. (4) Vitruv. l. 1. c. 7.

the sacred Groves, and exposed in the open Fields; as those of the Gods *Terminus*, *Sylvanus*, *Pan*, *Vertumnus*, and those which *Epimenides* caused the *Albanians*, in the time of a Plague, to set up in places where the Victims, left to their own liberty, happen'd to stop. These are the same St. *Paul* speaks of, which were dedicated to unknown Gods. But it was still more common to set up Altars upon the Mountains, where frequently too, they had sacred Groves; and this Custom of going to sacrifice upon high Places, was so ancient and universal, that the Scripture incessantly reproaches the *Israelites* with it (1), and even blames the better Kings for not having abolished it: *Attamen excelsa non tulit.*

As the *Greeks* called an Altar *Βωμὸς*, they used the term *Τριβωμὸς* for a triple Altar. There was one of this sort in the Temple of *Esculapius* at *Rome*, according to an Inscription quoted by the Antiquaries. Another Inscription, which is in *Fabretti*, proves, according to that ingenious Author, that the *Tribomos* was to be met with in several other Temples; and these, as it would seem, were three Altars, placed so as to be very near one another, being allotted to three Divinities. *Herodotus* says (2), that in *Egypt*, in a great Temple of *Apollo*, there were *Βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι*, these three Altars were for *Latona*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*.

Among the Altars which Time has preserved to us, and whereof the Representations are to be found in the Antiquaries, some are simple and without any Figure; others, upon which are several Divinities, Genii, Players on Flutes, and other Figures done in Bas-relief. Most of 'em at the four Corners, have Heads of Animals, of Oxen, Rams, &c. In fine, every private Person had in his own Lararium, that is, in the Place appropriated to the honour of the Gods *Lares*, or of the Gods *Penates*, *Genii*, and *Junones*, who were the *Genii* of the Women, with small Altars on which he sacrificed to them.

They

(1) In the Books of *Kings*.

(2) In *Euter*.

They were at great pains, before they offered Sacrifice, to deck the Altars, and for that purpose they were sure to employ such things as were judged agreeable to each Divinity. As we shall have occasion in the subsequent Chapter to speak of the Plants and Trees, that were thought peculiarly sacred to each Divinity, we shall only say here, that it was with the Branches of those Trees they adorned the Altars.

It would require a Volume to describe all the Altars mentioned by the Ancients; their number was beyond reckoning. *Athens* and *Rome*, as every other Pagan City, were full of 'em. *Virgil* takes notice, that *Hiarbas* had erected an hundred Altars, and as many Temples, to *Jupiter* alone (1). They were to be met with every where, in the Fields, upon the Mountains, in the Cross-Streets of the Cities, and in High-ways; in the *Circi*, in the *Hippodromes*, in the *Stadia* for the *Olympick* Games, and in a thousand other places: In a word, they had of them erected not only to all the Gods, but to the very Cities, and Men while yet alive. Thus, not to mention other Emperors, *Augustus* had his Altars in several Places. For all these Particulars, *F. Berthold* may be consulted, whom I have cited at the beginning of this Article: but as some of these Altars were more curious than others, it is proper that we say somewhat of them.

We find two Altars in Antiquity, to which they gave the Name of *Ara Maxima*: The first in *Greece*, was set up in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*, as we learn from *Pausanias*; the second, in *Italy*, had been built for *Hercules*, after the defeat of *Cacus*, as is elegantly describ'd in *Virgil* (2), where he makes *Evander* speak in this manner:

*Ex illo celebratur bonos, lætique Minores
Servavere diem; primusque Potitius Auctor,
Et domus Herculi custos Pinaria sacri,
Hanc Aram luco statuit, quæ maxima semper
Dicetur nobis, & erit quæ maxima semper.*

This

(1) *Æneid.* l. 4. (2) *Æn.* l. 8. *Sil. Ital.* l. 7. *Ov. Fast.* l. 1. *Tacit.* l. 15. calls it only *Ara Magna*.

This Altar erected in the Fields, in that very Place where the City of *Rome* was since built, stood in the Cow-Market, near by the *Porta Carmentalis*; the *Potitii* and *Pinarii* alone could sacrifice at it. After the extinction of these two Families, the charge of this Altar was given to the Slaves, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (1); and from *Valerius Maximus* (2), who tells us, this Change had been brought about by *Appius Claudius* the Cenfor. The Women were not permitted to approach this Altar, nor to be present at the Sacrifices offered upon it, according to *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who tells us, they took care to keep at a distance from it, all Slaves, or such as were not free-born, the Dogs and Flies, &c (3).

There was another Altar yet more extraordinary: I mean that which was in the Heavens, under the Name of the Constellation the *Altar*. *Hyginus* says, this was the Altar on which the Gods, ready to engage the Giants, had sacrificed and sworn a League offensive and defensive, against those formidable Enemies.

As the Pagans believ'd the Gods dwelt in Temples, in their Statues, and in the Altars, we are not to be surprized at the high respect they bore to all those things; but because their Resentment broke forth, as they imagined, more remarkably in some Places than in others, their Veneration increased proportionally for those Places. Thus, nothing was more awful nor more dreaded, than the Altars of the Gods *Palici*, where the Perjured were punish'd by these two Divinities, and plung'd headlong into the Lake, near which they had sworn, as we shall take notice in their History. Such was also the famous Altar of *Lyons*, so formidable to Orators.

This great Veneration for Altars, introduced the Custom of having recourse to 'em upon every occasion. There they struck up Alliances, Treaties of Peace, Reconciliations, Marriages, &c. *Virgil*, so knowing in the

(1) Dec. 1. l. 9.
C. 24.

(2) L. 1. c. 2.

(3) Gen. Dier. l. 2.

238 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
the Customs of his Country, shall be our first Author,
for what concerns the Treaties of Peace.

*Post iidem, inter se posito certamine, Reges
Armati Jovis ante aras, paterasque tenentes,
Stabant, & cæsa firmabant fœdera porca* (1).

The same Author represents *Æneas* thus complaining
of the Infringement of the Peace by the *Rutuli* :

Multa Jovem, & læsi testatur fœderis aras.

Silius Italicus taxing the *Carthaginians* with their
Treachery, in the Treaties they had made with the
Romans, speaks of the same Custom:

Sed pacis faciem, & pollutas fœderis Aras, &c.

Upon this occasion, when they took an Oath of Peace,
they embraced the Altar, or only touched it; which
Virgil has well explained, in the Treaty made between
Æneas and *Latinus*.

*Tango Aras, mediosque ignes, & numina testor,
Nulla dies pacem hanc Italis, nec fœdera rumpet,
Quo res cunque cadent* (2).

And *Juvenal* :

Atque adeo intrepidi quæcunque altaria tangunt (3).

As Men have always been too ready to play fast and
loose with one another, not thinking themselves secure
enough by Treaties of Peace and Alliance, made in
face of the Altars, they added to them the sacred tye
of an Oath, which was taken by the Party, laying his
Hand upon the Altar (4), as we at this day, on like
occasions, make use of the Holy Gospel. Magistrates,
before they enter'd upon Offices of Judicature, likewise
took an Oath at the Altar of *Themis*. *St. Ambrose* in-
forms us of this Custom (5), in that fine Epistle where
he exhorts *Valentinian* the Emperor, not to give or-
ders for repairing one of the Altars of that Goddess,
which was ruinous.

As for the Marriages that were solemnized in face
of the Altars, especially of *Juno* or *Lucina*, *F. Berthold*
may be consulted, who brings many Authorities for the
proof of it, and some Examples to confirm it.

Lastly,

(1) *Æn.* l. 8. (2) *Æn.* l. 12. (3) *Sat.* 13. (4) See
Lucian in *Jove Tragædo.* *Tit. Liv.* l. 21. *Polyb.* l. 3. (5) *Ep.* 3.

Lastly, it was nigh the Altars that they kept publick Entertainments; as may be seen in several Places of *Virgil* (1), and in other Authors.

C H A P. VII.

Of the sacred Groves.

BEfides the Temples, Chapels, Lararies, Altars, Paganism had also other Places devoted to the Service of the Gods. These were the consecrated Groves, the Institution of which is so ancient, that it is even thought to have been antecedent to that of Temples and Altars. As the *Romans* called these Groves *Luci*, *Servius* thinks they got that Name, because they kindled fire to let the Mysteries be seen that were there celebrated. *Luci* a *Lucendo*, for whether (as was probably their way at first) they chose for the purpose natural Woods, with which every place was anciently furnished; or planted them on purpose, as was done in later times; they were always the thickest Groves of their kind, Places dark and gloomy, impenetrable even to the Sun-beams.

'Twas in these dark Retreats, apt to overcast the mind with I know not what Horrour, that the first Mysteries of Paganism were celebrated. Here it was our ancient Druids assembled, who got their very Names from the Oaks which they frequented.

It appears however, to have been the opinion of the Ancients, that these Groves, at first consecrated to *Lucina*, who was the same with *Diana* and *Hecate*, had been so called from the Name of that Goddess (a).

Be that as it will, the use of sacred Groves for the Celebration of Mysteries, is of very great antiquity, and perhaps of all others the most universal. At first, there were in these Groves neither Temples nor Altars: They were simple Retreats, to which there was no access

(1) *Geor.* l. 4. *Æn.* l. 8, &c.

(a) See the Scholiast on the fourth Book of the *Thebaid* of *Statius*. *Horace's Art of Poetry*, *Virgil's Æneid*, B. 6. and *Servius* his Commentator.

cess for the Profane ; that is, such as were not devoted to the service of the Gods. Afterwards, they built Chapels and Temples in them ; and even to preserve so ancient a Custom, they took care, whenever it was in their power, to plant Groves round the Temples and Altars, to inclose them with Walls, Hedges, or Ditches ; and these Groves were not only consecrated to the Gods, in honour of whom the Temples in the Centers of them had been built, but they were themselves a place of Sanctuary for Criminals, who fled thither for refuge.

Moses, to hinder the *Hebrews*, too prone to imitate the idolatrous Practices of the People about them, from following this pernicious Custom, forbids them to plant Groves about the Altars of the true God : *Ne conserito tibi lucum ullis arboribus secundum altare Jehovæ Dei tui, quod feceris tibi* (1). Nay, every time this sacred Legislator commands the *Jews* to destroy Idols, he orders them at the same time to cut down the hallowed Groves : *Aras eorum destrue, & confringe Statuas, Lucosque succide* (2) : And in another place ; *Lucos igne comburite* (3). The same Orders were renewed to *Gideon*, and the Prophets always speak with indignation of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, who had a Custom of sacrificing in the consecrated Groves. The *Jews* were so prone to imitate the idolatrous Nations in this, that one of their Kings carried the Impiety so far as to plant at *Jerusalem* one of these Groves, which *Josias* cut down, and burned in the Valley of *Cedron* (4). The Rabbins add, that the *Jews* were not permitted to enter these Groves, to cut a Tree of them for their use, to rest under their Shade, to eat the Eggs or the little Birds that nested there, nor to take the dead Wood, nay, nor to eat Bread that had been baked with that Wood ; upon which, the Curious may consult *Selden* (5).

The

(1) Deut. xvi. 21. (2) Ex. xxxiv. and in other places.
 (3) Deut. xii. (4) 2 Kings xxiii. 6. (5) De Jure Nat. & Gent. l. 2. c. 6.

The sacred Groves, in after-ages, became extremely frequented: There they assembled on Holidays, and after the Celebration of the Mysteries, they kept publick Entertainments there, accompany'd with Dancings and all other demonstrations of the most vigorous Mirth. *Tibullus* describes these Festivals and Entertainments, with a good deal of Humour.

*Rusticus e lucoque vehit, male sobrius ipse,
Uxorem plaustro, Progeniemque domum* (1).

They were at pains to deck these Groves with Flowers, Chaplets, Garlands, and Nofegays; and hung them about with Donations and Offerings, so lavishly, that tho' they had been less bushy and condensed, they would have been quite darkned thereby, and shut out the very Light of Day; which makes *Statius* say:

*. Hic arcus & fessa reponere tela,
Armaque curva suum & vacuorum terga Leonum
Figere, & ingentes æquantia cornua Sylvas.
Vix ramis Locus, &c* (2).

And *Ovid* says:

*. Equidem pendentia vidi
Serta super ramos* (3)

To cut down the sacred Groves, or to waste them, was a piece of Sacrilege, and perhaps that which they thought the most unpardonable. *Lucan*, speaking of the Trees which *Cæsar* caused to be felled near *Marreille*, to make warlike Engines of them, well describes the Consternation of the Soldiers, who refused to be instrumental in this Work, till that great General taking an Ax, fell'd one of 'em himself. *Struck with a religious Awe for the Sanctity of the Grove, they were full of the Belief, that if they had presumptuously attempted to cut down any of its Trees, the Ax would have recoiled upon themselves:*

*Sed fortes tepuere manus, motique verenda
Majestate Loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
In sua credebant redituras membra Lituras.*

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(1) L. 1. El. 11. v. 51. (2) Theb. 1 9. v. 588.
(3) Met. 1. 8. v. 722.

It was lawful however to prune them, to clear them, and to cut down the Trees which they thought attracted the Thunder. We have the History of some of these sacred Groves, handed down to us by the Ancients, such as of those of *Lucina*, of the Goddess *Feronia*, of *Augustus*, and some others. They all resembled one another, and were in equal Veneration.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Sanctuaries, or Asyla.

THE Temples, Altars, and sacred Groves, having been among the Pagans Places of Refuge for Criminals, we must explain wherein this Right of Asylum consisted, what were the Privileges belonging to it, and whence the Origin of the thing was derived.

From the time that Men began to devote Places to the Worship of the Gods (1), there to acknowledge them in an authentic and solemn manner as their Lords, and sovereign Disposers of their Destiny, and to conceive hope of being aided by them, they believed them to be there present in a peculiar manner; and hence, that they might not seem inexorable towards others, while they were supplicating the Gods to be propitious to themselves, it is highly credible that they looked upon those sacred Places, whither the Guilty had repair'd, as Sanctuaries inviolable.

The Tabernacle and Temple of *Jerusalem*, were places of Refuge (2), and doubtless the first Altars raised by the Patriarchs were so too, since *Moses* excludes Murderers, who fled for Refuge to those he himself set up. The Cities of Refuge appointed by *Moses* and *Jeshua*, were likewise Asyles (3). Paganism, which imitated many of the Customs of God's People, from them, no doubt, had likewise taken this of appropriating Asyla; thus, could we know the Date of the Foundation of their first Temples and Altars, this would lead

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(1) See an Extract of the *Dissert.* of *M. Simon* upon the Asyles, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let.* Tom. 3. p. 37.

(2) *Mac.* i. 2. c. 40. (3) *Num.* xxxv. *Deut.* iv. *Jos.* xx.

us to the Original of this Privilege. We can only affirm, that it is very ancient, without being able to determine the precise time when it commenc'd. We know from *Pausanias* (1), that *Cadmus* granted it to the City or Citadel, which he built in *Bæotia*; and it is probable, as *M. Simon* remarks, that this Prince, a Native of *Phœnicia*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Palestine*, having learn'd how much the Confluence of Criminals and Debtors into the Jewish Cities of Refuge had been of use to that People, had used the same means, to draw Inhabitants into his. *Theseus* for *Athens*, and *Romulus* for his new City (a), had recourse to the same piece of Policy, if we believe *Plutarch* (2). *Diodorus Siculus* (3) assures us, that *Cybele* founded an Asyle in *Samothracia*. The *Egyptian Hercules* passed for the Author of that of *Canopus*: That of *Diana Stratonica* at *Smyrna*, and that of *Tenean Neptune*, owed their Institution to Oracular Responses. But as this Privilege granted to Criminals, not only in the Temples and near the Altars, but even in the Cities that claimed it, and actually enjoyed it time immemorial, was capable of producing very bad Consequences, and of authorising Crimes in hopes of Impunity, the Asylum was restrained to involuntary Offences. This, according to *Thucydides* (4), was the way how the *Athenians* repelled the Charge of the *Bæotians*, by letting them know that their Altars were only Sanctuaries for Crimes of this sort. We learn from *Titus Livius* (5), that the Murderer of King *Eumenes* was obliged to quit the Temple of *Samothracia*, where he had taken sanctuary.

Thus the Asyles were properly for involuntary Delinquencies, for those who were oppressed by an unjust Power, for Slaves ill used by cruel Masters, and for Debtors who were injuriously dealt with. But as the wisest Institutions are liable to be abused, even Criminals condemned to Death, found a secure Sanctuary in

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(1) In *Bæot.*

(a) This Sanctuary of *Romulus* was between two sacred Groves, and named from thence, *inter duos Lucos*.

(2) In his Life of *Theseus*. (3) In *Rom.* l. 3. (4) *Hist.* l. 4.

(5) *Dec.* 5. l. 9.

the Temple of *Pallas* at *Lacedemon* ; Bankrupts, in that of the Goddess *Hebe* at *Pblius*, and in that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* (1).

It was not only Cities and Temples that serv'd for Sanctuaries ; the sacred Groves, the Altars, wherever they were, the Statues of the Gods, those of the Emperors, and the Tombs of Heroes, had the same Privilege ; and it was enough for a Criminal to be within the compass of those Groves, or to have embraced an Altar, or the Statue of some God, to be in perfect Safety. Being once within the Protection of an Asyle, the Criminal remained at the feet of the Altar or Statue, and had his Victuals brought to him, till he found the opportunity of making his escape, or of satisfying the offended Party.

The Asyle was not always inviolable ; either the Offender was sometimes forcibly torn from it, or left to die there for Hunger, by cutting off his Provisions, or walling about the place of Refuge, as the *Ephori* did to *Pausanias*, as we learn from *Cornelius Nepos* (2). The Sanctity of the Asyles would no doubt have been oftner violated than it was, had it not been for the Punishments appointed by Gods and Men, against the Profaners ; I say the Gods, because the Calamities that sometimes ensued upon the Profanation of those Places, were construed to be the Effect of divine Vengeance. This accordingly was the Judgment pronounced upon the desolating Plagues that beset *Epirus*, after the Murder of *Laodamia*, who was slain in the Temple of *Diana*. The History is thus related by *Justin*. There were none remaining in all *Epirus*, of the Blood Royal, but *Nereis* and *Laodamia* her Sister. The former married the Son of *Gelo* King of *Sicily* ; and *Laodamia*, who had fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Diana*, was assassinated there by the People : But the Gods revenged this Sacrilege by Plagues and Calamities, which proved the Ruin of almost the whole Nation. To Barrenness, Famine, and Civil War, succeeded other Wars, which brought all to the greatest Extremity ; and *Milo*, he who had given that

(1) Sol. 1 4. Paus. in Cor. Cicer. 6. in Verrem.

(2) In Paus.

that unfortunate Princess her mortal Wound, was seized with Madness to such a pitch, as to tear out his own Bowels, and died in extreme Agony on the twelfth day after the Murder (1).

They pronounc'd the same Judgment upon the infamous Disease that finish'd the days of *Sylla*, who had violated the Right of the *Asyles*. The Oracles consulted after such kind of Profanations, prescrib'd, not only for the Offenders, but for whole Cities, solemn Expiations, or publick Reparations to be made; and thus the *Lacedemonians* were obliged to erect two Statues of Brass to the unhappy *Pausanias*, in the very Place where he died.

Though *M. Simon*, of whose Dissertation I have given an Abstract, seems to think that all the Temples, sacred Groves and Altars, &c. were *Asyles*, there is however, a great deal of probability, that all these Places did not enjoy that Privilege; and what I take to be a convincing Proof of it is, the Exceptions which the Ancients make, in ascribing it to certain Places, without taking notice of others. Thus, according to *Servius*, the Temple of Compassion was an *Asylum*, at *Athens*, and probably at *Rome* too, where one was built to the same Divinity. In like manner, the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* enjoyed the same Privilege, according to *Cicero* (2); as well as that which was built at *Epirus* in honour of the same Goddess, as we learn from *Justin* (3).

Be that as it will, the *Asyla* occasioned more harm, by the Impunity they gave to Offenders, than they did good by protecting some that were innocent; and *Tiberius*, as has been said, was obliged to abolish them.

(1) Just. l. 28. cap. 3. (2) In Verrem. (3) L. 28.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Statues of the Gods, and of the Manner of representing them.

AFTER having spoke of the Temples and Altars, something is necessary to be said of the Statues of the Gods, of the Places where they were set up, and of the Manner how those Gods were represented. To reduce within bounds a Subject in itself so extensive, I shall first examine what the Figures of the Gods were, before Sculpture was invented. 2. What they were, when this Art was but rude and imperfect. 3. The pitch of Perfection to which Statuary was afterwards carried. 4. The Materials they used for the Statues of the Gods. 5. The extreme Greatness or Smallness of some of those Figures. 6. The Places where they were most ordinarily set up. 7. Lastly, by what Symbols the Gods were therein distinguished.

For the first Article, it suffices to recollect what we have said in the fourth Chapter, upon the rude manner in which they represented the Gods, before the Invention of Sculpture. It is equally impossible and useless, to find out when and by whom that Art was invented. Its Origin is lost in the most remote Antiquity. It is enough that we know, the *Egyptians* had it in *Moses's* Time, and perhaps, long before the Statues of their Gods, spoken of in the Books of that sacred Legislator; the Statues of their God *Apis*, too faithfully imitated by the *Israelites*, who worshipped him in the Wilderness, under the form of an Ox or Calf, prove it beyond contradiction; and I make no doubt, but in the very time when the yet rough and barbarous Nations worshipped either shapeless Masses, or simple Trunks of Trees, Sculpture was then known, not only in *Egypt*, but also in *Syria*, and the adjacent Countries. For the Arts sprung originally from the Countries I have named, were but gradually propagated to the West.

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At first Sculpture itself was extremely rude, and rose but slowly to that height of Perfection when it became admired, especially in *Greece*, for the Master-pieces it form'd. Consequently we may suppose, that the first Statues of the Gods, tho' modelled by this new Art, were still exceeding coarse. The Legs and the Arms were not separated, but joined to the rest of the Matter which they made use of to the Formation of the Figure. They had the Eyes shut, and at most the Arms hanging down, and as it were glued to the Body, and the Feet joined ; neither Expression, nor Attitude, nor Gesture. They were mostly square, and like mis-shapen Figures, that ended like those Figures called *Termes**.

The Cabinets of the Curious furnish several Models of these Statues ; they are dug up yet every day, especially in *Egypt*, and the most uncontroverted Mark of their Antiquity, is when they are such as I have described them.

They continued in this State, at least in the West, until *Dedalus*, that is, until the time of *Minos* the Second, and of *Theseus*. This is not the proper place to speak of that celebrated Artist, the Article about him will be found in its proper place ; but I shall only say, that he had the art of giving to his Statues, Eyes, Feet, and Hands. In some measure he put Soul and Life into them, and so surprizing was this Change, as to give rise to a common Report of his having animated them, made them walk, &c. The Statues of the Gods improv'd by this, it was to bring them to perfection that the most skilful Artists mainly apply'd themselves ; and time at length produced the Master-pieces of a *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, *Myron*, which were the principal Ornaments of *Greece*, and drew the just Admiration of Persons of Taste, as at this very day do those of them that are yet remaining. Such, among others, are the *Venus of Medicis*, the *Antinous*, the *Hercules*, and the fine *Jupiter* still to be seen at *Versailles*.

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* Vide *Montfaucon's Antiquity*, V. 1. B. 3. c. 9. where those Figures are represented.

However, from I know not what Veneration for Antiquity, they still kept up the old Taste, in those Statues they called *Hermes's*.

That was the Name they gave to those Statues of *Mercury*, that were of a square Figure, ordinarily without Feet, and which were placed in the cross Streets, upon the High-ways, before Temples, and before Houses. *Cicero* remarks on this Occasion, it was unlawful to place them upon Sepulchral Monuments, but he gives no Reason for it. It would seem, on the contrary, that these were the Places with which they suited best, since that God had the Charge of Souls, and it was he who conducted them into the infernal Regions, and brought them back from thence.

Tho' the *Hermes's* ought to have stood only for the Statues of *Mercury*, since they bear his Name, yet it was given to all those which imitated their Form. Thus, when it was *Apollo* they represented, they named them *Hermapollos*. If it was a Bust of *Minerva*, in Greek *Athene*, they were stiled *Hermathenæ*; and *Hermeros*, those that represented the Bust of *Cupid*, whose Greek Name is *Eros*; and so of others. In fine, this antique manner was still preserved in the Statues of the God *Terminus*, which were nothing but mis-shapen Stones.

The Cities of *Greece*, notwithstanding the Advancement of Sculpture, were full of those sorts of Statues; and from *Thucydides* we learn, that in one night the Heads of all those that were at *Athens*, were cut off. *Alcibiades*, we know, was suspected to have been the Author of this Impiety, and was banished for the same. As to the manner in which the Statues of the Gods were to be made, no Rule was laid down.

Sculpture being an Art which imitates Nature, both in the Design and Solidity of its Materials, it has for its Subject, Timber, Stone, Marble, Ivory, different Metals, as Gold, Silver, Brass, precious Stones, &c. As it comprehends also Founding, which is subdivided into the Art of moulding Figures in Wax, and that of casting all sorts of Metals; the Statuaries were at liberty

to use all these Materials, and all these Forms for the Statues of the Gods. History informs us, there were some of 'em of each sort ; some made of Wood, the most precious of its kind and least liable to Corruption. That of *Jupiter* at *Sicyon*, was of Box-wood ; and at *Ephesus*, that of *Diana* was of Cedar. Elsewhere, they were to be met with of Citron-wood, of Palm-tree, of Olive-wood, of Ebony, and of Cypress. We have already spoke of those golden ones that were in the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. We have given a Description of that of *Jupiter Olympius*, where Gold was artfully blended with Ivory, Ebony, and precious Stones ; a Master-piece, which, as *Pliny* tells us, no body durst imitate : *Præter Jovem Olympium quem nemo æmulatur* (1). It would be to no purpose to dwell upon those of Marble, or of Stone, whose number was immensely great. I have named the principal Artists, who of those different Materials had composed Master-pieces of Skill. One who has the Curiosity to find Statues of Gods, of all the Forms and Materials I have mentioned, needs but read *Pausanias*, who describes of 'em of all sorts.

Generally speaking, the Statues of the Gods, after the Invention of Sculpture, were nothing but of moulded Earth, and brittle like simple Vases. This Art of moulding Earth or Clay, is called *fiætilis*, and the Works it produces, *fiætilia*. The sacred Writers, especially the Prophets, are continually reproaching the Pagans for worshipping these sorts of Idols. In later times, those Statues were laid over with different Colours, and at last they were gilt. The *Romans*, whose Religion for a long time declared the Simplicity of their Manners, were very late in beginning to have these gilded Statues ; till then they had only the Colour of the Earth of which they were made. *Pliny* praises this primitive *Roman* Simplicity. *Men*, says he, *who sincerely honoured such Gods, give us no reason to be asham'd of 'em.* *Hæ tum effigies Deorum erant laudatissimæ, nec pœnitent nos illorum qui tales Deos colere.* To them,

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(1) Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

continues he, Gold was of no consideration, either for themselves or for their Gods. *Juvenal* speaking of the earthen Statue, which *Tarquin* the elder set up in the Temple of *Jupiter*, calls it the earthen *Jupiter*, whom Gold had not tarnish'd nor defiled,

Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.

Titus Livius has inform'd us at what Period gilt Statues were first introduced; it was, according to him, under the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, A.U. C. 571, or 572.

As there was no fixed Rule as to the matter of the Statues of the Gods, there was as little for their size, and it depended upon the Caprice of the Workmen, or the Will of those by whom they were employ'd, either to make them great or small. Accordingly while the *Egyptians* valued themselves upon those Colossal Statues that were to be seen in the Porches of their Temples, frequently nothing was to be found within those Edifices but some pitiful Monkeys or Pygmies, which provoked the Contempt and Ridicule of Spectators; witness *Cambyses*, when he was introduced into the Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, as we said above.

Greece chose sometimes to imitate the *Egyptian* Manner in those Colossus's, and had several Statues of her Gods of an enormous bigness. That of *Jupiter Olympius*, whereof we have given a Description; and several others besides were much larger than the Life; but the most extraordinary one, was the Colossus at *Rhodes*, representing *Apollo*, which was looked upon as one of the seven Wonders of the World. This Statue, done by *Chares*, was twelve Years in finishing, and its height was seventy Cubits, being so placed, that its two Feet stood upon the two Moles, which formed the Harbour of *Rhodes*, Ships at full sail passed through between its Legs. We may judge of what an enormous Size this Colossus must have been, when few Persons were able to embrace one of its Thumbs. Notwithstanding the weight of this prodigious Mass; notwithstanding the dangers of the Sea, and for how long time it was exposed, yet it continued standing for the
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space of 1360 Years ; and its Fall at last was only owing to an Earthquake. A *Jewish* Merchant bought it from the *Saracens* ; and having taken it to pieces, loaded nine hundred Camels with it.

Nor was it only the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* who had those Colossal Figures, the *Romans* would needs imitate their Example ; and at *Rome* there were no fewer than five of them, two of *Apollo*, two of *Jupiter*, and one of the *Sun*, (for the *Sun* was often distinguished from *Apollo*;) not to mention two others, one of them representing *Domitian*, the other *Nero* : But as if Statues of this sort had of right belong'd to none but Gods, they caused an *Apollo's* Head to be set on the latter.

These Works were Curiosities of their kind ; but for the most part the Statues of the Gods imitated beautiful Nature, especially when they were to be planted within the easy reach of the Eye. Thus, those of the Gods were a Degree larger and more robust than those of the Goddesses, with respect to whom the expert Artists made it their business chiefly to imitate the Softness and Delicacy of the Sex.

There were however Gods, whose Statues were ordinarily little, and perhaps there was a Necessity for them to be so. Those of the *Pataici* or *Patæci*, which they set upon the Sterns of Ships, were of this kind, if we credit *Herodotus* (1), as also those of the *Lares*, the *Cabiri*, and some others. There were others, whose Statues were monstrous, representing the Heads of a Dog, a Cat, a Goat, a Monkey, a Lion, &c. as we shall shew when we come to the Gods of *Egypt*.

The number of Statues of the Gods was immense, not only in *Greece* and *Italy*, but likewise in the eastern Countries ; and nothing sets it forth to us more strongly, than that Scripture-Expression, which stiles *Chaldea* a Land of Idols. Accordingly they occur'd every where, in Temples, where they were upon Pedestals, or set in Niches ; in publick Places, at the Gates of Houses ; and without the Cities, in the Highways and Fields. Their Veneration for them was carried as high
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(1) L. 2.

as possible : they would not pass by them without prostrating themselves, or putting their Hand to the Mouth, as a Mark of Adoration. On them their whole Confidence depended ; to them Vows were made, Sacrifices offer'd, Prayers address'd. From them they expected Health and other Blessings, as well as Deliverance from Evils, and from publick Calamities. This Veneration and Confidence were owing not only to their being Representations of the Gods, but also to their Belief, that in them the Gods themselves resided, and consequently were listening to their Vows and Prayers. On the Holidays of each of those Gods, care was taken to deck their Statues with all the Embellishments they could devise; Ribbons, Fillets, Boughs, were all apply'd to that use. They were anointed with Oil, or besmear'd with Wax, to give them a greater Lustre ; and this Custom was especially practis'd towards their *Dii Lares* and *Penates*. Tho' the manner of representing the Gods was not uniform, there were however certain Usages generally observed. Thus to *Jupiter* was given a noble and majestick Air, which spoke the Sovereign of the World ; and he appeared always with a Beard. *Apollo*, who is painted like a young Man, wears none. *Bacchus* sometimes has one, and then he is called *Barbatus* ; but most frequently he has it not. *Juno* appears with an Air becoming the Consort of *Jupiter*, and Queen of the Gods. *Minerva* has a masculine Beauty but sweet, such as is befitting the wisest and chastest of Goddesses. *Venus*, on the contrary, exhibits I know not what Softness and Effeminacy, which speaks forth the Mother of Love. *Mars* has a warlike Mien ; *Neptune* has a stern awful Look, &c.

The Gods, generally, wore upon their Statues the Symbols consecrated to them. Thus *Jupiter* appears with his Thunder ; *Apollo* with his Lyre ; *Neptune* with his Trident ; *Pluto* with the same Scepter, but only two-forked ; *Bacchus* holds in his hand Clusters of Grapes ; *Ceres* Ears of Corn ; *Hercules* his Club ; and *Diana* her Arrows and Quiver. The Dog appears in the Statues of *Mercury* ; the Owl in those of *Minerva* ;

Minerva ; and the Serpent wreath'd about a Pillar in those of *Esculapius*. The Chariot of *Neptune* is drawn by Sea-horses ; that of *Venus* by Doves ; that of *Juno* by Peacocks ; and that of *Cybele* by Lions. Sometimes those Symbols are single, sometimes multiplied ; and when it appears, they are proper to several Gods, the Statues that bear them get the Name of *Pantheons*, such as are for the most part those of *Harpocrates*, and some others. The *Egyptian* Statues were more charged with Symbols than those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as maybe seen in the Antiquaries. The Symbols were taken either from Trees or Plants, or such Animals as, for some particular Reasons, were dearer to the Gods than others, as shall be shewn in speaking of the Sacrifices, Offerings, and Victims, which were commonly taken from things wherein they were thought to take delight.

The reasons of this Preference given by the Gods were sometimes mysterious, and the Ancients durst not reveal them ; but then it is frequently an easy matter to see thro' them. Thus, to give but a few Examples, the Laurel was belov'd by *Apollo* for the sake of *Daphne* ; the Pine by *Cybele*, upon account of *Atys* ; and the Poplar by *Hercules*, because he had fetch'd one from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, &c.

For the most part, the Statues of the Gods were simple, and presented but one single Figure ; sometimes they were group'd, and contain'd several Figures together. The Philosopher *Albricus*, who has left us a small *Latin* Treatise upon the manner of representing the Gods, seems to have particularly considered these last Figures ; as one may be easily convinced by reading that small Piece, and by the Example of *Saturn*, which I am going to quote.

Saturn, says he, the first of the Gods, was pictured under the Figure of an old Man, with grey Hairs and a long Beard, stooping with Years, his Mien sad and dejected, his Head veiled, and his Complexion pale and wither'd ; in his left hand he holds a Scythe, and a Serpent biting its own Tail ; and in the right a young Child,

Child, which he is just going to devour. He has by him *Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, Juno*, and *Ops* his Wife, one of whose Hands is extended, to denote her Readiness to relieve all the World; while, with the other, she is presenting Bread to those who might have need of it.

When we come to the particular History of every God, we shall describe the Manner in which he was wont to be represented.

C H A P. X.

Of the Sacrifices and Victims.

SACRIFICE is an Act of Religion, whereby Man acknowledges the Divinity of him to whom he offers it up, professes to honour him in the most solemn manner, to thank him for Blessings received, and to supplicate him for new ones. In the first times of Paganism, the Worship paid to the Gods was exceeding simple. The *Egyptians*, if we believe *Theophrastus*, cited by *Porphyry* (1), made an Offering in ancient times to their Gods, not of Incense and Perfumes, but of the green Herbs, which they gathered, and presented to them as the first Productions of Nature. *Ovid* paints very well the Simplicity of those primitive Sacrifices: *No Incense*, says he, *as yet was brought from the Banks of Euphrates, nor the fragrant Costus from the Extremity of India*. They were strangers then to the blushing Saffron, and the richest Offerings with which the Altars were crown'd, were Herbs or Bay-Leaves.

*Thura nec Euphrates, nec miserat India costum,
Nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci.*

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.....

*Ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis
Et non exiguo Laurus adusta foco* (2).

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(1) Lib. de Abst. apud Euf. Præp. Evang. L. 1. c. 9.
ib. 1.

(2) Fast.

The same *Theophrastus* adds, that they join'd Libation to those first Sacrifices ; and doubtless it was Water they poured out in honour of the Gods : for the *Egyptians*, of whom he speaks, made use of no other Liquor, as we shall see afterwards. *Pliny*, *Macrobius*, *Plutarch*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Thucydides*, make frequent mention of the Simplicity of the Festivals and Sacrifices of the ancient *Egyptians*, and of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as may be seen in *Vossius*, who has cited them in proof of this Truth (1).

This primitive Simplicity lasted a very long time, and there were Places where it always subsisted. *Pausanias* (2) speaking of an Altar at *Athens*, consecrated to *Jupiter* the Most High, tells us, that no living Thing was offered there, but that they made only simple Offerings, without so much as using Wine in the Libations. This Custom was derived from *Cecrops*, who, in regulating the Worship of the Gods, and the Ceremonies he had brought from *Egypt* into *Greece*, ordain'd that nothing which had Life should be given in Sacrifice, but that they should only offer simple Cakes, as we learn from the same Author (3).

As they offer'd in Sacrifice the same things they fed upon, when Bread came to be substituted in the room of Herbs, they apply'd to that use a sort of Flower and Cakes baked with Salt. To this custom *Horace* alludes :

*Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollibit aversos Penates,
Farre pio, et saliente mica* (4).

To these Sacrifices they joined the Productions of the Earth, Honey, Oil, and Wine ; and when they came afterwards to feed upon the Flesh of Animals, they began also to make Offerings thereof in honour of the Gods : For there always was a remarkable Connection between the Food of Mankind and the Matter of the Sacrifices, since the Law ordained, that one part of 'em should

(1) De Orig. & Progr. Idol.
p. 47. Hanov. 1613.

(2) In Att.

(3) In Att.

(4) L. 3. Od 23.

should be eaten, and they were always accompanied with feasting, as we shall see in the Sequel.

It would be hard to determine at what Period of time the use of bloody Sacrifices was introduced among the Pagans. No great stress will be laid on the Authority of *Ovid*, who alledges, that the Sow was the first animated Victim which was offered to *Ceres*, upon account of the Ravages which that Animal makes in the Fields.

Prima Ceres avidæ gavisa est sanguine porcæ

Ultra suas meritæ cæde nocentis opes (1).

Homer at least will tell us, that the use of this sort of Sacrifices was common in the time of the *Trojan War*; and I don't believe we have more early Examples. I know that *Pausanias* speaks of the human Sacrifice *Lycaon* offered up to *Jupiter Lycæus* (2); that the Authors of the *Argonauticks* tell us, the Heroes of the Golden Fleece stow'd a Hecatomb in their Ship, as an Offering to *Apollo*; that they mention a Sacrifice of the Deer taken in hunting, which those Heroes sacrificed instead of the other Animals; but these Authorities are to be less regarded than *Homer*, the most ancient of Poets, and consequently nearer to the Events he described.

Be that as it will, there can be no doubt but the use of bloody Sacrifices in the Pagan World is of very great antiquity, if what is advanced by some of the Fathers of the Church be true, that God accepted those sorts of Sacrifice, and *Moses* enjoin'd them to the *Israelites*, only to prevent their offering them to the Gods, as was done by the neighbouring Nations. But this Account is by no means just; and it is certain, that in the true Religion those Sacrifices were as old as the World, since *Cain* offered to God the Fruits of the Earth, and *Abel* sacrificed to him Victims taken from his Flocks, *Factum est autem—ut offerret Cain de fructibus terræ munera Domino. Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui, et de adipibus eorum* (3). *Noah*

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(1) *Fast.* L. 1. (2) See *Pausanias* in *Arc.* (3) *Gen.* iv. v. 3, & 4.

at his coming out of the Ark, offered a Sacrifice to God of all the clean Animals : *Et tollens de cunctis pecoribus et volantibus mundis obtulit Holocaustum super altare* (1). Now as Idolatry is but a Corruption of the true Religion, there is no doubt of its having borrow'd its Rites from thence, and in particular, the use of bloody Sacrifices, and that from the earliest Ages. It is however as true, that there were Countries where this Practice was not received till very late, and with reluctance too, as the Fact I am going to relate testifies sufficiently. Among the *Athenians*, the Sacrificer, after having struck the Animal that was to be offer'd up, was obliged to fly with all his might. He was pursued, and to prevent his being arrested, he threw away the Axe he had made use of, as being alone guilty of the Death of the Victim. The Pursuers seized the Axe, and entered an Action against it. He, who spoke in defence of the Axe, alledg'd it was less guilty than the Grinder, who had sharpen'd it ; the Grinder being question'd, laid the blame upon the sharpening Stone he had used, and thus it became an endless Process : A Ceremony ridiculous indeed, but which proves the Aversion the *Athenians* had to bloody Sacrifices.

But it is fit to observe, that at the very time they were accusom'd to offer up Victims which had Life, they did not forget the ancient Form of Sacrifices, which consisted only in Herbs, Salt, and Meal ; and to this they still had recourse, as the most proper way to appease the Gods ; which makes *Horace* say,

Te nihil attinet

Tentare multa cæde bidentium (2).

Thus, according to *Festus* and *Servius*, they always threw Meal and Salt upon the Victims, upon the Fire, and upon the sacrificing Knives. *Sal et far, quod dicitur mola salsa qua & frons Victimæ, foci, et cultri asperguntur* (3). *Numa Pompilius*, as *Pliny* has it, even laid the *Romans* under a Prohibition not to use bloody

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Victims,

(1) Gen. viii. 20.
2 *Æn.*

(2) L. 3. Od. 25.

(3) *Servius* in

Victims, or any other Sacrifice, but those in which they employ'd Fruits, Salt, and Corn (1). *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (2) seems to ascribe to *Romulus* what we have been saying of *Numa*; and he adds, that this Usage was still subsisting in his time, altho' they had superadded to it that of bloody Sacrifices. *Plutarch* observes there were Gods among the *Romans*, among others, the God *Terminus*, towards whom they kept up the ancient way of offering up to them nothing that had Life.

At last, they came to such a pitch of Superstition, as to offer up human Victims. Who was the first Author of these barbarous Sacrifices is not known; but be it *Chronos* or *Saturn*, as it is in the Fragment of *Sancho-niathon*, or *Lycæon*, as *Pausanias* seems to insinuate, or some other, still it is certain, that this barbarous Custom was propagated to almost every known Nation. Fathers themselves, acted by a blind Fury, sacrificed their Children, and burned them instead of Incense. These horrid Sacrifices, prescrib'd even by the Oracles of the Gods, were known in *Moses's* days, and constituted a Part of those Abominations with which that holy Legislator reproaches the *Amorites*. The *Mobites* sacrificed their Children to *Moloch*, and burned them in the Cavity of the Statue of that God (3). According to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (4), they offered Men in sacrifice to *Saturn*, not only at *Tyre* and *Carthage*, but even in *Greece* and *Italy*. The *Gauls*, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (5), sacrificed to their Gods their Prisoners of War; those of *Tauris*, all the Strangers who landed upon their Coasts; the Inhabitants of *Pella* sacrificed a Man to *Peleus*. Those of *Temessa*, as *Pausanias* has it *, offered every Year a young

(1) Plin. l. 18. c. 7.

(2) Lib. 2.

(3) Lev. ch. xx

(4) Lib. 5.

(5) Lib. 3.

* I shall give this Story from *Pausanias*. *Ulysses*, says he, having in the course of his Voyages landed at *Temessa*, there one of his Associates ravish'd a Virgin; for which he was stoned to death by the Inhabitants. They were so infested by the Person's Ghost that they had Thoughts of leaving their Country: But the Oracle of *Apollo* directed them to offer an Attonement to the Ghost or Demon

young Virgin to the Genius of one of *Ulysses's* Associates, whom they had stoned; and *Aristomenes* * the *Messenian*, sacrificed three hundred Men at one time. *Strabo* (1) mentions those abominable Sacrifices offered by the ancient *Germans*. *Athanasius* gives the same Account of the *Phenicians* and *Cretans*; and *Tertullian* of the *Scythians* and *Africans*. In the *Iliad* of *Homer* we see twelve *Trojans* sacrificed by *Achilles* to the *Manes* of *Patroclus*. In fine, *Porphyry* gives a long detail of all the Places, where, in old times, they offer'd up human Sacrifices; among which he enumerates *Rhodes*, the Island of *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Athens*, &c.

From all these Testimonies put together, and from several others, which 'tis needless to quote, it follows, that the *Phenicians*, the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, *Canaanites*, the Inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Carthage*, those of *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, the *Ionians*, all *Greece*, the *Romans* and *Scythians*, the *Albanians*, the *Allemands*, the

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Angles,

mon, by consecrating to him a Temple, and there δίδοναι κατ' ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα πῶν ἐν Τεμεσσῇ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην, give him yearly one of their most beautiful Virgins. They obey'd the Oracle, and were no more molested by the Demon. Some time after *Euthymus* came to *Temessa*, at the return of this annual Solemnity, and hearing how it was, desired Access to the Temple; where the sight of the young Lady thus barbarously devoted first moved his Compassion, and then his Love. He resolv'd to save her if possible, and accordingly waited the Arrival of the Demon, fought and vanquish'd him in his own Temple; upon which the Demon left the Country, sunk in the Sea, and was seen no more. In *Eliac. Poster.* p. 335. *Hanov.* I leave the intelligent Reader to judge, who this amorous dastardly Devil must have been.

* I am sorry to find that my Author has taken this Story upon trust, as *Montfaucon* and many others had done before him. The Fact is this, *Aristomenes* offered to *Jupiter* at three different times the *Hecatombonia*, a Sacrifice which none had a right to offer but one who had killed a hundred of his Country's Enemies. This, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and after him *Eusebius*, improved into that of his sacrificing three hundred Men, and among the rest *Theopompus*. For not to insist on the Inconsistency of this Action, with the generous and heroick Character of *Aristomenes*, we learn from *Pausanias*, that *Theopompus* was Great Grandfather to that King of *Sparta*, who was Contemporary with *Aristomenes*, and consequently that *Theopompus* must have been dead a considerable time before *Aristomenes* was born. Vid. *Pausan.* in *Messen.* p. 244. & *Rowe's* *Lives in Aristom.*

(1) *Geo. L.* 1.

Angles, the *Spaniards*, and the *Gauls* were equally guilty of this horrid Superstition.

The late Abbé *de Boissi*, in a Dissertation he read to the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, a Copy whereof is printed (1), ascribes the Origin of that barbarous Custom of sacrificing Men, to an imperfect Knowledge of *Abraham's* Sacrifice. The *Canaanites*, says he, the *Amerites*, and the other People in the Neighbourhood of those Places, where that holy Patriarch had lived, no doubt would hear honourable mention made of the Zeal and Steadiness of that holy Man, who stifled all the Impressions of natural Affection to an only Son; they probably knew something of the Rewards God promis'd to his Faith; but being ignorant that the Sacrifice was not accomplished, they understood the thing in the literal Meaning. and thought by imitating so heroick an Action, to obtain the same Benedictions from Heaven. And indeed, according to Poets and Historians, it was *Saturn* who introduced the detestable Custom of sacrificing Men. Now *Saturn*, in the judgment of the best Authors, is the same with *Abraham*. The Proofs of it are clear; but I must refer them till we come to the Article of that God.

The Ancients came at last to see those inhuman Sacrifices in a true light; and the Facts which I am going to relate, were the occasion at last of their ceasing by degrees. An Oracle, says *Plutarch*, having ordered the *Lacedemonians*, in time of a Plague, to sacrifice a Virgin; and the Lot having fallen upon a young Maid named *Helena*, an Eagle carried off the sacrificing Knife, and laid it on the Head of a Heifer, which was sacrificed in her stead. The same Author tells us, that *Pelopidas* the *Athenian* General, having, the Night before the Battle, been directed in a Dream to sacrifice a fair Virgin to the *Manes* of the Daughters of *Scedafus*, who had been ravish'd and assassinated in the same place; he under great Terroure, deliberated about the Inhumanity of such a Sacrifice, which he believed to be odious to the Gods; and seeing a red Mare, he sacrificed

(1) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 1. p. 47.

ficed it by the advice of *Theocritus* the Soothsayer, and gained the Victory. In *Egypt*, *Amasis* made a Law, that only the Figures of Men should be offer'd up instead of themselves. In the Island of *Cyprus*, *Diphi-lus*, in the room of human Sacrifices, substituted Sacrifices of Oxen; as *Hercules* did in *Italy* waxen Heads named *Oscillæ*, instead of real Men.

Anciently the Head of the Family was equally King and Priest, and he was the Person by whom Sacrifices were offered; but in later times, every State had Priests and other Ministers, ordain'd to this Function, as we shall shew in the following Chapter. But yet at that very time when there were Priests instituted, the Head of the Family still retain'd the same right. Thus we may distinguish two sorts of Sacrifices; the private ones, which every Man might offer in his own House, to his *Lares* or *Penates* (a); and the publick Sacrifices, established by the Laws, for which there were Ministers authorised, and a Priest who presided over them. These sorts of Sacrifices were offer'd at *Rome* and in *Greece*, according to certain Rules they were obliged strictly to observe. To this purpose *Cicero*: “ Our Ancestors, “ says he, have laid down Rules for divine things; “ so that for Ceremonies instituted at high Solemnities, “ we have recourse to the Priests, who are well in- “ structed in them; and for managing the Affairs of “ the Common-wealth, we consult the *Augurs*,” &c.

The principal Business of these Ministers consisted in making a right Choice of Victims; for, in order to be acceptable to the Gods, they were to have certain Qualities, of which I shall speak immediately. They had likewise several Names given them. Such as were offered up the Day before the Solemnity, were called *Præcidaneæ Hostiæ*; as the Sow, sacrificed to *Ceres* before Harvest, was called *Præcidanea Porca*. Again, they gave the name of *Succedaneæ Hostiæ* to such

(a) See Virg. *Æn.* Lib. 4. where mention is made of the Sacrifice *Æneas* offered in the Morning to his household Gods, who had appeared to him in a Dream.

Sacrifices as they offered up, when the former ones had been neglected ; and thus it was they attoned for the Omission. There were others named *Eximiae Hostiae* ; meaning not that these Victims had any peculiar Excellence, as the word properly signifies, but that they were separated from the Flock in order to be sacrificed, *eximebantur * grege*. The Ewes that had two Lambs, which they sacrificed with the Mother, were termed *Ambiguae † Oves*, and the Victims whose Entrails were adherent, *Harungæ ‖* or *Harugæ* (1) ; such as were consumed, *Prodigiæ* ; and such as had two Teeth higher than the rest, *Bidentes* (2).

Of whatever nature the Victims were, great care was to be taken in the choice of them ; and the same Blemishes, that excluded them from Sacrifices among the *Jews* (3) render'd them also imperfect among the *Pagans* ; whence it would seem that they borrowed several Rites from the *Hebrews*. *Vossius*, in his learned Treatise of Idolatry, has upon this Subject entered into philological Dissertations extremely curious, to which I refer the learned Reader. I shall only say here with *Jul. Pollux* (4) that the Victim ought to be clean, not maim'd, without blemish, without defect, sound, neither lame, nor deform'd ; white, and of an odd number, for the celestial Gods ; black, and of an even number, for the infernal Gods. In fine, chosen from among Animals, Plants, or Fruits, that were agreeable to the Gods, to whom they offered ; for all sorts of Victims were not offered indifferently to every Divinity. It was commonly a Sow, big with young, that they offer'd to *Cybele* and to the Goddess *Tellus* ; the Bull to *Jupiter* ; to *Juno*, Heifers, Ewe-lambs, Sheep, and at *Corinth* they sacrificed to her a She-goat. To *Neptune* a Bull and Lambs, as appears from *Homer*.
To

* *Macrobius* however tells us from *Varonius*, that one reason of their being call'd *Eximiae* was, *quod eximia specie quasi offerenda numinibus eligantur*.

† Or *Ambegnae*, or *Ambiegnæ*.

‖ Or *Harviga*, or *Aringæ* ; for the manner of writing some of those words is uncertain.

(1) *Festus*. (2) *Hyginus*. (3) See *Levit*. (4) *Lib. i. c. 29*.

To *Pluto*, likewise a Bull; and to *Proserpine* a Cow, both of them black; and when that Goddess was taken for *Hecate*, they sacrificed to her a Dog, an Animal whose Barking they thought drove away the Apparitions sent by that Goddess. The most acceptable Victim to *Ceres*, was the Boar and the Sow. They made her likewise an Offering of Honey and of Milk. To *Venus* the Dove, the He-goat, the Heifer, a white She-goat, &c. To *Bacchus* a He-goat. They sacrificed the Cow and the Bull to *Hermione*, as we learn from *Eliau* (1), who adds, that in these Sacrifices, a Bull, which ten Men had much ado to master, of his own accord followed an old Priestess to the Altar. To the *Sun* sometimes Honey; but the *Armenians* and *Massagetes* sacrificed to him Horses. To *Apollo*, for frequently he was distinguished from the *Sun*, they offer'd the Ram, the She-goat, the Ewe, and the He-goat; and when they confounded him with the *Sun*, a young Bullock, with gilded Horns, as an Emblem of his Beams: they offer'd to him likewise a Raven. To *Mars*, the Horse, the Bull, the Boar, and the Ram. The *Lusitanians* sacrificed to him He-goats, She-goats, and sometimes their Enemies. The *Scythians* offer'd to him Asses; and the *Carians* Dogs. We learn from *Homer*, that the Victims most grateful to *Minerva*, were the Bull and the Lamb; or, according to *Fulgentius Planciades*, Oxen, which had never known the Yoke. To *Diana*, Stags, She-goats, more especially among the *Athenians*; and, in some Places, Cows. To the *Dii Lares*, a Bullock, or an Ew-lamb, according to the Ability of those who offer'd. To them they also sacrificed Cocks and Swallows, and the Hog, whence they got the name of *Grundiles*.

In fine, every God had his favourite Animal, Tree, or Plant. Among the Animal kind, the Lion was consecrated to *Vulcan*; the Wolf to *Apollo* and *Mars*; the Dog to the *Lares* and to *Mars*; the Dragon to *Bacchus* and *Minerva*; the Griffins to *Apollo*; the Serpents to *Esculapius*; the Stag to *Hercules*; the

(1) De Anim.

Lamb to *Juno*; the Horse to *Mars*; the Heifer to *Isis*. Among the Birds, the Eagle was sacred to *Jupiter*: the Peacock to *Juno*; the Owl to *Minerva*; the Vultur and the Wood-pecker to *Mars*; the Cock likewise to *Mars*, to *Esculapius*, *Apollo*, and *Minerva*; the Dove and Sparrow to *Venus*; the King's-Fisher to *Tetbys*; the Phœnix to the *Sun*, and the *Cicada*, a sort of Flying Insect, to *Apollo*. Among the Fishes, which belong'd all to *Neptune*, the *Concha Marina*, and the small Fish named *Apua*, which *Festus* says is produc'd by the Rain, were acceptable to *Venus*, and the *Barbel* to *Diana*. Among the Trees and Plants, the Pine was consecrated to *Cybele*, for the sake of *Atys*; the Beech to *Jupiter*; the Oak, and its different Species, to *Rhea*; the Olive to *Minerva*; the Laurel to *Apollo*, from his Amour with *Daphne*; and the Reed to *Pan*, from the Story of *Syrinx*; the Lotus, and the Myrtle were likewise consecrated to *Apollo* and *Venus*; the *Cypress* to *Pluto*; the *Narcissus* and the Maiden-hair, termed likewise *Capilli Veneris*, to *Proserpine*; the Ash-tree and Dog's-grass to *Mars*; Purslane to *Mercury*; the Myrtle and the Poppy to *Ceres*; the Vine, and its Leaves, to *Bacchus*; the Poplar to *Hercules*; Dittany and the Poppy to *Lucina*; Garlick to the *Dii Penates*; the Alder-Tree, the Cedar, the *Narcissus* and the Juniper-Tree, to the *Furies*; the Palm to the *Muses*; the Plane-Tree to the *Genii*; the Alder to the God *Sylvanus*; the Pine to *Pan*, &c.

If you except some symbolical Reasons, which have been transiently mentioned, for these sorts of Consecrations, there is no possibility of divining what the rest may be: 'Tis probable, since those distinctions of Victims, or of Beings specially consecrated to some Divinity, exclusive of others, were not known to the earliest Ages of Idolatry, that all this Refinement was invented by the Priests, who proposed thereby to imprint upon the minds of the People, a higher Veneration for the Gods.

The Victim being chosen in the manner we have said, it was deck'd with Ribbons and Fillets; they gilded
its

its Horns, laid upon its Head the Salt-Cake, Fruit, and Male-Frankincense (1); this is what they called the Immolation, *Immolatio*. Then came the Libation; it was of Wine, which the Priest first tasted himself, and then gave to the By-standers to do the same. After this *litabatur*; that is, the Priest took some Hairs between the Horns of the Victim, threw them into the Fire, and then turning his Face towards the East, ordered the Sacrificer to slay the Victim. Hardly was it dead, when the Priest plunged the sacrificing Knife into its Entrails, to see if the Sacrifice was auspicious, *an perlitatum foret*; and then they were explored by the *Haruspex*, in order to draw from them a favourable Omen. The next thing was to cut the Victim in pieces, Part whereof they roasted, and a Part they distributed for the Feast. The Sacrificers were term'd *Victimarii*, *Popæ*, *Cultrarii*. The Priest, besides the Vestments appointed for his Functions, was sure to be crown'd with a Chaplet of the Branches or Leaves of the Tree, peculiarly sacred to the God for whom the Sacrifice was; as of Oak for *Jupiter*, Laurel for *Apollo*, white Poplar for *Hercules*, of the Vine for *Bacchus*, the Cypress for *Pluto*; and so of the rest.

But as there were different sorts of Sacrifices, the Holocaust, the expiatory Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, and several others, their way of managing the Victim was accordingly different. In the Holocaust, it was wholly consumed by Fire. Sometimes they only sprinkled the Blood around the Altar; burnt upon it the Fat that inclosed the Entrails, and the Remainder was carry'd off, or eaten up near the same Place where the Immolation was perform'd. There were portions which the Priests only had a right to touch, others were distributed, or carry'd off. It would seem also, that among the *Gentiles*, whatever was design'd for ordinary Food, especially the Flesh of Animals, was first offer'd up by way of Sacrifice; and hence the primitive Christians, while living in the midst of Pagans, were so much upon their guard against eating Meats

(1) All these were not general for every Sacrifice.

Meats that had been offer'd to Idols. If this Account, which has been likewise followed by some Authors, and which appears to be ground'd upon Antiquity, is not strictly just, this much at least is true, that all the publick Feasts were usher'd in with Sacrifices, upon the Flesh whereof they feasted, as *Atheneus* (1) expressly says: To be satisfied of this, we need only read *Homer*, *Virgil*, and other Ancients.

From what has been now said, we may conclude, that there must needs have been in the Temples, and wherever else they sacrificed, different Apartments mark'd out; some for preparing the Victim, others for killing it, others for dressing the Flesh, others, in fine, for celebrating the Feast; which last, tho' an Act of Religion, was exceeding gay, and always accompanied with Dancing, Musick, and Hymns sung in honour of the Gods. The Diviners among the *Greeks*, as *Calchas*, *Mopsus*, *Amphiaraus*, and many others; and the *Haruspices* among the *Romans*, assisted at the Sacrifices, to consult the Entrails of the Victim, and give their Opinion of them. It belong'd to them to order the Time, the Form, and the Matter of the Sacrifices, especially upon important Occasions; and they were not wanting then to consult them, and follow their Decisions.

It was not always necessary to bring a living Victim to the Altar, since, for want of other Animals, they went and slew some in hunting, to be offered in Sacrifice, as was already said. Nor was the whole Animal offered to the Gods; the Thighs were the portion which was allotted to them, as *Pausanias* (2) remarks in general, with respect to the Sacrifices of the *Greeks*; and this part of the Victim they burn'd upon a clear Fire, made of Chips of Wood. *Apollonius Rhodius* (3) gives the same Account: *They slay*, says he, *two Oxen, cut them into Quarters, and then into Pieces, setting the votive Thighs apart by themselves; and after having covered*

(1) Lib. 5. p. 192. (2) In Att. p. 42, and in Arc. p. 518.
Harrov. 1613. (3) Lib. 1. v. 432.

vered them with the Fat, or with the Omentum which is Fat, they roast them upon Chips of Wood.

The Sacrifices were always accompany'd with Libations: This was a Liquor they pour'd out in honour of the God to whom the Sacrifice was offered, and oft-times the Sacrifice itself was no more than a simple Libation. In ancient times, it was only an Effusion of Water, while the use of Wine was not introduc'd, or was so but in some Places; and what will appear surprising, several Nations that celebrated the Orgies, or *Bacchanalia*, knew not, or at least made no use of Wine. The *Persians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), drank nothing but Water. The same may be said of the Nations of *Pontus*, the *Cappadocians* and *Scythians*. How could the *Arcadians*, who of old lived upon nothing but Acorns, or rather upon a sort of wild Chestnuts; the *Troglodytes*, the *Ichthyophagi*, and numbers of vagrant People, who lived in the midst of Woods or in Caves, have any notion of the use of Wine? And yet they had a Religion, Sacrifices, and Libations. Nations even more civilized, who knew its Use, such as the *Egyptians*, durst not, if *Plutarch* says true (2), bring any of it into the Temples. And indeed, before *Psammeticus*, the *Egyptians* made no use of Wine at all, nor offered any to their Gods, believing it not to be agreeable to them, since they looked upon it as the Blood of the *Titans*, which mixing with the Earth, after *Jupiter* had thunder-struck them, produced the Vine-tree.

Altho' for private Sacrifices there was no time specified, yet in publick Sacrifices, they were very religiously exact in chusing the Morning for the celestial Gods, and the Evening or the Night-time, for the terrestrial or infernal ones. The Sacrifices made in honour of the last, required peculiar Ceremonies. They sacrificed to them no Victims but such as were black; for receiving whose Blood, a Hole was prepared, and into it was the Wine of the Libation thrown. The whole Victim was burnt, as in the *Holocausts*, without reserving any thing for the Feast; for it was not lawful to eat the

Meat

(1) Lib. 1. (2) De Isid. & Osir.

Meat that had been offered to the infernal Gods, and to the *Manes* (1).

In fine, we may remark with *Lucian* (2), that the Sacrifices differ'd according to the quality of the Persons. *The Husbandman*, says he, *offers up an Ox*; *the Shepherd, a Lamb*; *the Goat-herd, a Goat*: *There are some who make only a simple Offering of Cakes or Incense; and he that has nothing, makes his Sacrifice by kissing his right Hand.*

We may further remark, that Sacrifices were become so common, as to be offer'd upon almost every Occasion in life; since, besides those prescrib'd by the Rituals, they were offer'd by Generals before Battel, as we may see in ancient Authors, particularly in *Pausanias* (3): By those who were to found a City, as appears from the same Author (4): When they were to enter upon a Journey: In the common Affairs of Life. Under any Ailment, after a Dream; in short, they enter'd upon no Enterprize of any importance, till they had first implor'd the Assistance of the Gods, by this Act of Religion. *Eusebius* cites (5) a Passage from *Porphyry*, concerning an Oracle of *Apollo*, which prescrib'd the Form of Sacrifices. “There are, said *Porphyry*, (after the Oracle,) Gods of the Earth, and Gods of Hell. To them, Victims are to be offered of Quadrupeds, of a black Colour; but with this difference, that for the terrestrial Gods, the Victims must be presented upon Altars, and for the Infernal, in Ditches and Holes. To the aerial Gods, the Sacrifice is to be of Birds, whose whole Body is to be burn'd by way of Holocaust, and their Blood pour'd out around the Altar. Fowls are likewise to be offered up to the Sea-Gods, but the Libation must be pour'd upon the Waves, and the Fowls are to be of a black Colour.” Whence we may conclude, that the Birds they offer'd to the celestial Gods were white, as I observed already of the Victims. But we are farther to observe, 1. That at *Rome*, when the Victim had any Spots, they whiten'd it

(1) See *Iliad*.

(2) De Sacr.

(3) In Mess.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Præp. Evan. Lib. 3.

it over with Chalk, and this is what they called *Bos cretatus*. 2. That they offer'd up to the terrestrial Gods, four-footed Beasts, provided they were black; thus it was with the Hog they sacrificed to *Ceres*, because, as the same *Porphyry* remarks, the Colour of the Earth is dark. Lastly, that as the Fillets, wherewith they adorn'd the Heads of the Victims offer'd to the celestial Gods were to be white, so, those with which they dress'd the Animals to be sacrificed to the terrestrial or infernal Deities, were to be black (*a*).

Sacrifices, as has been remark'd, did not always consist in offering up Animals: Oft-times they presented nothing to the Gods but Fruits and Plants, as, to *Pomona*, and other Divinities; oft-times Flower, or Cakes of Corn or Barley-meal. Of these, the *Greeks* made an Oblation in all their Sacrifices, of whatever nature they were. *Homer* calls these Cakes *ὄλαχίτας*; others were called *Popana*, and *Prothymata*, and these were mainly offered to *Esculapius*. Another sort of Cake was term'd *Bous*, the Ox, because Horns were figured upon it, and this was appropriated to *Jupiter Cælestis*, to *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, and the Moon. Others were named *Melyta**, because they were kneaded with Honey; these again were offered to *Trophonius*. In fine, to conclude, there was another sort of Cakes called *Arixa*, and another *Hygieia*, which they offer'd up to the Goddess of Health.

At *Rome*, these Cakes were made of Meal and Salt, they called them *Ador*, and the Sacrifices made of them *Adorea Sacrificia*. According to *Romulus's* Law, these Cakes were to be baked in an Oven; for which purpose he instituted the Festival called *Fornacalia*; whence came afterwards, the Goddess *Fornax*.

After the Victim was slain, there were Ministers who held Vessels ready to receive the Blood, others with Instruments in their Hands, either to flay or cut it

(*a*) The *Latin* Word *cæruleus*, made use of to express the Colour of those Fillets, is frequently taken by the best Authors, to denote Black, tho' it is commonly understood of a deep Blue.

* Or *Melithyta*.

it into several pieces. It was observed, that the *Haruspex*, the *Flamen*, or the Priest, examined the Entrails of the Victim, *Extā*, from thence to draw auspicious Omens. We add here, 1. That the Heart, the Liver, the Lungs, and the Spleen, were the principal Subject of their Attention. 2. That from inspecting the Entrails, came the manner of Divination, called *Extispicium*. 3. That they made Observations also upon the Motion of the Tail, when the Victim was just expiring. If it was twisted, that signify'd a difficult Enterprize: When it was turned downward, it presaged an Overthrow; but if it was lifted up, it betoken'd a compleat Triumph. 4. That they drew also Presages from the manner in which the Incense sparkled as it burn'd, as well as from the Smoak, and its different Motions or Contorsions.

When the Sacrifice was ended, if the Omens were favourable, it was then a perfect Sacrifice, which was express'd by the single Word *Litare*; for, that they were not all acceptable to the Deity to whom they were made, *Martial* tells us (1),

Non quacunque manu victima cæsa litat.

So *Plautus* (2),

Si Hercule istuc unquam factum est, tum me Jupiter faciat, ut semper sacrificem, nunquam litem.

If I am guilty of what you lay to my charge, may Jupiter never accept a Sacrifice I shall offer.

Thus there was no true Sacrifice without the *Litation*, if one may be allowed to adopt the Word.

All the By-standers were oblig'd to keep silence, while they were killing the Victim, and burning it on the Altar; in the interval between the two, they might converse with one another; whence came the Proverb, *Inter cæsa & porrecta*.

When the Priest was going to sacrifice, a Herald cry'd before him, *Hoc age*, give your sole Attention to what you are going about. And in *Greece*, when he approach'd the Altar, he ask'd, *Who is here?* And the Spectators answer'd, *Many good People* *. Then
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(1) L. 10. Ep. 73.

(2) In *Pœn*.

* πολλοί καγαθοί.

the Priest pronounc'd this Form, *Be gone all ye Profane*, which the *Romans* thus express'd, *Procul este Profani*. They were especially careful to debar from thence, Robbers, Murderers, and all People of bad Lives: But this was not for all Sacrifices in general, at least in *Greece*.

The Priest who sacrificed, had commonly his Head veil'd; I say commonly, because there were Sacrifices where they were to have the Head uncovered. As to this distinction, Parties are not well agreed; *Fabretti* (1) however, is of opinion, that they veil'd the Head, to sacrifice to the twelve great Gods, and that to the rest, they sacrificed uncover'd. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate, that the Priest never had his Head cover'd but when he sacrificed to the celestial Gods, since he says, that he who offer'd Sacrifice to *Saturn*, had his Head bare, because he was one of the infernal Gods. The antique Bas-reliefs representing Sacrifices, such as are to be seen in *Montfaucon* (2) and elsewhere, give no great countenance to those Distinctions. Only this we know, that in *Greece* the Sacrificer was always bare-headed.

The Priest, before sacrificing, was to prepare himself for it, especially by Continence, during the preceding Night, and by Ablution; and for that purpose, there was ordinarily at the entry into the Temple, Water where he purify'd himself. In ancient times, it would seem that they bath'd themselves in some River; at least *Virgil* (3) makes *Æneas* say, when he is ready to offer a Sacrifice, that he will not enter upon that Action till he has purify'd himself in Running-Water.

. *Donec me flumine vivo*
Abluero.

But it is to be observ'd, that this Ablution was only requisite in Sacrifices offer'd to the celestial Gods; sprinkling being sufficient for the terrestrial and infernal Gods. At *Rome* they never offer'd Sacrifice, till they had usher'd it in with a Prayer to *Janus*, for the Reason given by *Ovid*, that he kept the Gate which led to the other Gods. This Prayer ended, a second was address'd

dress'd to *Jupiter*, then a third to *Juno*, or, according to others, to *Vesta*. After this, the Priest encompassed the Altar several times, lifting his Hand to his Mouth; then he poured Wine upon the Altar, from the *Patera*: Lastly, he ordered the Sacrificer to strike the Victim; which he did either with the Knife called *Secespita*, or he knocked it on the head with a Mallet.

Montfaucon (1) explains most of the Sacrifices that are still to be found represented upon Marbles, and upon Bas-Reliefs; so that there is little occasion for me to speak of them here, and the rather, that his Explications suppose the Figures which one ought to have before his eyes: but as in that Multitude of Sacrifices, some were more solemn than others, such as the *Hecatomb*, the *Taurobolium*, and *Criobolium*, and some others, I suppose it is incumbent upon me to give a short detail of 'em here.

Hecatombs. In great Victories, or in time of some publick Calamity, they sometimes offer'd in the same Sacrifice, no less than an hundred Oxen, or other Animals; this is what they called a *Hecatomb*: Sometimes it amounted to a thousand, tho' very rarely, and then it got the Name of a *Chiliomb*.

Capitolinus (2), speaking of the *Hecatomb* which was offer'd by *Balbinus*, after *Maximinus's* Defeat, informs us at the same time, in what manner this sort of Sacrifice was offer'd. “ They set up in a place appointed, an hundred Altars of Turf, and sacrifice an hundred Sheep, and as many Hogs; if the Sacrifice is Imperial, they offer up an hundred Lions, an hundred Eagles, and as many other Animals. The *Greeks*, says this Author, did the same thing when they were infested with the Plague.” *Athenæus* adds, that they took the same course after signal Victories, for which he cites the Example of *Conon* the *Lacedemonian* Captain; who offer'd, says he, a true *Hecatomb*. By this Phrase, true *Hecatomb*, the Author gives us to understand, that the General actually offer'd up an hundred Oxen, for sometimes that Name,
(viz.

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) In *Balbino*.

(viz. Hecatomb) was given to Sacrifices, where the hundred Animals were of another Species. From the Passage in *Capitolinus*, we may refute the Error of those who maintain, that the Hecatomb was so called, upon account of an hundred Oxen or Bulls which were therein sacrificed. *Hesychius*, and several other Authors, confirm what *Capitolinus* says, that in Hecatombs they sacrificed other Animals as well as Oxen. To conclude, this kind of Sacrifice was of very great antiquity, since there is mention of it in *Homer* (1), who says, *Neptune* went into *Æthiopia* to receive the Sacrifice of the Hecatombs, of Bulls and Lambs. 'Tis a noted Story, that *Pythagoras* offer'd an Hecatomb for having found out the Demonstration of the forty-seventh Proposition in the first Book of *Euclid*.

We must not omit the Sacrifice of *Agroteræ*, where they sacrificed five hundred Goats every Year at *Athens*, in honour of *Diana*, surnamed *Agrotera*, whether from the City *Agros* in *Attica*, or from a Surname given to that Goddess, according to *Rhodiginus*, because she was always in the Fields. *Xenophon* refers the Institution of this Sacrifice, to a Vow made by the *Athenians*, of sacrificing to that Goddess as many Goats as they should kill of *Persians*; but the Slaughter they made of them was so great, that it was impossible for them literally to accomplish their Vow, which obliged them to make a Decree, binding themselves to offer up every Year five hundred Goats in honour of her, which was still kept up in the time of that Historian.

The Taurobolium was a Sacrifice offered to the Mother of the Gods. This Sacrifice does not appear to have been known in the first Ages of Paganism; since the oldest Inscription that mentions it, which was found at *Lions*, *An.* 1704, in the Mountain *Fourviere*, informs us, that this Taurobolium was offer'd under the Reign of *Antoninus*, A. D. 160. But then it was very late before it was laid aside; the last Inscription of it that we know, is in the Reign of *Valentinian* the Third.

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As none has given a better Account of the Ceremonies of the Taurobolium than M. de Bosc, in his Dissertation on the Inscription at *Lions* (1), I refer the Curious to it, and shall only observe, in order to give some Idea of the thing, that we have hardly any way of knowing this sort of Sacrifice, but from Inscriptions; the Ancients, at least such of them as are extant, being quite silent upon this Article; except *Julius Firmicus*, a Christian Author, *Prudentius*, and perhaps *Lampri-dius*, who speaking of *Heliogabalus*, says, he was so devoted to *Cybele*, that he received the Blood of the Bulls that were offer'd up to that Goddess. This Sacrifice was offer'd to *Cybele* for the Consecration of the High-Priest, for the Expiation of Sins, or for the Health of the Prince, or of those who offer'd it. It was a sort of Baptism of Blood, which they thought convey'd a spiritual Regeneration, and whose Rites and Ceremonies were different from other Sacrifices. But, as the Poet *Prudentius* has left us a particular Description of the Taurobolium, I shall, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, give a Translation of his Verses.

“ In order, says he, to consecrate the High-Priest,
 “ that is, to initiate him into the Taurobolium, a great
 “ Hole was made, into which he enter'd, dress'd in an
 “ extraordinary Garb, wearing a Crown of Gold, with
 “ a *Toga* of Silk, tuck'd up after the *Sabine* Fashion.
 “ Above the Hole was a sort of Floor, the Boards of
 “ which, not being close joined, left several Chinks,
 “ and besides, they bored several Holes therein
 “ Then they led up a Bull, crown'd with Festoons,
 “ upon his Shoulders Fillets cover'd with Flowers, and
 “ having his Forehead gilt. Here the Victim's Throat
 “ was cut, so as the reeking Blood came streaming
 “ down upon the Floor, which being made like a Sieve,
 “ let fall into the Hole as it were a Shower of Blood,
 “ which the Priest received upon his Head, upon his
 “ Body, and Clothes. Not content with this, he even
 “ held back his Head to receive the Blood upon his
 “ Face, he let it fall upon both Cheeks, upon his Ears,
 “ Lips,

(1) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 3.

“ Lips, and Nostrils; nay, he open'd his Mouth, to
 “ bedew his Tongue with it, and some of it he swal-
 “ lowed. When all the Blood was drain'd, the Vic-
 “ tim was removed, and the High-Priest came out of
 “ the Hole. It was a horrible Spectacle to see him in
 “ this plight, his Head cover'd over with Blood, clot-
 “ ted Drops sticking to his Beard, and all his Garments
 “ distain'd. And yet, as soon as he appear'd, he was
 “ received with a general Congratulation, and not da-
 “ ring to approach his Person, they adored him at a di-
 “ stance, looking upon him now as a Man quite pure
 “ and sanctify'd.”

They who had thus received the Blood of the Taurobole, wore their stained Clothes as long as possible, as a sensible Sign of their Regeneration.

2. It was not always for private Persons the Taurobole was made: This Ceremony was perform'd for the whole Body of Citizens, for entire Provinces, for the Prosperity of the Emperor, &c. Sometimes these Regenerations were for twenty Years; sometimes, in fine, the *Archigallus*, or the High-Priest of *Cybele*, appointed it for certain Occasions (a).

3. This Sacrifice of Regeneration did not always require the sacrificing a Bull: Sometimes the Victim was a Ram, and then it was called *Criobolium*. Sometimes a She-Goat, and then it got the Name of *Egibolium*, or *Ægobolium*. Several of the Learned are not agreed that this last Victim was used in the Tauroboles, but only the Bull, and sometimes the Ram, when they would do honour to *Atys*, *Cybele's* Favourite, to whom the Taurobole was solely consecrated; altho' *Du Choul*, *Gambden*, *Selden*, and some others, are of opinion that it was likewise offered in honour of *Diana*.

We shall end this Chapter with some general Observations, in relation to the Forms of Prayer used upon this occasion. As they believ'd the Gods themselves had indited those Forms, they were considered as a thing so essential, that if he to whom the pronouncing

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of

(a) The whole of this is drawn from Inscriptions, and from the Dissertation of *M. de Bosc*.

of them belong'd, did but forget or transpose a single Word, they were persuaded the Sacrifice would have no effect. Thus, when *Decius* the Consul devoted himself to the infernal Gods, and with himself the Enemy's Troops, he caution'd the Pontif *Valerius Maximus*, to be exact in pronouncing the Form prescrib'd upon that Occasion. There were even Overseers appointed to take care that nothing of the Formulary was forgot ; and that they might hear every Syllable which the Speaker pronounc'd, the Spectators were peremptorily enjoin'd Silence. Most of those Forms, if *Jamblicus* may be believ'd (1), like that of *Theurgy*, (a sort of Magick to be explain'd afterwards) were composed at first in the *Egyptian* or *Chaldean* Language. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, in translating them, kept in many of the original Words of those foreign Languages, so that they frequently became a sort of barbarous and unintelligible Jargon ; but still the more barbarous and unintelligible, the more sacred and revered.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Instruments they made use of in Sacrifice, and other Ceremonies of Religion.

AFTER having treated of Sacrifices and Victims, I am to speak of the sacred Instruments ; but as it is hard to make my Readers understand the Description of them without Figures, they will have recourse to the Antiquaries who have given Prints of them.

What they called *Acerra*, was a little Chest where the Incense was put, much the same with those we have in our Churches ; for those of the Ancients, that now remain, and that are to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious, were not made after the same Model, nor of the same Metal. This Chest or Box of Perfumes, is frequently to be seen upon ancient Monuments, in the Hands of the *Camilli*, or sometimes of the *Vestals*.

The

(1) De Myst.

The Censer, or *Thuribulum*, was known to the Ancients, but there is now no Representation of it to be seen in Monuments. The *Greeks* called this Instrument *Thymiaterion*, and it is easy to see what was the use of it *.

The *Præferriculum* was a Vase that contained the Liquor made use of in Libations. The *Discus*, a Bason whereon the Flesh of the Victim was laid. The *Aspergillum* or *Aspersorium*, which was much like our own, made of Horse-hair, or that of some other Animal, with an Handle, serv'd for sprinkling the Holy-Water, which was contained in a Vase, whereof we have some Representation preserv'd in Monuments.

The *Patera*, was an Instrument ordinarily round, somewhat hollow, and with a Handle. The use of it was to receive the Liquor that was pour'd into it from the Vase, and to sprinkle it upon the Victim; which *Virgil* explains very distinctly:

Ipsa tenens dextrâ Pateram pulcherrima Dido

Candentis Vaccæ media inter cornua fudit (1).

The beauteous Dido, holding the Patera in her right Hand, pours the Wine between the Horns of the white Heifer.

This Instrument, made of different Metals, with some variety in Form, is that which has suffer'd least from the Injury of Time, and there are few Antiquaries but have several of them.

The *Simpulum*, in form pretty much resembling the *Patera*, was a sort of Spoon, which, according to *Festus*, they used in Sacrifices for making the Libations of Wine. *Pliny* (2) calls this Instrument *Simpuvium*, and says some of them were of baked Earth.

The Augural Staff, which they called *Litus*, like a sort of Trumpet, was somewhat crooked at the end, and the Augur held it in his Hand when he was to examine the Flight of Birds, in taking the Omens: It is commonly to be found upon Monuments and Medals.

The Mallet, *Malleus*, was for knocking down the Victim, as also the Ax; for both these sorts of Instruments

T 3

* For burning the Incense in time of the Sacrifice,

(1) *Æn.* l. 4. v. 60. (2) *L.* 35. c. 12.

ments are to be seen upon Bas-Reliefs indifferently, in the Hands of the Sacrificers.

The *Secespita* was a sort of Hanger, which serv'd to cut the Throat of the Victim: They were of different Forms, and even some of them in a Case. *Festus* gives a just Description of it. It was, says he, an Iron Knife, with an oblong Blade, and round Haft made of solid Ivory, fasten'd to the Blade with Gold and Silver, and studded with Nails of *Cyprian* Brass, which the *Flamens*, *Flaminick* Virgins, and *Pontifs* made use of in Sacrifice*.

The *Ligula*, or *Lingula*, was a sort of Spatula the *Haruspices* used, for exploring the Entrails of the Victim.

The *Candelabrum* was a branching Candlestick, on which they set the Torches that burn'd in the time of the Sacrifice.

The *Dolabra*, a great Knife which served for dismembering the Victim (a).

The *Enclabris*†, mention'd by *Misson*, in his Travels thro' *Italy*, was the Table upon which the Victim was laid, for the convenience of examining the Entrails, and drawing Omens from them.

The *Olla* was the Pot in which the Priests boil'd the portion of the Victim that was allotted to them.

The *Trumpet* was a sort of Horn or Clarion which they sounded at the Ceremony of the Hecatombs; but at every Sacrifice there was a Player on the Flute, who accompany'd the Victim, while they were conducting it to the Place where it was to be offer'd, and play'd upon a double Flute during the Sacrifice, as we see in all the Monuments that we have remaining upon the Subject.

The *Urceolus* was a small Vase of Brass, Silver, Earth, or some other Material, which had a strait Neck, and wide

* *Caltrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum auro argenteoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio, quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontificesque ad Sacrificia utebantur.*

(a) There is a Representation of it in the fifth Vol. of the *Academy of Belles Lettres*.

† Or *Anclabris*.

wide Mouth, much after the Fashion of our Burettes ‡ which the inferiour Ministers carry'd for washing the Priests Hands. They are often to be found upon antique Monuments, in the Hands of these sort of Ministers.

Altho' we are not to reckon Tripods in the number of Utensils used at Sacrifices, yet, in regard they had them frequently in the Temples, in those especially of *Apollo*, and sometimes used them for supporting the sacred Vases, it is necessary to say something of 'em here. Without insisting upon the Distinction of *Athenæus*, who admits only two sorts of them, that are reduced to great and small Tripods, I divide them into three kinds. Under the first I include, those used by the *Pythia*, when she deliver'd the Oracles of *Apollo* in the Temple of *Delphos*. As the Exhalation, to which she owed her prophetick Inspiration, issued out of a Cave, as shall be said in the History of Oracles, and as one who approach'd too near was in danger of falling into it, as sometimes happen'd, they contrived a three-footed Machine, which they set upon the Rock, and there the Priestess sat, for the convenience of catching the Exhalations without any Danger. 'Tis of this sort of Tripods we read so much in ancient History. The second kind comprehends whatever stood upon three-feet; Vases, Tables, or whatever else it was; and of these there was a vast Quantity. In the third, I reckon the votive Tripods, which Princes or private Persons dedicated in the Temples of *Apollo*. *Herodotus* (1) speaks of a golden Tripod, which the Greeks, upon their Victory over the *Persians*, sent to *Delphos*: In the division they made of the Spoils of the Enemy, says that Author, they set the Silver by it self, took a tenth of it for the God who was worshipped at *Delphos*; and of this portion they made a golden Tripod, which they dedicated to him, and which is still to be seen upon a brazen three-headed Serpent. From these last Words it appears, that this

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golden

‡ Crystal Bottles wherein they put the Wine and Water, used in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

(1) Lib. 9.

280 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
golden Tripod was supported by one of another kind, represented by three Heads of a Serpent; which is confirmed by *Pausanias*, who tells us (1), that the golden Tripod given by the *Greeks*, after the Battel of *Plataea*, was supported by a Serpent of Brass.

It will not be expected, I should include under any of these kinds of Tripods, those of *Homer*, which walk'd upon their own Legs to the Assembly of the Gods: A poetical Fiction, to give us the higher Notion of the Excellence of *Vulcan's* Works.

Nothing is more common in the Cabinets of the Curious, and in the Works of Antiquaries, than the Tripods; there they are to be found of all sorts of figures, and some even pretty singular. The most of 'em are of Brass, or of *Bronze*.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Priests, and other Ministers of the Sacrifices.

AFTER the Sacrifices, Victims, and Instruments which were used in offering them up, something must be said of the Priests and Ministers. As there is no Nation, be it ever so savage, but has some Religion, neither is there any without Ministers to preside over it; but in this Chapter we shall hardly take notice of any, except those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The general Name given by the former to their Priests, was that of *ἱερεὺς*, tho' they were distinguish'd from one another by particular Names and Functions. To speak of them with some order, we shall take for our Guide the illustrious *Potter*, who has given us an excellent Treatise upon the *Greek* Antiquities.

First then, I am of opinion, as I hinted before, that in earlier times, the Priesthood belong'd to the Head of the Family; at least that he had the Privilege of sacrificing, altho' there were Priests by Office. Thus at the Siege of *Troy*, notwithstanding *Chryses* and others were Priests, yet we see in *Homer*, the Kings, the Princes,

(1) In Phœc. p. 633.

ces, and Captains of the Army offering Sacrifices upon occasion.

When they were to chuse a Priest, an Examination was made into his Life, his Manners, and even the Qualities of his Body, and he was to be free from all unseemly Defects ; much the same as we see in the sacred Writings, those who had but one Eye, the Lame, the Hump-back'd, &c. were excluded from the Priesthood. The *Athenians* even required that their Ministers of Religion should be pure and chaste in their Lives, and their *Hierophantæ*, we know, made use of some cold Herbs, such as Hemlock, as a means to obtain the Gift of Continence. The Priests were generally allowed to marry ; they were frequently indeed forbid second Marriages, altho' History informs us that this Rule was not always observed.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* had a Hierarchy, *Priests of the* High-Priests, Priests, and subaltern Mini- *Greeks.* sters, who serv'd them in their Functions ; but as the *Greeks* were divided into several States independent upon one another, this Hierarchy was not every where uniform. There were even Cities, such as *Argos*, and some others, where Women presided in Religion. Nothing is more celebrated than those Priestesses of *Argos*, since their Priesthood serv'd for the Date of publick Events. The Names of most of those Priestesses were lost, till M. *Fourmont* the younger, in his Travels thro' *Greece*, found a very large Inscription, containing a full List of them, whereof he is preparing to give the History. *Minerva Polias* the Patroness of *Athens*, had a Priestess to preside over her Worship ; and *Plutarch* in his *Morals*, names one *Lyfimache*, who exercised that Function. The *Pedasians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), had also a Priestess for their *Minerva*. There was likewise one for *Ceres* at *Catana*, for *Pallas* at *Clazomenæ*, &c.

At *Delphi* there were five Princes of the Priests, and with them Prophets, who pronounc'd the Oracles. The *Opuntians* had only two High-Priests, of whom, the one

(1) In *Clio*.

282 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
one presided over the Worship of the celestial Gods, whom they named *Ouranius*; the other over that of the terrestrial and infernal, and was stiled *Catachthonian*.

The Priesthood of *Syracuse*, which, according to *Cicero* (1), was in very great esteem, lasted but one Year. The *Hierophantæ* were very celebrated Priests at *Athens*; their Name comes from two Greek words, ἱερός, *sacred*, and φαίνω, *to shew*. According to *Apollodorus*, he was the Person appointed to shew the Mysteries and sacred Things to those who were to be initiated; for which reason, besides that of *Hierophanta*, he had likewise the name of Prophet given him. This Minister had other Officers under him, to be his Assistants in this and other Functions; these were called *Exegetæ*, and sometimes Prophets. He likewise adorn'd the Statues of the Gods, and carried them in the publick Ceremonies. Their Wives too had a share in Divine Service, and were named *Hierophantidæ*. This Priest besides overlook'd the Worship and Mysteries of *Ceres*. For all these Articles, *Salmasius's* Notes upon *Solinus* may be consulted.

As the *Hierophantæ* and their Wives were set apart for the Worship of the Goddesses *Hecate* and *Ceres*, the *Orgiophantæ*, and the Women named *Orgiastæ*, presided over the Orgies, or sacred Rites of *Bacchus*; and the *Daduchus* or *Lampadophorus*, over the Festivals named *Daduchia*, of which we shall speak in the Article of the Festivals of the *Greeks*.

If we may give credit to *Pollux* (2), there were sixteen sorts of Ministers of the Temples; the Priests; the Temple-Keepers, or *Æditui*; those who had the Charge of the holy Things; the Prophets; the *Hypoprophets*, or Under-prophets, who published the Oracle; the Sacrificers; those who performed the Rites of Initiation; the Administrators of holy Things; the Purifiers; the Diviners, or Inspired; the *Sortilegi*; the Fortune-Tellers; the *Cresimothetæ*, or those who gave forth the Lots to be drawn; the Saints or Devotees;

(1) In Verr. 4.

(2) Ch. i. Art. 16.

votees ; the *Thuriferi*, or Incense-Bearers ; the *Hyparetæ* ; and the Servitors (*a*), or Camilli*.

The same Author next remarks (1), that the same Names were given to different Orders of Priestesses, in places where the Women ministred in the Temples ; and that the Priests of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, had the name of *Pythia*, by way of eminence. He might have added further, that at *Clazomenæ* the Priests of *Pallas* was named *Hesychia*, and that of *Bacchus*, *Tbyas* ; and in *Crete*, that of *Cybele*, *Melissa*. He might likewise have remark'd, that among the *Athenians* the subaltern Ministers were stiled *Parasiti* ; that not being then a Name of reproach, as it is at present. The Acceptation of this word, in the Sense I understand it, is taken from an Inscription at *Athens*, where it is said, that of two Bulls offered in Sacrifice, one part should be reserved for the Games, the other distributed among the Priests and the Parasites. The principal Function of those Parasites, who had a Place among the chief Magistrates, was to chuse the Wheat allotted for the Sacrifices.

There was likewise another sort of People set apart for Service in the Sacrifices. These were the *Ceryces*, or the Cryers, whose Office was to make publick Proclamation of things, whether civil or sacred. Thus, according to *Athenæus*, two of them were to be chosen ; and accordingly we find the *Ceryces* are two in number in that fine *Athenian* Inscription, explained in the *Paleography* (2) ; one for *Areopagus*, the other for the *Archon*. They were to be taken from the *Athenian* Family ;

(a) This List is not compleat, as we shall see in the Sequel of this Chapter.

* The Names which *Pollux* gives to those Ministers are, ἱερεῖς, νεωκέραι, Ζάκροισι, Περγήται, ὑποφῆται, Θῦται, Τελεταί, ἱερουργοί, καθάρται, μάντις, Θεοράντες, Χρησμοῖσι, Χρησμολόγοι, Χρησμοδοταί, Παναγείς, Πυρρόροι, ὑπηρέται, Θέοργοι, I have given my Author's Translation of them ; possibly the *Χρησμοδοταί* may signify the Ministers who delivered the Oracle ; *Χρησμοῖσι*, they who turned it into Verse ; and *Χρησμολόγοι*, they who gave the Interpretation of it.

(1) Ch. i. Art. 17.

(2) p. 148.

mily ; which, according to *Isocrates*, bore the name of *Ceryce*, from one *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosos*, Daughter of *Cecrops*.

Upon which we shall make a transient Remark, that there were sacerdotal Families, out of which the Priests were to be taken ; as at *Athens*, those of the *Eumolpidae*, for the Worship of *Ceres* and the *Eleusinian* Mysteries ; and at *Rome*, those of the *Pinarii* and *Potitii*, for that of *Hercules*.

At *Athens*, the Archon thought himself honoured by the Title of Priest : such among others was *Xenon*, who was Archon under the Consulship of *Drusus*, in the second Year of *Tiberius*, and who bears the Title of Priest in the Inscription, which we now mentioned ; and if *Spon* is good Authority, the same *Drusus* was at once Consul, Archon and Priest. The Origin of the Priesthood of the Archons, according to *Demosthenes* (1), was owing to this, that anciently the Kings and Queens of *Athens* were the High Priests. The Royalty being abolished, they continued to chuse a King and a Queen, to preside over sacred things, which Office was afterwards transfer'd to the Archons, and their Wives. The *Epimeletæ* served the King in sacred Matters, and Women named *Gereræ*, assisted the Queen to the number of fourteen. The *Ceryx* served her likewise in the most secret Mysteries of Religion. There was likewise independent upon all these Ministers a Pontiff, or rather a Chief Priest, Ἀρχιερεὺς, who presided in sacred things. Sometimes he was only for one City ; sometimes for a whole Province. Oftentimes too he was vested with this Dignity for Life ; sometimes for only five Years. As there were Chief Priests, so we find Chief Priestesses ; for among the *Greeks*, Women as often as Men were admitted to minister in sacred things. These Chief Priestesses were the Superintendents of the Priestesses, and were chosen from the best Families. But of all the Pagan Priestesses, the most celebrated was the *Pythia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

The

(1) Oratio ad Neæram.

The *Neocori* had Offices corresponding to those of our Sacristans, or Vestry-Keepers : accordingly it was their business to adorn the Temples, and to keep in order the Vases and Utensils that were used in the Ceremonies of Religion. *Theodoret* (2), is the only one who mentions two other Functions of the *Neocori* : The one, to stand at the Gate of the Temples to sprinkle Holy Water for purification of those who were entering into them ; the other, to throw some of the same Water upon the Meat served up at the Emperor's Table. *Julian* the Apostate, says this Author, went into the Temple of publick Genius in the City of *Antioch* ; and the *Neocori*, standing at the two sides of the Temple-gate, sprinkled Holy Water upon those who were entering, pretending thereby to give them Absolution.

As to the second Function above-mentioned, we are informed of it by the same Author, in the Story I am going to relate : It is with respect to a young *Neocorus*, who became instructed in the Christian Religion, but could not decline attendance upon the same Emperor in a Feast, where he was to officiate in blessing the Provisions with the Holy Water. Upon which *Theodoret* remarks, that altho' the Entertainment in the Suburbs of *Daphne*, given by *Julian* to the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, lasted several Days, yet the young *Neocorus*, who was standing by the Emperor, after having sprinkled the Dishes with Holy Water, secretly withdrew, and appeared no more on the following Feast-days. This Office became very considerable ; for the *Neocori*, who at first were employed only in servile Duties, were afterwards raised to the superiour Station of Ministers and High Priests, who sacrificed for the Life of the Emperor. We find on Medals, where the name of *Neocorus* often occurs, that of *Prytanis*, which was sometimes granted to them, with that of *Agonothetes*, or Dispenser of the Prizes at the publick Games. Even Cities, and *Ephesus* among the first, according to *Van-Dale*, took the name of *Neocorus* ; upon which you may consult *Vaillant* and the other Antiquaries.

Before

(2) L. 3. c. 16.

Before we come to the *Roman* Priesthood, I must say something of three sorts of Priests, who were common to them with the *Greeks*. The first are those of *Cybele*: The second those of *Mythras*: The third those of the *Orgies*, or *Mysteries* of *Bacchus*.

Nothing in Antiquity is more famous, nor at the same time more contemptible than the Priests of *Cybele*, who were called *Galli* or *Archigalli*, from a River in *Phrygia**, named *Gallus*. *Van-Dale* considers these *Galli*, and justly too, as so many Strollers, Vagrants, and Quacks, who went strolling about from Town to Town, playing upon Cymbals and Crotala †, wearing on their Breasts small Images of the Mother of the Gods, in order to raise charitable Contributions; the very Dregs of the People, according to *Apuleius*; a Sect of furious Fanatics, and infamously debauched. We agree with that learned Author in the Character which he draws of those Ministers; but we cannot be of his mind, when he says, that notwithstanding their being consecrated to the Service of *Cybele*, yet they were not in the quality of Priests, since their Priesthood is a thing undeniable. *Pliny*, *Apuleius*, and *Suidas* expressly say they were Priests, and give them that Title; and *Lucian* (1), who describes the Ceremony of their Initiation, leaves no room to doubt of it.

We shall not be surprised to find how those wretched Priests are represented by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, *Cbrysoptom*, and *St. Augustin*, since profane Authors have had an equal Contempt of them. The Law however had provided for their Subsistence, since, according to *Cicero* (2), it mark'd out the days when they had permission to ask Alms, and in which none else were allowed to go a begging: *Præter Idææ Matris famulos, eosque justis diebus, nequis stipem cogito*. This Begging, authorised by Law, probably came about every Month, since those Priests got the name of *Menagyrtae* and *Metragyrtae*; because it was for the Mother of the Gods they collected those Alms. To

* Where they first began. † A sort of Drums.

(1) De Dea Syria.

(2) Lib. 2. de Leg.

To these Names, they added, by way of derision, that of *Agyrtæ*, which imports Jugglers and Dealers in *Legerdemain* for Money. *Clemens of Alexandria* adds to the Qualifications of those *Galli*, that of a Fortune-teller and Sooth-sayer; because, in reality, they pretended to Prediction. They had always old Women in their Retinue, who passed for Sorceresses. *Plutarch* (1), who speaks of the Verses which they sung, says, they had brought the Poetry of Oracles into such contempt, that by their means the true Oracles of the *Tripos*, that is to say, of *Delphi*, were quite neglected. The same Author adds, that they deliver'd their Oracles *Extempore*, or drew them by lot from certain Books they carried with them, and sold their wretched Predictions to silly Women, who were charmed with the Cadence of their Verses.

To this Description of the *Galli*, we may add what *Lucian* (2) informs us of the great Festival that was celebrated in *Syria*, and of the Madness into which the Initiation of those pitiful Ministers threw them. To this Solemnity, says he, numbers of *Galli* repair, to celebrate their Mysteries. They slash their Elbows, and scourge one another's Backs with Whips. The Gang about them play upon the Flute and Dulcimer; while others, seiz'd with a divine Enthusiasm, sing Songs, which they compose *extempore*. 'Tis on that day, adds *Lucian*, that *Galli* are initiated. As the Sound of the Flute infuses into the By-standers a sort of Madness, the young Man, who is to be initiated, throws off his Clothes, and raising loud Shrieks, comes into the midst of the Gang, that is without the Temple, draws his Sword, and makes a Eunuch of himself; then running thro' the City, holding in his hand the Marks of his Castration, throws them into a House where he takes on a Woman's dress. This Mutilation was perform'd in other Places, according to *Pliny*, with the Shreds of a Pot of *Samian* Earth; and consequently the Operation was both more lingering and more painful.

'Tis

(1) In his *Morals* 407.

(2) *Lib. 2. loc. cit.*

'Tis well known, that it was in honour of *Atys*, *Cybele's* Favourite, that this Barbarity was practised, whereof he himself had given the precedent. But let us draw the Curtain over this infamous Scene, and say only a word or two of the High Priest of this worthless Crew. This Head of theirs was named *Archigallus*, and was ordinarily of a considerable Family; at least we read in *Gruter* an Inscription of the *Archigallus Camerius Crescens*, who had in his Retinue a great number of Bond-men and enfranchised Slaves. We find, in the first Volume of *Montfaucon's* Antiquities, the Figure of an *Archigallus*, with a long Tunick, which reaches down to the ground, and over it a great Cloak tuck'd up, with a Collar, which comes down upon his Breast; upon which are represented, in two large Medals, two Heads of *Atys*, without a Beard, with the *Phrygian* Bonnet. Lower down, you see the Frontispiece of a Temple, at the Entrance of which appears the Goddess *Cybele*, knowable by the Turrets and Battlements she bears upon her Head. *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, who are by her side, denote, that she was Mother of the Gods. This Figure, to which the Head is wanting, formerly belonged to M. *Baudelot*, and is now I believe in *England*.

Besides those *Galli* and *Archigalli*, *Cybele* had other Priests who were not castrated, and Priestesses, whose Names are to be met with in *Gruter*. Among those Priestesses, we find a Lady named *Laberia Falicla*, who was High Priestess to the Mother of the Gods; that is, who presided over the rest, as the *Archigallus* did over the *Galli*.

We may remark, that all the Priests and Priestesses of the Mother of the Gods, at first instituted in *Phrygia*, were afterwards propagated thro' *Greece*, and thro' the *Roman* Empire, in the very time of the Republick.

As for the Priests of *Mithras*, whose Worship was brought to *Rome*, if we believe *Plutarch*, in the time of *Pompey*, and later, according to *Van-Dale*, I shall say but little, because I am to give the History of that
God

God at full length (a). I shall only observe at present, that *Mitbras* had a Minister who was named the Father of the sacred Mysteries, *Pater Sacrorum*; and Priestesses who were stiled *Mâtres Sacrorum*; that those Priests were surnamed *Lions*, and the Priestesses *Hæne*, according to *Porphyry*. Hence the Mysteries of *Mitbras* were termed *Leontica* and *Patrica*, because of the *Patres* that presided there; that other Ministers of that God were named *Coraces*, Ravens, or *Hierocoraces*, sacred Ravens; or *Heliaci*, from the Sun, whom *Mitbras* represented. In fine, that those who were to be initiated in the Mysteries of that God, were obliged to submit to Expiations equally lingering and painful, as we shall shew in its proper place.

Lastly, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* equally celebrated the high Mysteries of *Bacchus*, or the *Orgies*, I may rank in this common Class, the Priests and Priestesses who presided therein; but as there will be occasion to consider them in the History of those Mysteries, I shall only say here, that those Ministers bore different Names, since we find in the Ancients, that the *Bacchanals* were called *Bacchæ*, *Mænades*, *Bassarides*, *Thyades*, *Mimalonides*, *Edonides*, *Elyades*, *Eleides*; all of them Names derived either from their manner of Yelling, or from their Fury and Madness. But 'tis time to speak of the *Roman Priests*.

Rome, at first, being nothing but an Assemblage of Renegados and Fugitives, whom *Romulus* had drawn together, that Prince had but little Thought about Religion, and having borrowed it, such as it was, from the *Albans*, and other neighbouring People, it was, in those first Ages, exceeding plain and simple. Temples and Chapels, that had neither Ornaments nor Statues; for, according to *Plutarch*, there passed 171 Years before any of them were there to be seen; Sacrifices offer'd without Apparatus, constituted the whole Ceremonial of that infant City. Yet we find in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, that *Romulus* having divided *Rome* into

U

thirty

(a) See the Article of the Divinities of the *Persians*.

thirty *Curiae*, instituted two Priests for each, which made sixty in all.

Numa Pompilius, who was more taken up about Religion than warlike Affairs, made several Alterations in the *Roman* Hierarchy, and so did some of his Successors, as we may see in *Titus Livius*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and in *Dion*. I shall deliver what I think myself best warranted to say upon the Head. The Priests of *Romulus's* Institution, were to be at least 50 Years of Age, Men of distinguished Morals and Birth, capable of maintaining themselves with Honour, and free from all corporeal Blemishes: So true it is, that even in the grossest Religions, care has always been taken to admit none for Ministers, and to offer up nothing in Sacrifice, but what was most perfect, and most adapted to the Honour of the Divinity. As in the Ministry of those Priests there were some things that could only be performed by Women, and others, wherein their Assistance was necessary, the Wives and Daughters of the Priests were employ'd in those Pieces of Service. The Priesthood at first was engrossed by the *Patricians*; but the People disliking that preference, prevailed to have the Priesthood divided between the Senate and themselves; and not only so, but, under the Tribuneship of *Cn. Domitius*, got into their own hands the Privilege of choosing the Priests, which was formerly reserv'd for the College of *Patricians*; which was again brought under a new Regulation, that the College should be the Electors, and the People confirm that Election. In fine, after some other Alterations, which it would be needless to relate, the Emperors arrogated the Right of choosing the Priests, and became themselves the High Priests; which began in *Julius Cæsar*. When the Election of the Priest, made by the College to whom that Privilege belong'd, was confirm'd by the People, they proceeded to the Inauguration, which, like our Induction, was perform'd with Ceremony, and concluded with an Entertainment given by the new Priests. From that moment, they assumed the Gown, called the *Toga Prætexta*, and the Ornament for the Head, term'd

term'd *Apex*, *Galerus*, *Albo-Galerus*, which consisted in a sort of white Bonnet, and had frequently the Addition of a Crown above.

The Priests in *Rome* enjoy'd several Privileges, and they might assist in the Senate; but this Privilege was afterwards taken from them (1). They were exempt from burthensome Offices in the State, and were dispensed with from going to War. They had ordinarily a Torch and a Branch of Laurel carried before them; and they were allowed to ride up to the Capitol in a Chariot, called *Carpentum*. There were Priests whose Priesthood was for Life; others, who had it taken from them; but the *Augurs* could not be deposed upon any account whatsoever. Every Order of Priests had its particular College, and Revenues for the Sacrifices. As in Provinces, the Priests were obliged to defray the Expences of the publick Games, which made the Office frequently chargeable, no body was compelled to accept of it.

In the Order of the *Roman* Hierarchy, the Pontiffs were the first. Of them, there were but four at first; but that number being afterwards augmented, they distinguished them into Pontiffs *Major*, and Pontiffs *Minor*; both of them subject to the *Pontifex Maximus*, or High Priest; whose Authority was so great, that the Emperors did not think the Office unworthy of them, as has been said. The High Priest being Master of all the Ceremonies of Religion, and a Member of the first College, was extremely revered. His Chariot, named *Thensa*, was distinguished from that of the other Priests, as well as his Garb, and the rest of his Equipage. He was not allowed to go out of *Italy*; as it was a sort of Profanation for him to see a dead Body, when he assisted at Funerals, they put a Veil between him and the Funeral-Bed. This Particular we have from *Seneca*, better informed therein than *Dion*, who, speaking of *Agrippa's* Funeral Obsequies, at which *Augustus* the High Priest was present, says, he can give no reason why they put a Veil between the Em-

(1) Tit. Liv. Dec. 3. L. 7.

peror and the Funeral-Bed ; and that it is an Error to believe the High Priest was not permitted to look upon a dead Body.

Perhaps it will be objected to me, that *Cæsar*, when High Priest, went and made war in *Gaul* ; whence I should seem to be mistaken, in alledging that it was not permitted to one in that Office to go out of *Italy*. But we may answer, 1. That there are Occasions when the Laws, which cannot foresee every thing, are not observ'd. 2. That *Cæsar*'s Example proves nothing, since he regarded Laws no farther than they struck in with his Ambition.

Next to the *Pontifex Maximus* were the *Flamines*, who were at first but three in number, instituted, according to *Plutarch*, by *Romulus*, or rather, according to *Livy*, by *Numa Pompilius* ; the *Flamen Dialis*, or of *Jupiter*, the *Martialis* of *Mars*, and the *Quirinalis* of *Quirinus*. They were chosen by the People, and the High Priest confirmed their Election. As those three *Flamines* were in high esteem, and enjoy'd several Privileges, tho' they were not of the Order of Pontiffs, yet they took place among them in Affairs of consequence. This Order was afterwards augmented to the number of fifteen ; three of whom were taken from the Senatorian Order, and were called *Flamines Majores*, or the superiour *Flamens*, and the other twelve named *Flamines Minores*, or the inferiour *Flamens*, were chosen from among the *Plebeians*. Every *Flamen* was destin'd to the particular Service of one Divinity, and his Priesthood during Life ; altho' for weighty reasons he might be deposed, which was expressed by these words, *Flaminio abire*, To lay down the *Flamenship*.

As *Jupiter*, among the *Romans*, was the greatest of Gods, his Priest was also of highest Consideration ; but at the same time he was tied down to some burdensome enough Regulations. *Aulus Gellius* (1) testifies, that he was not allowed to travel on horseback, to view an Army out of the City, in Battle-array ; to take an Oath ; and he could only wear one sort of Ring per-

forated

(1) Noct. Att. L. 10. c. 15.

forated in a certain way *. None were allowed to carry Fire out of his House, but the sacred Fire †; and he could employ none but a Freeman to cut his Hair. The highest Seat was his at Feasts, which he yielded to none but him who was stiled *Rex Sacrorum*. He was prohibited to divorce his Wife, to go out without his Mitre, to enter into a House where there was a dead Body, much more to touch a Corpse, &c. *Varro* adds, that the *Flamen Dialis* alone had the Privilege of wearing the white Hat, the *Albo-Galerus*, mentioned above. The Privileges of the other two higher Flamens were likewise very extensive, tho' not quite so many; and it was especially required, that they should be of a Patri-cian Family.

The inferiour Flamens, taken from the *Plebeians*, were less regarded, nor was the number of them always restrained to twelve. The bare naming them is enough to let us know their Functions. The *Flamen Cermen-talis* was the Priest of the Goddess *Carmenta*. The *Falacus* *, was so called, from an ancient God of that Name. *Floralis* from the Goddess *Flora*; *Furinalis* from *Furina*, mentioned by *Varro*. *Laurentalis* from *Acca Laurentia*; *Lucinalis* from *Lucina*; *Palatinalis* from the Goddess *Palatina*, the Protectress of the *Pa-latium*; *Pomonalis* from *Pomona*; *Virbialis* from *Vir-bius* or *Hippolytus*; *Volcanalis* from *Vulcan*; *Volturnalis* from the God of the River *Vulturnus*. The deify'd Emperors had likewise their Flamens. Thus we find in Inscriptions, a Priest of *Augustus*, *Flamen Augustalis*; a Priest of *Cæsar*, *Flamen Cæsaris*; and *Marc-Antony* would needs assume that Dignity out of Flattery; a Priest of the Emperor *Claudius*, *Flamen Claudii*; and one of *Hadrian*, *Flamen Hadrianalis*. In fine, there was a Flamen who seems to have been concern'd in the Service of all the Gods, and was named *Flamen Divo-rum omnium*, the Priest of all the Gods, which how-ever,

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* Item annulo uti nisi pervio cascoque fas non est. By *casco* seems to be meant plain or without Ornaments.

† Others read *Nisi in sacrum*, unless for sacred Use.

* Or *Falacer*.

ever, was contrary to the old Constitutions (*a*). *Festus* will have it, that the Wives of the *Flamines Diales* were Priestesses, and had the Name of *Flaminicæ*, and according to *Aulus Gellius*, they enjoy'd the same Privileges with their Husbands, and were under the same Restrictions (*b*).

The King-Priest, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was instituted after the Expulsion of the Kings of *Rome*, to perpetuate the Memory, says *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (1), of the great Services some of their Kings had done to *Rome*. A Law was made, that the Pontifs and Augurs should choose out one of the oldest, to have the charge of divine Worship; but for fear that the Name of King should again create Jealousy, it was appointed at the same time, that the *Rex Sacrificulus* should be subject to the High-Priest. He had likewise the Name of *Rex Sacrorum*, and his Wife that of *Regina Sacrorum*. *Macrobius* (2), who calls him the *Pontifex minor*, says he sacrificed to *Juno* in the *Curia Calabria*, as also his Wife who offer'd up to that Goddess, a Sow or an Ewe Lamb.

I told you, there were at *Rome* as well as in *Greece*, sacerdotal Families: Such in that City were the Families of the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*, for the Worship of *Hercules*, and that Priesthood continued there a long time. Their Origin is traced back to the time of *Evander*, and the History of it is this. *Hercules* being at the Court of that Prince, originally an *Arcadian*, but settled in *Italy*, prescrib'd to him in what manner he would be worshipped, and left it in charge to two old Men, the one of them named *Potitius*, and the other *Pinarius*. In the first Sacrifice, which was offer'd to him in the Evening (*Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says it happen'd at the Morning Sacrifice) *Potitius* arriv'd first, and *Pinarius* came not till the Ceremony was almost finish'd; which obliged

(*a*) All these Names are taken from *Festus* and several other Ancients, or from Inscriptions, mostly to be found in *Gruterus*.

(*b*) Eadem ferme Ceremoniæ sunt, quas *Flaminicas Diales* seorsim observitare. *Aul. Gel.* ubi supra.

(1) L. 1.

(2) *Satur.* l. 1. c. 15.

liged *Hercules* to punish his Remissness, by ordering, that for the future the *Pinarii* should only be Ministers to the *Potitii*: Which was exactly observed till the Year of *Rome* 461, when this Priesthood was abolish'd.

It is easy to see that this Fable has no other Foundation, but that upon the Introduction of *Hercules's* Worship into *Italy* by *Evander*, the *Potitii* and *Pinarii* were instituted to have the charge of it, with the Dependence we just now mentioned.

To all these Ministers we may add, the *Epulones*, who likewise exercised the Priest's Office among the *Romans*. The Pontifs not having leisure to attend upon all the Sacrifices perform'd at *Rome*, upon account of the infinite number of Gods who were honour'd there, instituted three Ministers whom they called *Epulones*, *Triumviri Epulorum*; because their Business was to prepare the sacred Banquets at the solemn Games, as we learn from *Festus* (a), and to set up the Couches on which they lay at Table. These Feasts, which were for none but the Gods, and especially for *Jupiter*, went by the Name of *Leſtisternia*, as we shall observe in the Article of the Festivals (1). The *Epulones* had the privilege of wearing the Robe bordered with Purple, like the Pontifs, as *Livy* tells us. The number of those Ministers was augmented first by two, then by two more, and at last, in the time of *Julius Cæsar's* Pontificate, they were increased to ten. Hence the *Triumviri*, the *Quintumviri*, the *Septemviri*, and the *Decemviri Epulorum*, we find mention'd in the *Roman History*.

Among other Privileges granted to the *Epulones*, the most considerable was, that they were not obliged to give their Daughters to be Vestals, and this they had in common with the other Ministers, as we learn from *Aulus Gellius* (2). This Author, speaking of the *Roman Virgins* who were exempt from being Vestals,

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says:

(a) *Epulones dicebant antiqui, quos nunc Epulones dicimus, datum autem est his nomen, quod epulas indicendi Jovi, cæterisque Diis potestatem haberent.*

(1) C. 13. (2) Lib. 1. c. 12.

says: *Sed eam, cujus Soror ad id Sacrificium lecta sit, excusationem mereri aiunt. Item cujus Pater Flamen, aut Augur, aut Quindecimvir sacris faciendis, aut qui Septemvir Epulonum, &c.*

From *Titus Livius* we learn the Date of the first Institution of the *Epulones*, it was in the Year of Rome 558, under the Consulship of *L. Furius Purpureo*, and of *M. Claudius Marcellus* (a); so that it is surprizing how *Pomponius Lætus* should say, that the date of this early Institution cannot be discover'd (b).

At present I shall say but little of the Priests instituted for keeping the Sibylline Books, reserving a fuller Account of them for the Article of the Sibyls. *Tarquin* the Proud, having bought these Books, instituted two Ministers to keep them carefully: In the Year of the City 388, they created eight others; and last of all there was an addition of five more, in the time of *Sylla*, which made fifteen in all. This Ministry, highly respected at *Rome*, lasted till the time of *Theodosius*, to the 388th Year of the Christian Æra.

The *Romans* besides had other Orders of Priests and Priestesses; such as the *Vestals*, of whom we shall speak at full length, in the History of the Goddesses from whom they got their Name: The *Sibyls*, for whom we shall make an Article by itself: The *Salii*, Priests of *Mars*, who shall be consider'd in the History of that God: The Priests *Arvales*, who sacrificed for the Fertility of the Corn-Fields *Arva*: The *Feciales*, to whom it belong'd to determine Peace or War: The *Phæbades*, who overlook'd the Worship of *Apollo*; as the *Bassarides* did that of *Bacchus*: The *Luperci*, for the God *Pan*, and some others besides, who were set apart for the Worship of some particular Divinities; not to mention several subaltern Ministers, who serv'd the Priests in their Functions; as the *Camilli*, so called from a Name

(a) Romæ eo primum anno Triumviri Epulones facti, Caius Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius, qui Legem de creandis his tulerat, & P. Porcius Lecca.

(b) See *Vigener* upon the first Book of *Titus Livius*, p. 810, and 811.

Name given to *Mercury*, because that God was the Minister, or rather the Servant of *Jupiter* (a).

Independent on these Ministers, both *Greeks* and *Romans* had others, who were also devoted to the Service of the Gods, such as the *Augures* and *Aruspices*, of whom I shall discourse in the Article of Divination.

As for what concerns the Vestments of the different Priests, and other Ministers we have mentioned in this Chapter, I refer to the Antiquaries who have given Draughts of them as they are upon Monuments. The bare inspection of Figures supplies the room of long and frequently unintelligible Explications.

Before we finish this Article, let us take notice, that every Order of Priests, consecrated to some Divinity, had a particular College, which was, as it were, the Community it held of, and in which the Elections were made. Those Colleges had the same Name with their respective Priests: Hence the College of the *Arvales*, for the Gods of the Fields; of *Sylvanus*, for those of that God; of the *Salii*, for those of *Mars*; that of the *Feciales*; of the *Luperci*, and the rest, whose Names are often to be found in History, and upon ancient Inscriptions.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Festivals of the Greeks and Romans.

THE *Greeks* and *Romans*, not to mention the *Egyptians* and other Nations, had such a vast number of Festivals, that it would be no easy matter to give an exact detail of them; and as we have several Treatises upon that Subject, we shall begin with taking notice of them. *Meursius* has composed one upon the Festivals of the *Greeks* (1), containing six Books: *Fasuldu* and *Castellanus* (2) have labour'd on the same Subject, as likewise the celebrated *Potter*, in his *Archæologia Græcæ*, *Beger* and others. *Ovid* in his *Fastes*, and *Rosinus* in his *Roman Antiquities*, give us sufficient insight into the Festivals of the *Romans*, and such as want to study this Subject to the bottom, may consult them.

(a) See the History of *Mercury*, in the third Volume.

(1) Græc. Fer. (2) De Festis Græcis.

them. In the mean time, not to leave my Mythology incompleat, and for the satisfaction of those who either have not these Works, or who want time to consult them, I shall give a cursory View of most of those Solemnities. The highest of all, were the Mysteries; but of them I shall discourse elsewhere.

The *Romans* borrowed several of their Festivals from the *Greeks*, as these had done from the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*. They had likewise some peculiar to themselves; this is what we shall be careful to remark: Let us descend to Particulars. I hope my explaining some Passages in History, which gave rise to those Festivals, will atone for the dryness of this Calendar.

The Festivals of the *Greeks* were exceeding numerous; 'tis the principal ones we mention. There was first, the *Acbillæa*, in honour of *Achilles*. *Pausanias*, who tells us (1) they were celebrated at *Brasias*, where that Hero had a Temple, gives us no particular account of them. The *Ætia*, which they celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, took their Name from the Promontory of *Ætium*, where there was a Temple to that God. There was Dancing during the Celebration of this Festival, and they slew an Ox for the Flies, which being glutted with his Blood, flew away and returned no more.

The *Agrania* or *Agriania*, were a Festival instituted at *Argos*, in favour of one of the Daughters of *Prætus*. The *Agraulia*, were so called, because they owed their Institution to the *Agrauli*, a People of *Attica*, of the Tribe *Erechtheis*, which had taken its Name from *Aglauros* Daughter of *Cecrops*, Priestess of *Minerva*, in honour of whom, the Festival was celebrated.

The *Agricnia* are thus described by *Plutarch* (2). There, says he, the Women make search for *Bacchus*; and not finding him, they give over their Pursuit, saying, he is retired to the Muses. They sup together, and after Supper they propose Riddles to one another; a Mystery, signifying that Mirth and good Cheer should always be seasoned with Learning and the Muses; and that if a Man happens to have drunk too much, his
Rage

(1) Lacon.

(2) In Symp. Lib. 8. Quæ. 1.

Rage is hid by the Muses, and by them kindly restrain'd and kept within bounds.

We shall say nothing here of the *Agrotera*, a Festival of *Diana*, where they sacrificed five hundred Goats, because we have spoke enough of this in the Chapter of Sacrifices.

In the *Æmaturia*, celebrated in honour of *Pelops*, Boys whip'd themselves till the Blood came.

The *Aianteia*, a Festival in *Salamis*, were celebrated in honour of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*. The *Eoria*, a Festival at *Athens*, in honour of *Erigone* the Daughter of *Icarus*; for the Institution of which, this Reason is given, that *Erigone* being driven by extremity of Grief to hang herself, had prayed the Gods, as she was dying, that unless the *Athenians* avenged her Father's Death, their Daughters might all perish in the same manner. Accordingly several of them hang'd themselves. Upon which, *Apollo* being consulted, ordered the Institution of a Festival, to appease the Manes of *Erigone*.

I shall only name the *Aleaia*, celebrated in *Arcadia*, in honour of *Minerva Alæa*: The *Alotia*, solemnized by the same People, for having taken many of the *Lacedemonians* Prisoners; the *Alia*, a Festival of *Apollo*, or the Sun: The *Alcatboia*, in honour of *Alcatbous* Son of *Pelops*: The *Aloa*, or the Festival of the *Barn-floors*, at which they offer'd the First-fruits of Harvest to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*: The *Ambrosia*, celebrated in the time of Vintage, in honour of the same God: The *Amphiarai*, a Festival of the Diviner *Amphiaraus*: The *Anaceia*, in honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, named *Anaëtes* or *Anaces*, that is, Princes, Sovereigns, &c. The *Anagogia*, celebrated at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, in honour of *Venus*: The *Androgeonia*, which *Minos* instituted at *Athens*, where his Son *Androgeos* had been assassinated(a): The *Anthesphorea*, in honour of *Proserpine*, a Festival so called, because *Pluto* had committed a Rape upon her as she was gathering Flowers: The *Apobomia*, which got

(a) See the History of *Minos*.

got the Name from their sacrificing at this Solemnity, not upon an Altar, but on the Ground.

The *Anthisteria*, so term'd from the Month *Anthisterion*, partly answering to our *November*, had this peculiarity, that the Masters serv'd their Slaves at Table, during the three days of that Festival, which the *Romans* imitated in their *Saturnalia*. At the end of the Festival, they turn'd those Slaves out of doors, and as they were almost all of *Caria*, hence came the Proverb; *Be gone ye Carians, the Anthisteria are ended*.

The *Apaturia*, a Festival of the *Athenians*, so called from ἀπάτη, Deceit, owed their Institution to the following piece of History. The *Bæotians* having declar'd War against the *Athenians*, upon occasion of a Contest between them about the Territory of *Celæne* or *Once*, which they both claim'd, *Xanthus*, Captain of the *Bæotians*, offer'd to decide the Quarrel in a Duel. *Thymætes* King of *Athens*, having declin'd the Challenge, was deposed, and *Melanthius* who accepted it, was put in his place. He, seeing his Enemy coming up, told him, it was not like a brave Man to bring a Second with him to the Duel. *Xanthus* turn'd about to see if any follow'd him, and in the mean time, *Melanthius* thrust him through*. This Festival lasted three days: On the first, they kept a Feast; they sacrificed on the second, and on the third they inrolled into each Tribe, the Youth that were to be admitted.

The *Apollonia* were instituted by the People of *Ægialca*, on this occasion. *Apollo*, after the Defeat of *Python*, repaired to *Ægialca* with his Sister *Diana*: But being driven thence, he was obliged to seek a Retreat in *Crete*. In the mean time, the Plague raging in the City which this God had left, the *Ægialii* came to consult the Oracle, and were told, they must depute seven young Men, and as many young Virgins, to go in search of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and bring them back to their City. This Deputation pleased the offended Deities, and they returned to *Ægialca*, where the People dedicated a Temple to *Pyibo*, the Goddess of Persuasion;

* See another Account of its Institution in *Petter's Antiquities*.

sualion; and in memory of this Event, they sent out yearly the same number of Youths of both Sexes, as it were to go in quest of *Apollo* and *Diana*.

The *Aphrodisia*, were celebrated in honour of *Venus*, at *Cyprus*, and in several other Places. Here, they who would be initiated, gave a Piece of Money to *Venus*, as to a Prostitute, and received Presents from her, worthy of that Goddess*.

A number of other Festivals follows, the bare naming of which will be enough. The *Arateia*, *Plutarch* speaks of (1), were celebrated in honour of *Aratus*. The *Ariadneia*, in honour of *Ariadne* Daughter of *Minos*. The *Artemisia* were celebrated in several Places of *Asia minor* and *Greece*, in honour of *Diana*, who was denominated *Artemis*: Particularly at *Delphi*, where they sacrificed to that Goddess, a Fish called the Mullet. The *Asclepeia*, for *Esculapius*, were celebrated thro' all *Greece*, especially at *Epidaurus*, where they were called *Megalascelepeia*, the great Festival of *Esculapius*.

The *Boedromia*, a Festival at *Athens*, during which, they run about, bauling with all their might, took their Name from *Boé*, a Cry, and *Dromos*, running. They were celebrated in the Month of *August*; whence the *Athenian* Month answering to it, was named *Boedromion*. This Festival, according to *Plutarch*, was instituted when the *Amazons* made themselves Mistresses of *Athens*. The *Boreasmi* were likewise celebrated at *Athens*, to appease the Wind *Boreas*. The *Buphonia*, another *Athenian* Festival, took their Name from the Ox they then sacrificed to *Jupiter Polianus*: In old times, the *Athenians* likewise celebrated the Festival called *Diipoleia*, in honour of the same *Jupiter*.

The *Cabiria*, were instituted in the Island of *Samothrace*, in honour of the *Cabiri*, and were celebrated besides in some other Places of *Greece*. The *Callistia*, so named, because there the Women contended for the Prize of Beauty, were peculiar to the Island of *Iesbos*. The *Carneia*, mentioned by *Herodotus* (2) and *Thucydides*

* Some Salt and a Phallus.

(1) Life of *Aratus*.

(2) Lib. 7.

des (1), were celebrated especially by the *Lacedemonians*, in honour of *Apollo Carneus*; and the *Carya*, in honour of *Diana*, surnamed *Caryatis*. The *Charisia*, were a Festival in honour of the *Graces*. The *Cissotomia*, so called, from the Ivy they wore at this Festival, in honour of *Hebe* the Goddess of Youth. The *Coreia*, were the Festival of *Proserpine*, named *Coré*. The *Corybantica*, were celebrated in *Crete*, in honour of the *Corybantes*, of whom we shall speak in the proper place. The *Chronia*, celebrated at *Athens*, in honour of *Saturn*, were much the same with the *Roman Saturnalia*. *Cynophontis*, was a Festival celebrated at *Argos*, on the Dog-days, during which they slew all the Dogs; whence this Solemnity had its Name.

Dades, a Festival taking its Name from the Torches (2) they burned at it, lasted three Days: The first was in memory of the Pains of *Latona*, when she was bringing forth *Apollo*; the second was in honour of the Birth of *Glycon*, and the Gods; and the third in commemoration of the Marriage of *Podalirius* and the Mother of *Alexander*. The *Dædala*, describ'd at large by *Pausanias* (3), were of two kinds; the Lesser, celebrated by the *Platæans* every Year; and the Greater, which were kept but once in sixty Years, in memory of the Exile of the *Platæans*, which lasted that number of Years. The *Argives* had a Festival named *Daulis*, to commemorate the Combat of *Prætus* with *Acrisius*. At *Ægina* they had the Festival named *Delphinia*, in honour of *Apollo* of *Delphos*. The *Delia* owed their Original to *Theseus*, when upon his Return from *Crete*, he placed in a Temple the Statue of *Venus*, given him by *Ariadne*.

The *Ephestia* were the Festivals of *Vulcan*, where three Youths bearing lighted Torches, run with all their Might for a Prize, which was given to him who first reach'd the Goal without extinguishing his Torch. The *Ephestria*, celebrated at *Thebes*, had something pretty singular. They first dress'd the Soothsayer *Tiresias* like a Woman, then undress'd him, and gave him another Habit,

(1) Lib. 5. (2) Δαδεις. (3) In Bæot.

Habit, to denote that he had changed his Sex, as shall be said in his History ; and *Ephestris* signifying a sort of Coat, like a Surtout, gave the Name to this Festival. It often happen'd too that the Festivals of the Greeks deriv'd their Name from the Place where they were celebrated. The *Gereſtia*, in honour of *Neptune*, were so called from *Geræſtus*, a Town of *Eubœa*. The *Itbomea*, in honour of *Jupiter*, during which, the Musicians had a Trial of Skill on various Instruments, took their Name from a Place called *Itbome*. The *Geronthraea*, an Anniversary in honour of the God *Mars*, from the Place named *Geronthrae*, and so of many others.

Sometimes they got their Name from the Matter of the Offering. Thus the *Hecatombæa*, were so called, because the Sacrifice consisted of an hundred Oxen. The *Galaxia*, a Festival in honour of *Apollo*, because therein they offered to that God, a sort of Furmety of Barley and Milk. The *Hecatompbonia* among the *Lacedemonians**, intimated that the Offerer had killed an hundred of his Country's Enemies. The *Elaphobolia*, observ'd at *Athens*, wherein a Sacrifice of Stags was made to *Diana*, who had therefore this Name given her, to denote her killing those Animals in Hunting.

But more frequently they got their Names from the Gods or Heroes, in honour of whom they were instituted ; thus, without dwelling upon the Subject, 'tis easy to see that the *Heracleia* were Festivals in honour of *Hercules* ; the *Hermaia* in honour of *Hermes* or *Mercury* ; the *Hyacinthia*, an Anniversary Mourning, solemnized by the *Lacedemonians* in honour of *Hyacinthus*. The *Eumenidia*, Festivals of the *Furies* ; the *Erotidia*, those of *Love* or *Cupid* ; which last were celebrated by the *Theſpians* : The *Iolaia*, sacred to *Iolaus*, *Hercules's* Companion : The *Iſeia*, to *Isis* : The *Leonideia*, to *Leonidas* : The *Inoa*, to *Ino*. The *Limnatidia*, the Festival of *Diana* surnamed *Limnatis* : The *Linia*, of *Linus* : The *Lycurgia* in honour of *Lycurgus* : The *Musæa*, of the *Muses* ; the *Pelopia* were the Festivals of *Pelops* ; the *Pausania*, those

* 'Tis more commonly ascrib'd to the *Messenians*.

those of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta*: The *Prometheia*, those of *Prometheus*: The *Protesilaia*, those of *Protesilaus*, who was killed upon the *Trojan* Coast: The *Poseidonia*, those of *Neptune*, furnam'd by the *Greeks* *Poseidon*. The *Titania* those of *Titan*; the *Trophonia*, of *Trophonius*. The *Theseia*, of *Theseus*; the *Diocleia*, of the Hero *Diocles*, omitting an infinity of others.

Lastly, they took their Denomination from the Surnames of the Gods; as the *Eleutheria* from *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Assertor of Liberty; the *Dietynnia* from *Diana Dietyнна*, and several others.

I come now to two Festivals that require a more particular Consideration. The first is, the *Daphnephoria*, that were celebrated every ninth Year. Here a Globe of Brass was set upon a Branch of Olive, from which hung several other small Globes: The first represented the Sun or *Apollo*; the second, a degree less, represented the Moon; and the rest, the Stars. Crowns which encircled those Globes, pointed out the Days of the Year. This Branch, with all its Ornaments, was carry'd about in Procession by a young Man, who held likewise in his Hand a Laurel-bough, and from thence had the Name *Daphnephoros*. This Youth, chosen out of the best Families, was to be well made, vigorous and robust, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1). The second was the Festival of Scourging, named *Diamastigosis* by the *Greeks*. *Tertullian*, who speaks of it, says, that at *Lacedemon*, where this Festival was solemnized, the Youth of the first Quality stood before the Altar, where, in presence of their Parents, they were lash'd so unmercifully, as sometimes to die upon the spot, and that without complaining, or shewing the least sign of Impatience: Such as were Victims to this Barbarity, were crown'd before they were bury'd. They contented themselves afterwards with whipping these Youths till the Blood came. During the Ceremony, the Priest held in his Hand a Statue of *Diana*, exceeding light, but which grew heavy, he said, whenever any respite was allowed in this Operation.

The

(1) In Boeot.

The *Dionysia* were likewise renowned Festivals, not only at *Athens*, but also over all *Greece*; their Name sufficiently points out, that they were instituted in honour of *Bacchus*, named *Dionysius*. They were divided into Greater and Lesser, Ancient and Modern; each had its own distinguishing Singularities: In all of them reign'd Licentiousness and Debauchery. The same God had several other Festivals, as the *Trieterica*, so called from their being celebrated every third Year; at *Rome* they went by the Name of *Triennalia* for the same Reason.

The Day of the Dedication of every Temple was celebrated by a particular Festival, called the *Encænia*. The four Seasons of the Year had also their Festivals, which were term'd *Horaia*, from the Greek Name for the Seasons, ὥραι; and in each of these Festivals they kept a solemn Entertainment, upon the Fruits of the Earth. At every new Moon they had the Festivals known by the Name of *Neomenia*. The Solemnities for the Dead were called *Nemeseia*, because they imagined the Goddess *Nemesis* presided over them. In the Month of *January* was the Festival of the Nuptials, celebrated in honour of *Juno Gamelia*, who presided over Marriages. From this Solemnity, the Month in which it was celebrated derived its Name *Gamelion*.

The Festival of Lamps was solemnized thrice a year. The first was called *Athenaia*, the second *Hephaisteia* or *Vulcania*; and the third *Prōmetheia*. The Ceremony chiefly consisted in burning Lamps the whole Night. That which they celebrated at *Peliene* in honour of *Bacchus*, at which they likewise kept Lamps burning, went by the Name of *Lampteria*. The *Egyptians* in the time of the *Ptolemys*, had a Festival which they named *Œnophoria*, because they who were to assist at the Feast they had at that time, carried Bottles of Wine in their Hands. The *Peloria*, celebrated by the *Thessalians*, and instituted by *Pelorus*; had a considerable affinity with the *Saturnalia*: There the Masters serv'd while their Servants sat at Table, as in the *Chronia* celebrated at *Athens* in honour of *Chronos*; or

Saturn. The *Sabazia* were nocturnal Festivals in honour of *Jupiter Sabazius*, or of *Bacchus*, who had the same Surname; we shall examine the Signification of that Word in the History of the Mysteries of *Mythras*. The *Thargelia*, a Festival which gave its Name to the Month *Thargelion*, answering to our Month of *April*, were distinguished from others by the Sacrifice of two Men, or of a Man and a Woman, whom they took care to fatten beforehand. The *Plynteria* were the Holidays of *Minerva*, which they reckon'd unlucky, at which time, according to *Xenophon*, they shut up the Temples of that Goddess. It was expressly forbid to pursue any Work whatsoever, on the day of this Festival, even in cases of Necessity. It was then allowable by the Law of *Solon*, to swear by the three Names of *Jupiter*, Propitious, Expiator, and Defender.

These were the principal Festivals of the *Greeks*: Those I have not mentioned are reserv'd for the History of the Gods or Heroes, of whom I shall discourse afterwards. Thus you will find the Description of the *Pan-Athenaia*, and of the *Pan-Hellenia*, in the History of *Minerva*; the *Olympia*, in the Description of those Games; the *Leontica*, in the Mysteries of *Mythras*, whereof they made a part; the *Eleusinia* and *Thesmophoria* in the History of *Ceres*; the *Egyptian* Festivals immediately after the History of *Osiris*, &c.

Festivals of the Romans. The *Roman* Calendar contain'd a yet greater number of Festivals than that of the *Greeks* (a); since, besides those they had borrow'd from them, they instituted several unknown to the rest of the World. Let us begin with those they had taken from the *Greeks*.

As these celebrated the *Cbronia* in honour of *Saturn*, so the *Romans* had their *Saturnalia*, which were solemnized for the first time, in the Month of *December*, the Year of *Rome* 157. At which time, if we may believe *Accius*, cited by *Macrobius*, who has given a very large Description of this Festival (1), there was

no

(a) See for this Article, *Ovid*, *Resnais*, *Beger*, and *Dempsterus*.

(1) Sat. c. 7.

no Meeting of the Senate, and the publick Schools were shut up. It was common for all to wear the Cap named *Pileus*, as a Badge of Liberty, and dress peculiar to this Festival. There was nothing but regaling and sending Presents to one another; the Slaves sat at Table, while their Masters serv'd, and entertained them sumptuously: In fine, every thing breath'd a Spirit of Liberty, and called to mind the Golden Age, when *Saturn* reign'd, and all things were common. According to *Macrobius* just now quoted, this Festival anciently began the 14th Day before the Kalends of *January*; but upon *Cæsar's* adding two Days to that Month, it was removed to the 16th *.

The Festival named *Jovialia* was the same with what the *Greeks* called *Diefia*, and it was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*. The *Megalesia*, common to both of them, was instituted in honour of *Cybele*, or of the Great Mother. The *Romans* who celebrated this Solemnity on Mount *Palatine*, near the Temple of that Goddess, added to it two Days called *Megalesian Days*.

The Festival *Herea*, instituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Juno*, was known at *Rome* by the Name of *Junonia*, and was the same. The *Cerealia* and *Ambarvalia* of the *Romans* corresponded to the *Demetria* and *Thesmophoria* of the *Greeks*, both of them Festivals of *Ceres*; as the *Mangelia* of the one did to the *Panathenaia* of the other, in honour of *Minerva*; the *Mercurialia* of the former to the *Hermaia* of the latter. Both of them had the Orgies, the *Trietoria*, the *Nysceleia*, and the *Bacchanalia*, all Festivals of *Bacchus*. But because in these last the *Romans* made some Alterations, it is proper to take notice of them. At first, they celebrated their *Bacchanalia* only three times a year; afterwards they solemnized them every Month. I shall give you from *Livy* (1) a Declaration thereupon, given by *Hispala Fecenia* the Freed-Woman, to the Consul *Posthumius*.

“ In earlier times, says she to him, the *Bacchanalia*
“ were celebrated by none but Women, no Man being

X 2

“ allow'd

* The 17th of December.

(1) Fourth Dec. 19.

“ allowed to join them. Three Days in the Year were
 “ chosen for initiating into these Mysteries, and the
 “ Ceremonial was performed by Day. The Priestesses
 “ who were to preside there, were left to the choice of
 “ the Matrons.

“ A total Innovation was made by *Paculla Minia* ;
 “ she initiated her two Sons, caused the Ceremony to
 “ be performed in the Night-time, and instead of three
 “ Days, she instituted five in each Month. This pro-
 “ miscuous Meeting of Men and Women introduc’d
 “ horrid Irregularities ; whereof if any of the Company
 “ shew’d a Detestation, they offer’d him up as a Victim
 “ acceptable to their God, or took care to be rid of him
 “ by some piece of Machinery, and then gave out
 “ that he was carry’d up to Heaven.

“ During this Festival, continues she, the Men
 “ counterfeiting Madness, and exhibiting various Con-
 “ tortions of their Bodies, began to prophesy ; while
 “ the Women in their *Bacchanal* Drefs, and all dis-
 “ shevel’d, run towards the *Tiber*, with burning
 “ Torches in their Hands, which they plunge into the
 “ River, where they remain unextinguish’d, as being
 “ made of Sulphur and Lime.” The Senate, to rectify
 this Disorder, pass’d a Decree, suppressing the Cele-
 bration of these infamous Mysteries in *Rome*, and
 through all *Italy* ; but the *Liberalia*, another Festival
 of *Bacchus*, surname’d *Liber Pater*, which they solem-
 nized on the 17th of *March*, were still continued, as
 not being quite so licentious. Here they offer’d up a
 Liquor composed of Honey, which they threw into
 the fire.

The *Lupercalia* were equally celebrated in *Greece*;
 and at *Rome*, in honour of *Pan* ; whose Ceremony, as
 we are told by *Livy* (1), *Plutarch* (2), and *Justin* (3),
 was brought by *Evander* from *Arcadia* into *Italy*.
 The Youth, during this Festival, run about quite
 naked, with Whips in their Hands, lashing all who
 came in their way without distinction. The Women,
 even those of Quality, believing there was a Virtue in
 those

(1) Lib. 1. 5. (2) In Rom. (3) Lib. 4

those Whips to make them fruitful, or to bring them to a happy Delivery in case they were pregnant, offer'd themselves to receive them. *Valerius Maximus* (1) will have it, that this Festival was only introduced in the time of *Romulus*, at the persuasion of the Shepherd *Faustulus*. At the first Celebration, they offer'd up Goats to the God *Pan*. The Shepherds who were invited to it, being heated with Drink at the Feast, divided into two Bands, and run about in a frolicksome way, clad in the Skins of the Victims they had now offer'd. To render this Festival more solemn, the *Romans* founded two Colleges of *Luperci*, named the *Fabii* and *Quintilii*; afterwards they created a third in honour of *Cæsar*, even in his Life-time.

The *Æsculapia* of the *Romans*, the *Musæa*, the *Ana-cia*, and some others, were Festivals borrow'd from the *Greeks*, which both the one and the other celebrated in honour of *Æsculapius*, the *Dioscuri* (or *Castor* and *Pollux*) and the *Muses*. Let us now speak of such as were of *Roman* Institution.

The *Agonalia* or *Agonia*, instituted by *Numa Pompilius*, were celebrated thrice a year, on the 11th of *January*, the 21st of *May*, and the 13th of *December*. *Janus* is generally reckon'd to have been the Object of this Festival, but yet *Festus* says it was the God *Agonius* *. We learn from *Varro* (2) that they sacrificed there a Ram. The Etymology of the Name of this Festival is controverted. Some think it was deriv'd from the Form pronounc'd by the Priest before the Sacrifice, *Agon*, shall I proceed? Others contend, that the Name comes from Mount *Agon*, where this Solemnity was celebrated; but the most received Opinion is what *Ovid* gives, that this Festival was so named, upon account of the Games, or rather Wrestling-Matches that accompany'd it, called by the *Greeks* ἀγῶνας.

The *Angeronalia*, a Festival of *Angerona* the Goddess of

(1) Lib. 11. c. 2. * Qui præsidebat rebus agendis. (2) Lib. 1. de Ling. Lat.

of Silence, as *Harpocrates* was the God thereof among the *Greeks*, was celebrated the 21st of *December*.

The *Armilustrum*, a Festival of the 19th of *October*, had this peculiarity, that all were in Arms at the Sacrifice which was there offer'd. This Solemnity is often confounded with that celebrated by the *Salii*, Priests of the God *Mars*, during which they carried the *Ancilia*, or small Bucklers, which I speak of elsewhere: But they ought to be distinguished, 1. Because the latter happen'd on the second of *March*; 2. They play'd upon a Flute at the Festival of the *Armilustrum*, and upon the Trumpet at that of the *Ancilia*.

The *Caprotinae*, celebrated on the 9th of *July**, were a Festival in honour of *Juno* surnamed *Caprotina*, where there were none but Women to minister in the Sacrifices. The Servant-maids, for whom they were celebrated, run about during this Solemnity, beating themselves with the Fist and with Whips.

The *Carmentia*, celebrated on the 15th of *January*, were for Mothers of Families. I speak in another place of the Prophetess *Carmenta*, *Evander's* Mother.

In the *Charistia*, a Festival celebrated on the 11th of the Kalends of *March*†, Relations met together, and gave Presents to one another.

As the *Caprotinae* were for Female Slaves, so the *Compitalia*, or the Festival of the Cross-Streets, instituted by *Tarquin* the elder, were for Men Slaves, who alone could assist at them, and there offer Sacrifices to the *Genii* of the Cross-Streets, in honour of whom the Festival was kept (1).

The *Consualia*, dedicated to the God *Consus*, were celebrated in a subterranean Chapel of the *Circus*, consecrated to that Divinity. Upon this Day neither Horses nor Mules were put to work. This Festival, as most others, had Games, as well as Sacrifices and Libations.

In

* Rather on the 7th or Nones of *July*, therefore called *Nonae Caprotinae*.

† Or 19th of *February*.

(1) Dionys Halicarn. l. 4.

In the *Faunalia*, celebrated on the Nones of *December* * in honour of *Faunus*, they sacrificed He-Goats, and made Libations of Wine: Their Place of meeting for that purpose was in the heart of the Woods.

The *Feralia*, instituted, as *Ovid* tells us, by *Æneas*, were a Festival for the Dead, in which they brought Meat to the Tombs, there to celebrate a Feast.

The *Fontinalia*, so called because on that Day they threw into the Wells Crowns, which were afterwards put upon Children's Heads, fell upon the 13th of *October*.

The *Fordicidia* or *Fordicalia*, from the word *Forda*, which signifies a pregnant Cow, happen'd upon the 15th of *April*, and the Sacrifice was a Cow with Calf.

The *Fornacalia*, whose Institution was owing to *Numa Pompilius*, celebrated on the 12th before the Kalends of *March* †, were a Holiday on which they baked Flower in an Oven, in honour of the Goddess *Fornax*.

As *Laverna* among the *Greeks* was the Deity of Thieves, so was *Furina* among the *Romans*, in whose honour they instituted a Festival, named *Furinalia*, which, according to *Resinus*, was celebrated on the 12th of the Kalends of *July* ‡. The Priest of this Goddess was called *Flamen Furinalis*. She had likewise a sacred Grove, where *Plutarch* tells us, *Gracchus* was kill'd.

The *Hilaria*, whose Name sufficiently denotes the Gayety of the Festival, were celebrated in honour of *Cybele*, on the 8th before the Kalends of *April* ||. Here they appeared in their finest Clothes; nay, they exchange'd the Dress which belonged to their Station for that of another, and if they had any thing in their Houses fine or curious, they were sure to have it carry'd before them in Procession.

The *Laurentalia*, instituted in honour of *Acca Laurentia*, the Wife of the Shepherd *Faustulus*, and Nurse to *Romulus* and *Remus*, fell upon the tenth Day before

X 4

the

* Fifth of that Month. † 18th of *February*. ‡ 20th of *June*. || 25th of *March*.

312 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
the Kalends of *January* *. There the Pontiffs offer'd
Sacrifices in the *Velabrum* near the *Tiber*.

The *Ferie Latinae* were celebrated not at *Rome*, but
at *Alba*, where the *Latin* Towns, to the number of
forty-seven, together with the *Roman* Magistrates, as-
sembled to sacrifice with one accord, in honour of *Ju-*
piter Latialis, a Bull, which they parted among them
after the Ceremony was over. They who came to
this Solemnity, brought with them Milk, Cheese, and
other things, which were offer'd by way of Libation.
At first it lasted but two Days, then a third was added,
and afterwards a fourth. *Macrobius* (1) observes, that
it was not permitted to begin a War upon the days of
this Solemnity, which, after *Varro*, he names *Latiar*.

The *Lemuria* were instituted for appeasing the ma-
lignant *Genii*, whom they called *Lemures*. They be-
lieved they were able to banish them from Houses
which they infested by night, and terrified People, by
throwing Beans at them.

The *Romans* had always some Motive for the Insti-
tution of their Festivals; by them they supplicated the
Gods, either for a plentiful Harvest, or some other Bles-
sing. By them they appeased those whom they thought
they had injured, or sought to turn away the Calami-
ties they were threatned with, as we may judge from
the History of those we have now mentioned. Often-
times it was to keep up the Remembrance of a Benefit
received, and such was the Festival named the *Luceria*, a
Word derived from *Lucus*, a sacred Grove. This So-
lemnity was celebrated in one of those Groves, which
was between the *Via Salaria* and the *Tiber*, in com-
memoration of the Deliverance of the *Romans*, who
were saved from the *Gauls* by flying into that Retreat.
Or else it was to keep up the Memory of some Disaster;
such was the Festival of the *Populifugia*, to commemo-
rate the Day when the People, and even *Romulus's*
Guards fled, upon the News of the Confederacy of the
Fidenates and the other *Latins*, against the *Romans*.
Sometimes they were merely to promote mutual Joy;
of

* 23d of *December*. (1) Sat. Lib. 1. c. 16.

of this kind was the Festival of *Maiumæ*, so called because it was celebrated on the first of *May*, when the principal Persons of the City repair'd to *Ostia*, where they exercised themselves in Sports of every kind. As Solemnities where Pleasure has full sway, are of all others the hardest to be abolish'd, this last continued a long time even under the Christian Emperors.

We have seen that there were Festivals appropriated to certain Stations in Life, as the *Caprotinæ* for the Maid-Servants, and others for the Men-Servants; here are some more of the same kind. The Merchants had one, which they celebrated in the Month of *May*, in honour of *Mercury*, the God of Commerce.

The *Matralia* were the Festival of the Matrons, in honour of the Goddess *Matuta*, to whom they offer'd rustick Libations which they boiled in earthen Pots: These are the Libations which *Ovid* (1) names *Flava Liba*. But as Grandeur wants to be every where maintain'd, even at the foot of the Altar, the *Roman Ladies*, while they excluded from this Festival all the other Slaves of their own Sex, admitted one whom they buffeted heartily. These Matrons had also another Festival, named *Matronalia*, which they celebrated in honour of the God *Mars*, on the first of that Month which is named from him. *Ovid* (2) gives five Reasons for the Institution of this Festival. The first, in memory of the Peace made between the *Sabines* and *Romans*, in which the *Sabine Women*, who were married to the *Romans*, had so great a hand. The second, that *Mars* might make these *Roman Ladies* as happy as *Romulus* his Son. The third, that they might be blest with the same Fruitfulness as the Month of *March* imparts to the Earth. The fourth, because it was upon the first of *March* that a Temple had been dedicated on Mount *Esquilinus*, to *Lucina* the Goddess of Childbed. The fifth, which comes to the same, because *Mars* was the Son of *Juno*, who presides over Marriage.

The Pastors and Shepherds too had their Festival, that of the *Palilia*, dedicated to *Pales* their Goddess. On

(1) Fast. 1. 6. (2) Fast. 1. 3.

On that Day the People took care to be purify'd with Perfumes, mingled with Horses Blood, with the Ashes of a Calf that was burnt as soon as it was taken from the Mother's Belly (1), and with Stalks of Beans. The Shepherds, on the Morning of the Festival-day, purify'd likewise their Folds and Flocks, with Water and Brimstone, and burn'd the Shrub called Savine, whose Smoak diffused itself over all the Fold. After this, they offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddesses, Milk, boil'd Wine, and Millet; then follow'd the Feast. In the Evening they made Bonfires of Straw or Hay, and leap'd over them: *Ovid* describes this whole Solemnity at full length. These Ceremonies were accompanied with Musical Instruments, such as Flutes, Cymbals, and Tabours, which play'd all the day long.

In fine, the young People and the Scholars had likewise their Festival, named *Quinquatria*, the Etymology of which may be seen in *Varro* and in *Festus*. On that Day the Scholars made Presents to their Masters: This Festival fell upon the 14th before the Kalends of *April* *.

We shall finish this List with some other Festivals of less Note, on which we shall be very short. The *Meditrinalia* were the Days on which they tasted the new Wine. The *Romans* had a Goddess *Meditrina*, and in honour of her this Festival was instituted.

The *Opalia* were the Festival of *Ops*, the same with *Cybele*. In ancient times they were celebrated the same day as the *Saturnalia*, but *Cæsar*, in the Reformation of the Kalendar, removed it to another time of the Year.

The *Quirinalia* were the Festival of *Romulus*, surnamed *Quirinus*. It was term'd the Festival of Fools †, because on that Day, whoever had forgot to celebrate the *Fornacalia*, which have been mentioned, was obliged to sacrifice to *Quirinus*, as an Attonement for their Omission.

The

(1) The Vestals had the sole right of burning this Calf.

* The 19th of *March*.

† *Feriae Stultorum*.

The *Regifugium* was instituted to keep up the Memory of the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*; and on that day the *Rex Sacrificulus*, or the *King-Priest*, fled as soon as the Sacrifice was offered. *Plutarch* (1) assigns another Origin of this Festival; but *Ovid* (2) and *Festus* are in this particular rather to be believed than he.

As the Fear of future Evils had a great share in the religious Worship of the Pagans, they instituted Festivals in order to be preserved from them. Of this number was their *Robigalia*, in honour of the God *Robigus*, by whom they believed their Corn was secured from blasting. It was celebrated about the end of *April*; and the Offering to this Divinity was a Sheep and a Dog, with Wine and Incense.

The *Septimontium* was a Festival instituted at *Rome*, when they enlarged its Precincts by taking in a seventh Hill. This Festival, at which they offer'd seven Sacrifices in different Places, fell in the Month of *December*; and on that day the Emperors gave Donatives to the People.

The *Terminalia* were so named, according to *Varro* (3), because they were celebrated on the last Day of *February*, which closed the *Roman Year*: or rather, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* alledges, because they were instituted by *Numa* in honour of the God *Terminus*, when that Prince ordered Land-marks to be fixed, that every Man might know the Extent of his own Ground. This Festival was entirely rural, and nothing of the Animal kind was there permitted to be offer'd, for fear of staining with Blood the Marches, near which they presented Fruits to the God who presided over them, and made Libations to him of Milk and Wine. These Circumstances however must have been alter'd some time after, since we learn from *Plutarch* (4), that the Peasants met on that day near the Marches, and there sacrificed a Sow or a Lamb. Be that as it will, there was nothing more sacred among the *Romans* than the Land-marks; and they who were so audacious as

to

(1) QQ. R. 62.

(2) Fast. 2.

(3) De Ling. Lat. Lib. 5.

(4) QQ. Rom. 15.

316 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book III.
to change them, were devoted to the Furies, and might be lawfully put to death.

The *Tubilustrum* was a Festival in the Month of *April*, instituted for purifying the Trumpets: for this they sacrificed an Ewe-lamb. They made also the same Purification in the *Vulcanalia*; a Festival celebrated on the tenth before the Kalends of *May* *, in honour of *Vulcan*, the God of Fire; and therefore on that Holiday they threw Animals into the fire.

Vertumnus, *Pomona*, and a vast number of other Gods, or Demi-Gods, had likewise their Festivals, as to which nothing particular being to be learned, I refer to *Ovid*, and to *Rosinus*, who has given a *Roman Calendar* with all its Festivals and Holidays (1).

We shall close this List with the *Vinalia*, which they celebrated twice a Year, on the ninth before the Kalends of *May*, and on the thirteenth before those of *September*. The first, instituted, according to *Pliny* (2), for tasting the Wine, had nothing to do with the Preservation of the Vines; whereas the second was in order to procure a favourable Season for the Vintage.

These were the Festivals of the *Romans*, mark'd out in their Calendar; and if upon occasion they celebrated some out of due course, as the Days set apart for publick Supplications, they were enjoin'd by the Magistrate in extraordinary Cases.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the publick Supplications, the Læsternia, Evocations, and Forms of Devoting.

THE publick Supplications were made either in some critical Juncture, as in time of a Plague, or some epidemical Calamity; or after an unexpected Victory, or when a new-elected General apply'd to the Senate to be confirmed by them, and to have a Supplication

* 22 of *April*.

(1) *Ant. Rom. Lib. 4. c. 2.*

(2) *Lib. 18. c. 19.*

plication appointed for obtaining the Favour of the Gods; and also for other Reasons. These Supplications were solemn Days, on which there was to be no pleading upon any account whatsoever, and they were celebrated by Sacrifices, Prayers, and publick Feasts. Sometimes the Senate limited the Duration of this Festival to one Day; sometimes it took up several; and History informs us, that some of them lasted fifty Days.

We are not to insist upon private Supplications, which were nothing else but Prayers, which every one put up to the Gods, either to obtain Health, a good Harvest, &c. or to thank them for Mercies received from them. A single *Formula* of their Prayers will be sufficient to give us some Idea of them: Here is one preserved in an Inscription (1), which *Camilla Amata* makes to the Fever for her Son in his Sickness. *Divine Febri, sanctæ Febri, magnæ Febri, Camilla Amata pro filio male affecto. P. Camilla Amata offers up her Prayers for her sick Son, to the divine Febris, the holy Febris, the great Febris.*

There was another kind of publick Supplication, which they called the *Leetisternium* (2). This Ceremony consisted in a Feast which they prepared, and which was to be kept in the Temple; and because, according to the Custom of those times, they planted Beds round the Tables, and placed upon these Beds the Statues of the Gods, in whose honour the Festival was celebrated, in the same way as Men lay thereon at Meals; hence they got the name of *Leetisternia* (a). The *Epulones* mention'd under the Article of the Priests, presided at this Ceremony, and were the Regulators of it. *Valerius Maximus* (3) takes notice of a *Leetisternium*, celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*. That God, that is his Statue, was laid there upon a Bed; while those of *Juno* and *Minerva* were

(1) Gruter 97. i. (2) Macr. Sat. 3. (3) Lib. 2. c. 1.

(a) The word is compounded of *Leetus* a Bed, and *sternere* to make up.

were upon Chairs: *Nam Jovis epulo ipse in Lectulum, Juno & Mercurius in Sellas ad cœnam invitantur.*

Titus Livius, Cicero, Lampridius, and others, make frequent mention of this Ceremony; and the first of these Authors refers its Institution to the Year of Rome 354 (1), upon occasion of a Plague which raged in the City. This *Lectisternium* lasted for eight days, and was celebrated in honour of *Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury* and *Neptune*. *Valerius Maximus* indeed mentions another more ancient, since, according to him, it was celebrated under the Consulship of *Brutus*, and *Valerius Poplicola*; but it seems it was either less solemn, or *Livy* knew nothing of it.

Until the time of *Casaubon*, the *Lectisternium* was believ'd to have been of *Roman* Institution, and not to have been known out of *Italy*; but that learned Critick, examining a Passage of the Scholiast upon *Pindar* (2), and finding there mention made of those Pillows, or Cushions, which they put under the Statues of the Gods, from thence has justly concluded, that the *Lectisternium* was in use among the *Greeks*. Authors have been found to support this Discovery, and the Truth of it is now no longer controverted. And indeed *Pausanias* speaks in several places of those sorts of Cushions; and in his Travels thro' *Arcadia*, tells us, that some of them were put under the Statues of Peace; and in his *Phocica*, he speaks of those on which they placed the Statues of *Æsculapius*. *Valerius Maximus* (3) says the same of the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. “The Statues, says he, of these two Heroes, who had done so much to rescue *Athens* from the Tyranny it groaned under, having been carried away by *Xerxes*, *Seleucus* restored them afterwards; and when the Ship that brought them arrived at *Rhodes*, the chief Men of the City invited them to be their Guests, and placed them upon Pillows: *Rhodiiqueque eas urbi suæ appulsas, cum in Hospitium publicè invitassent, sacris etiam pulvinaribus collocaverunt.* And

(1) Lib. 5. c. 15.

(2) Od. 1. of the Olymp.

(3) L. 2. c. 10.

And *Suetonius* reckons those Pillows, which the *Latins* named *Pulvinaria*, and the *Greeks* κλῖνας, among those things that were only appropriated to the Gods, when speaking of *Cæsar*, he says (1) : *Sed et ampliora humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est Templâ, Aras, Simulachra juxta Deos, Pulvinar, Flamen, Lupercos, &c.* “ He even suffered such Honours to be decreed to him “ as are too high for mere Mortals, Temples, Altars, “ Statues near those of the Gods, the *sacred Pillow*, “ a *Flamen, Luperci*,” &c. So *Arnobius* (2) addressing the *Pagans* concerning some of their Gods : “ They must “ needs, says he, be acknowledg’d such by you, since “ you consecrate to them Temples, Pillows,” &c. *James Spon*, in his Travels thro’ *Greece*, tells us, that the *Lectisternium* of *Isis* and *Serapis* was still to be seen at *Athens*. It was a small marble Bed, of two Feet in length, by one in height, on which those two Divinities were represented sitting. This learned Traveller says, that others, like them, were found in the same City ; as also at *Salamis* and elsewhere. From this Relation we learn the true Form of the *Lectisternia* and Cushions. They were small Beds, either of Marble, Stone, or Wood, on which they placed the Statues of the Gods, in honour of whom a Feast was prepared:

After what has been said, it is evident, that the *Lectisternium* was equally in use in *Greece* and in *Italy*. Add to this, that the Days set apart for this Festival were most solemn, during which, it was not allowed to inflict Punishment upon any Persons, and Criminals were even set at liberty. It was the chief Magistrate, or High Priest, who appointed them, and their end was to appease the Gods, or to supplicate them for Favours. We have only to say farther, that the Table for the Feast, and the Beds on which the Gods were to lie, were adorn’d with Branches, Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs : so much now for this Subject; let us only give some short Account of the Evocations.

Of

(1) In *Cæs.* c. 76.

(2) *Adv. Gen.* lib. 4.

Evocations. Of these there were three sorts ; the first

were magical Operations, which they used in order to call up departed Souls ; and of them I shall speak in the Article of Magick. The second, which we shall here consider, were ordinarily employed, during the Siege of some Town, which they thought it neither their Duty, nor in their power to take, without invoking the Gods, under whose Protection it was. We have in *Macrobius* (1) a Form of Evocation preserved, which will give the Readers a better Notion of the thing than all we could deliver upon the Subject. “ Whether it be a God, or whether it be a
“ Goddess, under whose Tuition the City and People
“ of *Carthage* is, I supplicate you, I conjure you, and
“ I earnestly request you, ye Great Gods, who have
“ taken this City and People under your Protection;
“ to abandon both City and People, to quit all these
“ Mansions, Temples, sacred Places ; to cast them
“ off, infuse into them Fear, Consternation; and a
“ Spirit of Forgetfulness, and vouchsafe to repair to
“ *Rome* to dwell among us : Graciously accept of our
“ Mansions, Temples, sacred Things, and our whole
“ City. Let it be seen, that you are the Defence of
“ me and my Army, and of the *Roman* People.
“ Grant me these Petitions, and I vow and promise
“ to found Temples and Games to your Honour.”

Lastly, the third sort of Evocation was; that which was used in calling up the Gods. In order to understand what I am to say upon this Head, we must know it was a Doctrine of the Pagan Theology, that the Gods in a peculiar manner presided over certain Places, and that frequently several of those Places were under the Protection of the same God ; and it being impossible for him to be in them all at once; it was necessary to use the Ceremony of Evocation, when his Presence was thought needful. They had Hymns proper to this Operation, which they called *κλείσματα*, as are most of those which are ascribed to *Orpheus*, and those of the Poet *Proclus*. Those Hymns generally were

com-

(1) Sat. L. 3. c. 9.

composed of two Parts : The first was taken up in the Praises of the Gods, and in celebrating the different Places under their Protection ; the second contain'd the Prayer whereby they endeavour'd to invite and allure them to the Places where their Presence was necessary. When they thought the Patron God was arrived, they celebrated the Festivals named ἐπιδήμια. Such were some of those the *Argives* kept in honour of *Juno*, and the Inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletus* for *Apollo*.

As soon as the Danger which had made them invoke the Gods was over, they gave them liberty to go any where else ; and they had other Hymns for celebrating their Departure. *Julius Scaliger*, who may be consulted upon this Subject (1), observes, that these Hymns, which they called ἀπονεμτικοί, wherein *Bacchylides* the Lyrick Poet chiefly excell'd, were of greater length than those used for inviting the Gods, in order to detain them as long as possible. For when we desire, says he, we want to be quickly possess'd of the Object of our Wishes ; but to be as long as possible before we be deprived of it.

To the Evocations I must add the Forms of Devoting, which the *Romans* called *Devotio*. They were either private, as those of the two *Decii*, and of *Marcus Curtius*, who devoted themselves to save the *Romans* ; or publick, performed by the Dictator or Consul, at the Head of an Army. Here is their Form transmitted to us by the same *Macrobius* (2). “ Father *Dis*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, *Manes*, or by whatever Name it is lawful to call you, “ I beseech you to fill this City *Carthage*, and the “ Army I mean, with Terror and Consternation : “ Grant that they, who bear Arms against our Legions “ and Army, may be put to the rout, that the Inha- “ bitants of their Cities, and of their Fields, with all “ that dwell in them, of every Age, may be devoted “ to you, according to the Laws, by which our “ greatest Enemies are devoted. I, by the Autho- “ rity of my Commission, devote them in name of
Y “ the

(1) Poet. L. 3. Cap. 112, 113, & 114.

(2) Sat. l. 3. 9.

“ the *Roman* People, in name of the Army, and in
 “ name of our Legions, that you may preserve both
 “ the Commanders, and those who serve under
 “ them.”

Antiquity has not transmitted to us the Form of private Devoting, but certain it is there was one; and when *Decius* devoted himself, he gave notice to the Pontif *Valerius*, as I shall have occasion afterwards to mention, to proceed to pronounce the Form of Devoting: *Decrum ope*, says he, *Valeri*, *opus est* ; *agedum* ; *præi verba quibus me pro legibus devoteam*.

Whenever the Law devoted any one to death, it was permitted to kill him. There was one of *Romulus's* Laws conceived in these Terms : *Si Patronus Clienti fraudem faxit, sacer esto*. If any Patron defrauds his Client, let him be devoted. It was to *Pluto*, or *Dis*, and the other infernal Deities, that Criminals were devoted.

I shall say nothing here of the Supplications and Vows made by particular Persons : I foresee, that the Enumeration of them would be endless ; and we could learn nothing from them, but that the Gods having been always looked upon by the *Pagans* as the Authors of all Good and Evil, they were careful to address them, in order to obtain those good Things, and be deliver'd from the evil : that in Dangers or Sicknesses, they put up Vows to them for Deliverance, and Recovery of Health : in fine, that, in gratitude, they put into Temples the Members, for the Cure whereof they thought themselves indebted to them.

Of these, we have great numbers preserved in Antiquaries, as may be seen in their Works. Among these Vows, there were some that bore the Characters of different Gods, as that which is called the *Hand of Æneas*, upon which is *Votum Cecropis*, and which has been explain'd in a small Tract of *Thomasine*. Sometimes it was a single Hand, an Arm, a Leg, or an Eye, without any Symbol. What we find most singular among these Vows, is a Table of Brass, on
 which

which mention is made of all the Cures wrought by the Interposition of *Æsculapius* *.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Religious Ceremonies used at the founding of Cities.

I Took notice just now, that they used Evocations at besieging a City, in order to invoke the Gods, under whose Protection it was; and as these same Gods were own'd for Patrons of the City at the time it was founded, this makes it necessary to say something of the Ceremonies in use upon that occasion. We learn from *Festus*, that the *Etrurians* had Books containing the Ceremonies observ'd at the founding of Cities, Altars, Temples, Walls and Gates. And *Plutarch* tells us, that *Romulus*, before he laid the Foundations of *Rome*, sent for Men from *Etruria*, who inform'd him in all the Punctilios of Ceremony which he was to observe. According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, they began with offering a Sacrifice, after which they kindled fires near Tents; and they who were to have any Employment in building the Town, leap'd over these Fires, to purify themselves. Then they dug a Ditch, into which they threw the first Fruits of all things that served for human Nourishment, and a handful of Earth from the Country to which each of them belong'd, who were to assist at the Ceremony.

At the same time they consulted the Gods, to know if the Enterprize would be acceptable to them, and if they approved of the Day chosen to begin the Work. Then they chalk'd out the Boundaries by a Score of white Earth, which they called *Terra pura*; and for want of this kind of Chalk, they made use of Flower, as *Strabo* assures us to have been done by *Alexander*, when he laid the Foundation of *Alexandria*. This first Operation being finished, they opened a Furrow, as deep as possible, with a brazen Plough; and to this

Y 2

Plough

* Vid. Montfaucon's Antiq. V. 2. p. 1. B. 4. C. 6.

Plough they yoked a white Bull, and a white Heifer. All the Ground open'd by the Plough was reputed holy. While they were forming the Boundary, they stop'd at certain Intervals to renew the Sacrifices, and mark'd the Places where they were offered, by a Heap of Stones, which they called *Cippi*. In these Sacrifices, they invoked the Gods, to whose Protection the new City was recommended, as well as the Gods of the Country, denominated *Dii Patrii Indigetes*; which was done secretly, because it was necessary that the tutelary Gods of every City should be unknown to the Vulgar. *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, has given us the Form of Prayer, which *Romulus* put up to the Gods whom he sought to favour his Enterprize.

*Vox fuit hæc Regis : Condenti Jupiter urbem
Et Genitor Mavors, Vestaque mater ades.*

*Quosque pium est adhibere Deos, advertite cuncti,
Auspicius vobis hoc mihi surget opus, &c.*

In fine, so much regarded was the day on which a City was founded, that they kept up the Memory of it by an anniversary Festival; and at *Rome*, this Festival was what they called the *Palilia*, as has been said. Mr. *Blanchard*, in a Dissertation, a Copy of which is printed in the third Volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* (1), gives an Account of this Ceremony, and of some others, that have not a necessary Connection with the Pagan Religion. *Ovid* has happily comprehended all these Ceremonies, in the following Verses (2).

Apta dies legitur, qua mœnia signet Aratro.

Sacra Palis suberant : inde movetur opus

Fosse fit ad solidum, fruges jaciuntur in imâ,

Et de vicino terra petita solo.

Fossa repletur humo, plenæque imponitur aræ,

Et novus accenso finditur igne focus.

Inde premens strivam designat mœnia sulco,

Alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.

In this Book, we have seen the History of the Rise and Propagation of Idolatry. I have discoursed of
what

(1) P. 61.

(2) *Fast.* L. 4.

what concerned the Worship paid to the Gods ; of Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, Priests, and Festivals celebrated in their honour, &c. It still remains to examine several important Articles, which regard Idolatry ; but these shall be the Subject of the following Book.



* B O O K IV.

Which treats of the Superstitions authorized by Idolatry.

AMONG these Superstitions, I reckon the Veneration that was paid to Oracles in general, and to the *Sibylline Books* in particular, which, to the *Romans*, were a standing Oracle consulted by them upon all occasions ; the Presages, Prodigies, Expiations, Magick, Judicial Astrology, Divination, the *Lots*, the *Præstigia*, the *Auguries*, the *Auspices*, and some others.

C H A P. I.

Of the Oracles.

AS the Oracles, which *Seneca* defines to be the Will of the Gods declared by the Mouths of Men, and which *Cicero* simply calls the Language of the Gods, *Deorum Oratio*, depended upon the Pagan Religion, and were a considerable Part of it, their History belongs to this Mythology. Nothing was more famous than these Oracles : they were consulted not only for important Enterprizes, but even merely in Affairs of private Life. Were they to make Peace or War, to enact Laws, reform States, or change the Constitution ;

Y 3

in

* N. B. The second Volume of the Original begins with Book IV.

in all these Cases they had recourse to the Oracle by publick Authority. Again, in private Life, if a Man had a design to marry, if he was to enter upon a Journey, or in short, whatever Business he was to undertake, was he sick and out of order, he went directly to consult the Oracle. Mens Desire of knowing Futurity, of securing the Success of their Designs ; that Curiosity which is so deeply rooted in human Nature ; all these led them to consult the Gods, who were reputed prophetick : for all the Gods had not that Character. Hence the Institution of Oracles, that Eagerness to consult them, and those immense Donations wherewith their Temples were filled ; for an anxious Mind subdued by vain Curiosity sticks at nothing.

Upon this Principle, we need not doubt but that every Nation, where Idolatry prevailed, had its Oracles, or some other means of searching into the hidden Events of Futurity. There never was any Nation where Impostors were wanting, and a Tribe of covetous Mortals, who pretended to the Gift of foreknowing and predicting mysterious future Events. They have been found among the most gross and barbarous Nations, such as the *Iroquois*, and other Savages of *America*. The ancient *Gauls* had their Druids, who were regarded by them as Prophets. Among the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, the Priests were cloathed with this Character, and thus doubtless it was among other Nations. But as a particular Examination into the Oracles of every idolatrous People, would carry us too far, and as we want Records, from which to compile their History, we shall confine ourselves to the Oracles of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* ; especially those of the latter, which were both very numerous, and highly celebrated.

Before we enter upon the History of these Oracles, it is necessary to examine in a few words two important Questions. 1. Were all the Predictions ascribed to them, and of which Authors are so full, the mere Imposture of Priests ; or did they proceed from the Devil ? 2. Did the Oracles actually cease at the coming of Christ ? *Van Dale*, in a Treatise, which cannot

be censured for want of learning, has attempted to prove that all those Predictions proceeded entirely from the Tricks of those who had the Charge of the Oracles; and that they did not cease when Christ came into the World. M. *Fontenelle*, than whom none was more proper to throw out all the stiff Pedantry of *Greek* and *Latin*, which makes *Van Dale's* Treatise but dry, and only fit for the Learned, has put it into a genteeler Dress, and adapted it to the Capacity of every Reader; but this Work has already made so much noise, that I shall easily be forgiven, tho' I say no more of it.

As the Opinion of *Van Dale* seem'd to contradict the unanimous Sentiment of all the Fathers, and the constant Tradition of the Church, which ascribed a great part at least of the Oracular Responses to the Devil, who was not chain'd up till the coming of Jesus Christ; Father *Baltbus* the Jesuit, in a learned Treatise, undertook the Defence of Tradition and the Fathers; and without denying the Imposture of the Priests, which was often mix'd with the Oracles, he proves in an equally perspicuous and solid manner, the Intervention of the Devil in some Predictions, which all the efforts of Incredulity were incapable of ascribing to the Cheats of Priests alone. And as for the time of the Cessation of these Oracles, he proves with the same Erudition, that if they did not cease altogether at the coming of Christ, they at least began then to decline; they were no longer in such high Reputation; they were no longer consulted with the usual Apparatus: Tho' it is unquestionable that they did not quite cease, till Christianity triumph'd over Idolatry.

'Tis not to my purpose to enlarge farther upon these two Questions, the Particulars of the Case being in every body's hands. Yet I cannot help making some Reflections upon the first, that serve to overthrow *Van Dale's* Scheme. Is it then credible, that if the Oracles had been nothing but the Offspring of Priestcraft, whatever artful Methods they may be thought to have used, and however successful in pumping out the Secrets and Schemes of those who came to consult them; is it cre-

dible, I say, that those Oracles would have lasted so long, and supported themselves with so much Splendour and Reputation, had they been merely owing to the Forgery of the Priests? Imposture betrays it self, Falshood never holds out. Besides, there were too many Witnesses, too many curious Spies, too many People whose Interest it was, not to suffer themselves to be deluded. One may put a cheat for a time upon a few private Persons, who are over-run with Credulity, but by no means upon whole Nations for several Ages. Some Princes, who had been play'd upon by ambiguous Responses, a Trick once discover'd, the bare Curiosity of a Free-Thinker, any of these, in short, was sufficient to blow up the whole Mystery, and at once to make the Credit of the Oracle fall to the ground. How many People deluded by hateful Responses, were concern'd to examine, if it was really the Priests by whom they were seduced. But why! was it so hard a matter to find one of the Priests themselves, capable of being bribed to betray the Cause of his Accomplices, by the fair Promises and more substantial Gifts of those, who omitted no means of being thoroughly informed in a Subject of such Concern? But it seems, there were no mercenary Souls in that virtuous Age! Gold had no bewitching Charms, Contempt and Dishonour had lost their Power! Why else would not the Priests of an Oracle, whose Credit was low, or entirely sunk, have revealed, either thro' Despair or Revenge, the Impostures of those who carried off from them all their Gain: They, who by practising the like Tricks, had good Reason at least to suspect those of others? What an odd Combination is this, and how unparallel'd, to hold out against Interest, against Reputation: to unite so many Impostors in a Secret so religiously kept? To these Reflections, Father *Balthus* adds another, drawn from human Sacrifices that were required by the Oracles; since Man, says he, however enthralled to his Passions, never would have demanded such Victims.

I said before, that all the Gods were not Oracular; for in old times there were hardly any who deliver'd

Oracles but *Themis*, *Jupiter*, and *Apollo* ; but this Privilege was granted afterwards to almost all the Gods, and to a great number of Heroes, as we shall see in due time.

In order to consult the Oracle, that time was to be chosen, when it was believ'd the Gods deliver'd them ; for all Days were not equal : at *Delphi* there was but one Month in the Year, when the Priestess answer'd those who came to consult *Apollo*. In after-times, there was one Day in each Month, when that God pronounc'd his Oracles. All these Oracles were not deliver'd in the same manner : Here, it was the Priestess who answer'd for the God whom they consulted ; there, it was the God himself who pronounced the Oracle : In another place they received the Response of the God in their Sleep, for procuring which they used certain preparatory means of a mysterious nature ; sometimes they received the Response in Letters under a Seal ; and in fine, in other places, by casting Lots, as at *Preneste* in *Italy*. Sometimes they were obliged to use many Preparatives, in order to qualify themselves for receiving the Oracle, such as Fasting, Sacrifices, Lustrations, &c. At other times, so little Ceremony was requisite, that the Consulter received his Answer directly, upon coming up to the Oracle ; as *Alexander* did, when he came to *Libya* to consult that of *Jupiter Hammon* : for no sooner did the Priest see him, than he gave him the Compellation of, Son of *Jupiter* ; to obtain which, was the whole end of his Journey. But 'tis time to pass on to the particular History of the most celebrated Oracles : And as those of *Dodona* and *Jupiter Hammon* were the most ancient, I shall begin with the History of them.

ARTICLE I.

The Oracle of Dodona.

We learn from *Herodotus*, that the Oracle of *Dodona*, the most ancient of *Greece*, and that of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Libya*, had the same Original, and both owed their Institution to the *Egyptians*, as all the other Antiquities of *Greece*. Here is the Allegory, under which this Piece
of

of History is wrap'd up. Two Pigeons, said they, taking flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, one of them came to *Libya*; and the other having flown as far as the Forest of *Dodona* in *Chaonia*, a Province of *Epirus*, alighted there; and let the Inhabitants of the Country know, that it was the Will of *Jupiter* to have an Oracle in that place. This Prodigy astonished those who were Witnesses to it, and the Oracle being founded, there was very soon a great Concourse of Consultors. *Servius* (1) adds, that *Jupiter* had given to his Daughter *Thebé* these two Pigeons, and communicated to them the gift of Speech. *Herodotus* (2), who judg'd rightly that the Fact which gave rise to the Institution of the Oracle, was couch'd under the Fable, has examined into its historical Foundation. *Phenician* Merchants, says this Author, some time ago carried off two Priestesses of *Thebes*; she who was sold in *Greece*, took up her residence in the Forest of *Dodona*, where the *Greeks* came to gather Acorns, their ancient Food; there she erected a small Chapel at the foot of an Oak, in honour of *Jupiter*, whose Priestess she had been at *Thebes*; and this was the Foundation of that ancient Oracle, so famous in succeeding Ages. The same Author subjoins, that the Woman was called the *Pigeon*, because they understood not her Language; but soon coming to be acquainted with it, they reported that the Pigeon spoke.

In order to explain the ancient Fables, it frequently happen'd that the *Greeks*, who were ignorant of the eastern Languages, whence they were derived, invented new ones. The learned *Bochart* thought he had discover'd the Origin of th's now under our Consideration, in two *Phenician* or *Arabian* Words of a double meaning, the one of them signifying a Pigeon, the other a Priestess. The *Greeks*, always inclined to the *Marvellous*, instead of saying that a Priestess of *Jupiter* had declared the Will of that God, chose to say it in a fabulous way, that they were pronounced by a Pigeon. Whatever probability is in the Conjecture of this learned Author, there appears to be more in what

is

(1) In 3. *Æn.* v. 466.

(2) L. 1.

is offer'd by the Abbé *Sallier* (a), who takes this Fable to have been built upon the double meaning of the Word *πέλειαι*, which signify'd Pigeons in *Attica*, and several other Provinces of *Greece*, while in the Dialect of *Epirus*, it imported Old Women. *Servius*, who fully comprehended the sense of this Fable, is only mistaken in his Explanation of it, by changing the Appellative *Peleias* into a proper Name. “There was, says he, in the Forest of *Dodona*, a Fountain that run with a soft murmuring Noise, at the foot of an Oak : An old Woman named *Pelias* interpreted this inarticulate Sound, and by means thereof gave Predictions to those who came to consult her (b).”

The double meaning of this same Word, supplies us with an Answer to the Question, which *Ptolemy Ephes-tion* (1) says *Alexander* proposed to his Master *Aristotle* : Why *Homer* makes the *πέλειαι* furnish *Jupiter* with Ambrosia ? for the Philosopher might have solved the Question, by saying, the Poet meant by that Word, not Pigeons, but the Priestesses of that God, who prepared the Meat of the Sacrifices that were offered to him.

In ancient times, the Oracle of *Dodona* was given by the murmuring of the Fountain now mentioned; but afterwards, it seems, they had recourse to more Formalities, and this was the Artifice they fell upon. They suspended in the Air (c) some brazen Kettles, near a Statue of the same Metal which was likewise suspended, and held a Lash in its hand. This Figure being agitated by the Wind, struck against the Kettle that was next it, which communicating the Motion to the rest, raised a clattering Din which continued pretty long ; and upon this Noise they form'd Predictions. Hence the Forest of *Dodona* had even taken its Name, for *Dodo* in *Hebrew* signifies a Kettle. If you ask, what gave rise to the Fable of those Oracles being delivered by the Oaks

(a) See the *Mem. of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, T. 5. p. 35.

(b) Quæ murmura anus, nomine Pelias, interpretata hominibus diserebat. *Serv. in 3 Æn.* V. 466.

(1) L. 1.

(c) *Suidas* upon the Authority of *Strabo*, or rather he who has epitomized him, in that Place where there is a Blank in the Original.

332 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
Oaks themselves; the Answer I take to be this, that the Ministers of that Oracle hid themselves in the Hollow of the Oaks, when they gave their Responses. From these speaking Oaks, to mention it by the by, came the Origin of that other Fable about the Mast of the Ship *Argo*, cut in the Forest of *Dodona*, which, according to *Onomacritus*, *Apollonius* of *Rhodes*, and *Valerius Flaccus*, gave Oracles to the *Argonauts*, as we shall see in the History of their Expedition (1).

Suidas (2), speaking of the Oaks of this Forest, says, they spoke, and gave Responses to the Supplicants in this form, *Thus saith Jupiter, &c.* *Van Dale* in his History of Oracles (3), after remarking that *Suidas* has barely copied *Eustathius*, reports the Opinion of *Aristotle* and several other Authors, and takes particular notice how much the Ancients vary in their Accounts of this Oracle; this Variation among them, no doubt, is owing to the care that was taken, not to allow those who came to consult the Oracle, to approach too near it, so that they could only hear a certain Sound, but by no means could judge whence it proceeded.

But whatever be in that, no sooner was the Sound of the Kettles over, than the Women whom they named *Dodonidæ*, delivered their Oracles (a), either in Verse, as appears from the Collection made of them; or by the Lots, as *Cicero* seems to think, in his Books of Divination.

ARTICLE II.

The Oracle of Hammon.

What I have taken from *Herodotus* at the beginning of the preceding Article, proves the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Libya* to have been as ancient as that of *Dodona*, whose History we have seen. This other became likewise very famous, and they flock'd from all Parts to consult it, notwithstanding the Inconveniences of so long a Journey, and the burning Sands of *Libya* they had

(1) Tom. 3. (2) In the Word *Dodona*. (3) P. 201, and following.

(a) See *Plutarch* upon the Cessation of Oracles.

had to go through. One knows not well what to think of the Fidelity of the Priests who ministred to the God. Sometimes they were proof against Corruption, as appears from the Charge they gave in at *Sparta* against *Lyfander*, who had offer'd to bribe them, in that Scheme he was projecting to change the Order of Succession to the Throne; sometimes they were not so scrupulous; witness the Story of *Alexander*, who, either to screen the Reputation of his Mother, or from pure Vanity, affected to be reputed the Son of *Jupiter*; since the Priest of that God, as has been said, stood in readiness to receive him, and saluted him, Son of the King of Gods.

We learn from *Quintus Curtius*, and other ancient Authors, that the Statue of *Jupiter Hammon* had a Ram's Head with its Horns; and from *Diodorus Siculus* (1), the manner in which that God delivered his Oracles, when any one came to consult him. Twenty-four of his Priests bore upon their Shoulders in a gilded Barge, the Statue of their God, sparkling with precious Stones; and thus, without keeping a certain course, they moved on whithersoever they thought the Impulse of the God carried them. A Troop of Matrons and Virgins accompany'd this Procession, singing Hymns in honour of *Jupiter*. *Quintus Curtius*, who reports the same Story (2), adds, that the Barge, on which they bore the Statue of this God, was adorned with a great many silver Goblets hanging down on either side. Probably it was from some Sign or Motion of the Statue, that the Priests pronounc'd the Decisions of their God; for as *Strabo* remarks (3), upon the Authority of *Callisthenes*, the Responses of that God were not Words, as at *Delphi*, and among the *Branchidae*, but a Sign; and he quotes upon this occasion, that Verse in *Homer*; where the Poet says, *Jupiter signify'd his Consent by bending his Brows*.

I take in here the Oracle of *Apollo*, in the City of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, because, according to *Macrobius* (4), that God gave his Responses

The Oracle of
Apollo at
Heliopolis.
Responses

(1) L. 17. (2) L. 4. c. 7. (3) L. 17. (4) Sat. 1. 1. c. 23.

sponses in the same way with *Jupiter Hammon*. “The
 “ Statue of that God, says he, is carried in the same
 “ manner as those of the Gods in the Procession at the
 “ *Circensian* Games. The Priests, attended by the
 “ principal Persons of the Country who join in the Ce-
 “ remony, having their Heads shav’d, and after a long
 “ Contenance, set forward, not as they are inclin’d
 “ themselves, but according as they are impelled by the
 “ God whom they bear, by Motions resembling those
 “ of the Statues of *Fortune* at *Antium*.” It was pro-
 bably by the same kind of Motions of the Statue of
The Oracle of Jupiter Phlius. *Jupiter Phlius*, that his Priests deliver’d
 their Oracles, as may be seen in *Euse-
 bius* (1) and in *Rufinus*.

ARTICLE III.

The Oracle of Delphi.

If the Oracle of *Delphi* was not the most ancient of
 those in *Greece*, it was at least the most celebrated,
 and that which continued longest. To relate all that
 has been said about this Oracle, would oblige me to
 copy almost all the ancient Authors, and not a few of
 the Moderns: And therefore, to satisfy those who don’t
 love long Narrations, I shall only give here an Abstract
 of its History.

At what time this Oracle was founded, is not known;
 which, in the first place, proves it to be of great an-
 tiquity, nor was *Apollo* the first who was consulted
 there. But the Ancients not being agreed as to the
 Gods who had this Oracle successively, ’tis necessary
 to give their Opinions. *Æschylus*, in the beginning
 of his Tragedy of the *Eumenides*, says, *Terra* was the
 first who gave Oracles there; after her *Themis*, then
Phæbe, another Daughter of *Terra*; *Phæbe*, according
 to the Mythologists was Mother to *Latona*, and Grand-
 mother to *Apollo*; and he, in short, was the fourth.
Ovid only informs us (2). that *Themis* delivered Ora-
 cles at the foot of *Parnassus*; and that *Pyrrha* and
Deucalion came to consult her about the means of re-
 plenishing

(1) Hist. Eccl. l. 9. c. 3.

(2) Met. l. 1. v. 316.

plenishing the Earth, whose Inhabitants had been destroyed by the Deluge. *Pausanias* (1) adds, that before *Themis*, *Terra* and *Neptune* had likewise given their Oracles there; and if we take the Authority of the old Scholiast upon *Lycophron*, *Saturn* too had been consulted there with *Neptune* and *Terra*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who was at the pains to inquire into the Origin of this Oracle, reports (2) a Tradition, which he had taken from Monuments of the greatest antiquity: Goats, says he, that were feeding in the Valleys of *Parnassus*, gave rise to the Discovery of this Oracle. There was in the Place since called the Sanctuary, a Hole, the Mouth of which was very strait. These Goats having come near it with their Heads, began to leap and frisk about so strangely, that the Shepherd (a), being struck with it, came up to the Place, and leaning over the Hole, was seized with a Fit of Enthusiasm, whereby he was prompted to utter some extravagant Expressions, which passed for Prophecies. The News of this Wonder drew thither the People in the Neighbourhood, who no sooner approach'd the Hole, than they too were transported into the like Enthusiasm. Surprized with so astonishing a Prodigy, they supposed it to proceed from some friendly Deity, or from the Earth itself; and from that time, they began to confer a particular Worship upon the Divinity of the Place, and to look upon what was deliver'd in those Fits of Enthusiasm as Predictions and Oracles. The Place where this Hole was observed, was on a rising Ground, near *Parnassus* a Mountain in *Phocis*, on the South-side; and here they afterwards built the Temple and City of *Delphi*.

Several Gods having given Oracles there successively, as has been already observ'd, the Historians and Poets give a very odd Account of the Manner of their abdicating their Right. *Terra* and *Neptune* possessed it in common; with this difference, that *Terra* gave her Oracles herself, and *Neptune* his by the Ministration

(1) L. 9.

(2) L. 16.

(a) *Plutarch* call this Shepherd *Coretas*.

tion of a Priest named *Pyrcon*. From *Terra*, the Oracle passed to *Themis* her Daughter, who possessed it pretty long, and resign'd in favour of *Apollo*, whom she fondly doated upon. According to an ancient Tradition followed by *Euripides* (1), the Resignation was far from being voluntary. *Apollo*, whom *Pan* had taught the Art of Prediction, being arrived at *Parnassus*, with the Equipage describ'd by *Homer*, that is cloath'd in his immortal Robes, perfumed with Essences, and in his hand a golden Lyre, on which he play'd melodious Airs, seiz'd the Sanctuary by force, slew the Dragon, which *Terra* had posted there to be the Keeper, and made himself Master of the Oracle. *Nep-tune*, who likewise had his share therein, not being inclin'd to dispute it with his Nephew, exchanged with him for the Island of *Calauria*, over-against *Trezene*. From that time, none but *Apollo* deliver'd Oracles at *Delphi*. 'Tis easy to perceive, that this Fiction has no other Foundation but the Interest of the Priests, who seeing the Zeal of the People turn cool, try'd to awaken it, by presenting them with new Objects of Worship.

Whatever be in that, the Oracle of *Apollo* got the better of all the rest, both in its high Reputation and Long-standing. Thither they flocked from all parts to consult the God ; *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, Princes and private Persons, Men of all Characters, upon every minute Enterprize, as well as Affairs of great importance, came to *Delphos*, either in Person, or sent a Deputation to know the mind of *Apollo*. Hence the vast Donations and immense Riches, wherewith the Temple and City were filled, and which became so considerable, as to be compared to those of the *Persian* Kings.

About the time when this Oracle was first discover'd, all the Mystery requisite to obtain the Prophetick Gift, was to approach the Cavern, and suck in the Vapour which issued from it; and at that time, the God inspir'd all sorts of Persons indifferently : but at length, several of those Enthusiasts, in the excess of their Fury, having
thrown

(1) Iphig.

thrown themselves headlong into the Gulf, they thought fit to provide a Remedy against that Accident, which frequently happen'd. They set over the Hole a Machine, which they called a Tripod, because it had three Feet, and commissioned a Woman to get up on this sort of Chair, whence she might catch the Exhalation without any Danger, because the three Feet of the Machine stood upon the Rock. This Priestess was named *Pythia*, from the Serpent *Python*, slain by *Apollo*, as we shall see in his History. At first there were promoted to this Ministration, young Women, who were yet Virgins, and great Precaution was taken in the choice of them. The *Pythia* was ordinarily chosen from a poor Family, where she had liv'd in Obscurity, free from Luxury, and Affectation of Dress, and other gaudy Ornaments with which young Women set themselves to show. Ignorance itself was one of the things that qualify'd them for being promoted to this Dignity, and no more was required in her who was to be elected, but to be able to speak and repeat what the God dictated. The Custom of chusing young Virgins lasted very long, and would have been kept up still, had it not been for an Accident which occasion'd its being abolished. A young *Thessalian* named *Echecrates*, being at *Delphi* (1), fell in love with the Priestess, who was extremely beautiful, and ravish'd her. To prevent any Abuses of the like nature for the future, the People of *Delphi* made an express Law, ordaining that none should be chosen but Women above fifty yearsold. At first they had only one Priestess, and she sufficed for giving Responses to those who came to *Delphi* (2); but in after-times there were two or three of them.

The Oracles were not delivered every day: Sacrifices, repeated over and over again, until the God who delivered them was pleased, consumed frequently a whole Year, and it was only once a year, in the Month *Ἑλισίος*, which answer'd to the beginning of Spring, that *Apollo* inspired the Priestess. Except on this set Day, the Priestess was forbid, under pain of Death, to

(1) Diod. 4. 1. (2) Plat. loc. cit.

go into the Sanctuary to consult *Apollo*. *Alexander*, who before his Expedition into *Asia*, came to *Delphi* on one of those silent Days during which the Sanctuary was shut, entreated the Priestess to mount the Tripod: She refused, and quoted the Law which stood in her way. This Prince being naturally hasty, and impatient to set out, drew the Priestess by force from her Cell, and was leading her himself to the Sanctuary, which gave her occasion to say, *My Son, thou art invincible*. At these Words, he cry'd out that he was satisfy'd, and would have no other Oracle.

As nothing serv'd so much to raise or keep up the Reputation of an Oracle, as that air of Mystery which was given to every thing about it, we may be sure that nothing was neglected at *Delphi*, to procure it Veneration. They used infinite precaution in chusing the Victims, inspecting the Entrails, and in the Omens they drew from them. The neglecting the smallest Punctilio, was a sufficient motive to renew the Sacrifices that were to precede the Response of *Apollo*, and they repeated them till all was right. The Priestess her self made great Preparation for discharging her Duty: She fasted three Days, and before she mounted the Tripod, she bath'd herself in the Fountain of *Castalia*. There she ordinarily wash'd her Feet and Hands, sometimes her whole Body; and she swallowed a certain quantity of Water from that Fountain, because *Apollo* was thought to have communicated to it a part of his enthusiastick Virtue. After this, she was made to chew some Leaves of the Laurel-Tree, gather'd near that Fountain: The Laurel was the Symbol of Divination, and wanted not its Influence to promote Enthusiasm. After these Preparations, *Apollo* gave Signals himself of his Arrival in the Temple; the whole Fabrick, by I know not what Artifice, trembled and shook to its very Foundations, as likewise a Laurel-Tree which was at the Entry of the Temple. Then the Priests, who were likewise called Prophets, took hold of the Priestess, led her into the Sanctuary, and placed her upon the Tripod. As soon as she began to be agitated by the divine Exhalation,

lation, you might have seen her Hair stand on end, her Mien grow wild and ghastly, her Mouth begin to foam, and her whole Body suddenly seiz'd with violent trembling. In this plight she attempted to get away from the Prophets, who were holding her as it had been by force, while her Shrieks and Howlings made the whole Temple resound, and fill'd the By-standers with a sacred Horrour. In fine, being no longer able to resist the Impulse of the God, she gave herself up to him, and at certain intervals utter'd some unconnected Words, which the Prophets carefully pick'd up, rang'd them in order, and put in form of Verse, giving them a Connection which they had not as they were delivered by the Priestess (1). The Oracle being pronounc'd, she was taken down from the Tripod and conducted back to her Cell, where she continued for several days, to recover herself from her Conflict. We are told by *Lucan*, that speedy Death was frequently the Consequence of her Enthusiasm (2).

As the Priestess was only the Instrument made use of to reveal the Will of *Apollo*, so the Oracle had several other Ministers; Priests or Prophets who took care of every thing belonging to it; who chose the Victims, offer'd up the Sacrifices, repeated them when they were not propitious, conducted the Priestess to the Tripod, where they placed her in a convenient Posture for receiving all the Vapour that issued from the Cave, at the Mouth of which she sat; they put her Words together, and deliver'd them to the Poets, another sort of Ministers, by whom they were put into Verse. From a Passage in *Plutarch* (3) it appears, that those Poets, together with the Prophets, were about the Priestess when she pronounc'd the Words which the God dictated to her. The Verses composed by those Poets, were often stiff, of a wretched Composition, and always obscure; which gave occasion to that piece of Raillery, that *Apollo* the Prince of the Muses, was the worst of Poets. Sometimes the Priestess herself pronounc'd her Oracles in Verse, at least we are told so of

(1) Herod. Plut. Strabo, &c. (2) Pharf. l. 5. (3) Loc. cit.

340 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
one of them, called *Phemonoe*; in later times they contented themselves with delivering them in Prose; and this *Plutarch* reckons to have been one Cause of the Declension of the Oracle. There were belonging to this Oracle several other Ministers, whose Names and Functions may be seen in the third Dissertation of M. *Hardion*; insomuch that, as M. *Fontenelle* has it, the whole Town of *Delphi* was opulently maintain'd by the Oracle.

The Sanctuary where the Priestess was, being cover'd with Branches of Laurel, she herself surrounded with Prophets and Poets, and there being two Women besides to hinder the Profane from coming near her, it was difficult to know precisely what was done there; and had it not been for Persons of Curiosity, who pry'd more narrowly into the Secret of the Priests, we should not have been able to speak so positively as we have done, concerning the Manner in which this Oracle was delivered.

ARTICLE IV.

The Oracle of Trophonius.

Tho' *Trophonius* was only a Hero, nay, according to some Authors; an execrable Robber; yet he had an Oracle in *Bæotia*, which became exceeding famous, and where grand Ceremonies were used, before obtaining the Response. As no body has describ'd it more fully and more accurately than *Pausanias* who had consulted it, and submitted to all its irksome Formalities, we cannot do better than transcribe what he says of this Personage and his Oracle (1). *Erginus*, says he, the Son of *Chymenus* King of *Orchomenos*, being far advanced in Years, and inclined to marry, came to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, whether he should have Children. The Priestess puzzled with his Question, answered him in enigmatical Terms, that tho' he was rather too late in coming to a resolution, yet he might entertain good hopes if he married a young Wife. Conformably to this Response, he married a young Woman, by whom he

(1) In *Bæot.* p. 599.

he had two Sons, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, who both of them became afterwards great Architects.

By them was built the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and *Hyrieus*'s Treasure-House. In the Construction of this Edifice they had recourse to a secret Stratagem, known to none but themselves: By means of a Stone in the Wall, which they had the Art of taking out and putting in again, so as no body could discover, they had access every night to this Treasury, and robb'd *Hyrieus* of his Money. He observing his Money diminish'd, and yet no appearance of the Doors having been open'd, set a Trap about the Vessels which contain'd his Treasure, and there *Agamedes* was catch'd. *Trophonius* not knowing how to extricate him, and fearing lest if he was the next day put to the rack, he should discover the Secret, cut off his Head.

Without entering into a critical Examination of this Story, which seems to be but a Copy of what *Herodotus* fully relates of one of the Kings of *Egypt*, and two Brothers who robb'd his Treasure by a like Stratagem, I would have it be observ'd, that *Pausanias* gives us no Account of the Life of *Trophonius*; only as to the manner of his Death he tells us, that the Earth open'd and swallow'd him up alive, and that the Place where it happened is still called at this day, *Agamedes*'s Pit, which is to be seen in a sacred Grove of *Lebadea*, with a Pillar set over it.

The Death of those two Brothers is told otherwise by *Plutarch*, who cites *Pindar*. After the building of the Temple of *Delphos*, whose Foundation was laid by *Apollo* himself, as it is in *Homer*, they ask'd their Reward of that God, who order'd them to wait eight Days, and in the mean time to make merry; but at the end of that term they were found dead.

Lebadea, continues *Pausanias*, is a City as much adorn'd as any throughout *Greece*: The sacred Grove of *Trophonius* is but at a very little distance from it, and in this Grove is the Temple of *Trophonius*, with his Statue, which is the Work of *Praxiteles*. They who come to consult his Oracle, must perform certain Ceremonies.

Before they go down into the Cave where the Response is given, they must pass some Days in a Chapel dedicated to *Good Genius* and to *Fortune*. That time is spent in Self-purification, by abstinence from all things unlawful, and in making use of the Cold Bath, for the Warm Baths are prohibited ; thus, the Suppliant is not allowed to wash himself, unless in the Water of the River *Hercyna*. He must sacrifice to *Trophonius* and all his Family, to *Jupiter* surnam'd *King*, to *Saturn*, to *Ceres* surnam'd *Europa*, who was believed to have been *Trophonius's* Nurse ; thus the God had plentiful provision of Flesh offered to him in Sacrifice. There were Diviners also to consult the Entrails of every Victim, to know if it was agreeable to *Trophonius* that the Person should come down into his Cave ; but he especially revealed his mind by the Entrails of a Ram, which was offered up to him in the last place. If the Omens were favourable, the Suppliant was led that Night to the River *Hercyna*, where two Boys * about twelve or thirteen years old, anointed his whole Body with Oil. Then he was conducted as far as the Source of the River, and was made to drink two sorts of Water ; that of *Lethé*, which effaced from his mind all prophane Thoughts ; and that of *Mnemosyné*, which had the quality of enabling him to retain whatever he was to see in the sacred Cave. After all this Apparatus, the Priests presented to him the Statue of *Trophonius*, to which he was to address a Prayer : Then he got a linnen Tunic to put on, which was adorned with sacred Fillets ; and after all, was solemnly conducted to the Oracle.

This Oracle was upon a Mountain, within an Inclosure made of white Stones, upon which were erected Obelisks of Brais. In this Inclosure was a Cave, of the figure of an Oven, cut out by Art. The Mouth of it was narrow, and the Descent to it was not by Steps, but by a small Ladder. When they were got down, they found another small Cave, the Entrance to which was very strait : The Suppliant prostrated himself on the Ground, carrying a certain Composition of Honey in
either

* *Pausanias* adds, that those Boys were called *Mercurys*.

either Hand, - without which he is not admitted; he first puts down his Feet into the Mouth of the Cave, and instantly his whole Body is forcibly drawn in.

They who were admitted, were favoured with Revelations, but not all in the same manner: Some had the Knowledge of Futurity by Vision, others by an audible Voice. Having got their Response, they came out of the Cave the same way they went in, prostrate on the Ground, and their Feet foremost. Then the Suppliant was conducted to the Chair of *Mnemosyné*, and there being set down, was interrogated what he had seen or heard: From that he was brought back quite stupify'd and senseless, into the Chapel of *Good Genius*, till he should recover his Senses; after which he was obliged to write down in a Table-Book, all that he had seen or heard; which the Priests interpreted in their own way. *Pausanias* adds, that there never had been any but one Man who enter'd *Trophonius's* Cave without coming out again. This was a Spy sent thither by *Demetrius*, to see whether in that holy Place there was any thing worth plundering. His Body was found far from thence, and 'tis likely, that his Design being discovered, the Priests assassinated him in the Cave, and carry'd out his Carcass by some Passage, whereby they themselves came into the Cave without being perceiv'd. The same Author concludes: *What I here write, is not founded upon Hearsay; I relate what I have seen happen to others, and what happen'd to my self: For to be assured of the Truth, I went down into the Cave and consulted the Oracle.*

Plutarch, who tells us that in his time all the Oracles of *Bæotia* had ceased, except that of *Trophonius*, makes mention in his Treatise concerning *Socrates's* Genius, of one *Timachus*, who gave account of what he pretended to have seen in *Trophonius's* Cave; but he seems to have been but an Impostor, who regards not whether the thing be true or false, but only if it is wonderful and extraordinary; and deserves much less to be believed than *Pausanias*.

As to the time when the Oracle of *Trophonius* was founded, we are not able to determine: Only we know from *Pausanias*, that he was not heard of in *Bœotia* itself, till that Country being distressed with a great Drought, they had recourse to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, to learn from that God, by what means they might put a stop to the Famine. The Priestess answered, that they were to apply themselves to *Trophonius*, whom they would find in *Lebæda*. The Deputies obey'd; but not being able to find an Oracle in that City, *Saon* the oldest of them, spy'd a Swarm of Bees, and observ'd to what side it turn'd. He saw that those Bees flew towards a Cave; follow'd them, and thus discovered the Oracle. They say, continues *Pausanias*, that *Trophonius* himself instructed him in all the Ceremonies of his Worship, and after what manner he would be honour'd and consulted; which makes me think that this *Saon* was himself the Founder of that Oracle, which, no doubt, was instituted upon occasion of the Famine I have mention'd.

ARTICLE V.

Of other Oracles.

After having spoken at some length of the principal Oracles, it will not be amiss to say something of those that were of less note. *Apelle*, of all the Gods, was he who had the greatest number. That of *Claros*, a Town in *Ioniz*, near *Colophon*, tho' of less Antiquity than several others, was yet very famous, and very often consulted. The City *Claros* is thought to have been founded by *Mante*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, after the second War of *Thebes*, some Years before the taking of *Troy*. This Daughter, of whom Antiquity tells many Wonders, with respect to her prophetick Gift, deploring the Miseries of her Country, melted into Tears, and those Tears of hers formed a Fountain and Lake, whose Water communicated the Gift of Prophecy to those who drank it: But the Water not being wholesome, it likewise brought on Diseases, and was a means
of

of shortning Life. *Pliny* speaking of it (1), expresses himself to this purpose: *Colophone in Apollinis Clarii speculaculus est, cujus potu mira redduntur Oracula, bibentium brevior vitâ.*

The same God had a great many others, of which I shall name the principal from *Van Dale* (2): There was one, and that a very famous one too, in the Suburbs of *Daphne* at *Antioch*. According to *Lucan*, one in the Island of *Delos*, which was thought to be the Birth-place of that God. According to *Herodotus*, he had one at *Didyme* among the *Branchidæ*. One at *Argos*, as we learn from *Pausanias*. In *Troas*, and in *Æolis*, according to *Stephanus*; at *Baiæ* in *Italy*, as we learn from *Capitolinus*; in *Cilicia*, in *Egypt*, in the *Alps*, in *Thrace*, at *Corinth*, in *Arcadia*, in *Laconia*; in fine, in an infinity of other Places, as may be seen in that Place of the modern Author, which I have just now cited.

Tho' the other Gods had not an equal share with *Apollo*, the God of Divination, yet every one of them almost had his Oracle. *Jupiter*, besides that of *Dodona* and some others, the honour whereof he shared with *Apollo*, had one in *Boeotia*, under the name of *Jupiter* the Thunderer, and another in *Elis* (3). One at *Thebes* and at *Meroe* (4); one near *Antioch*, and several others. *Æsculapius* was consulted in *Cilicia*, at *Apollonia*, in the Isle of *Cos*, at *Pergamus*, *Epidaurus*, *Rome*, and elsewhere. *Mercury* at *Patras*, upon *Hemon*, and in other Places. *Mars* in *Thrace*, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. *Hercules* at *Cadiz*, *Athens*, in *Egypt*, at *Tivoli*, in *Mesopotamia*, where, according to *Tacitus*, he gave his Oracles by Dreams, whence he got the Name of *Somnialis*, as may be seen in an Inscription of *Spon*, and in another recited by *Reinesius*. *Isis*, *Osiris*, and *Serapis*, delivered in like manner their Oracles by Dreams, as we learn from *Pausanias*, *Tacitus*, *Arrian*, and several others. This manner of giving Oracles, to mention it by the by, was very common: By this we may explain those

(1) L. 2. c. 103.

(2) De Orac. Ethn. dur. atque interitu.

(3) Strabo.

(4) Herodotus.

those Inscriptions cited by *Gruter*, in which we read; *Ex visu Deæ: Visu jussa posuit: Visu monitus, Somnio monitus, &c.* That of *Amphilochus* mentioned by *Dion*, was likewise delivered by Dream. The Ox *Apis* had also his Oracle in *Egypt*; the manner of consulting whom was singular. If he eat what was offer'd him by the Suppliant, it was a good sign; but a bad one when he refused it, as it happen'd to *Germanicus*. It was much the same with the Ceremony practis'd at *Rome*, when they drew good or bad Omens from what they called their sacred Chickens; as if the Events of Futurity had depended upon the good Appetite or full Stomach of an Ox, or of a Chicken.

The Gods called *Cabiri*, if we may credit *St. Athanasius*, had their Oracle in *Beotia*. *Diana*, the Sister of *Apollo*, had not a few: She had one in *Egypt* (1), in *Cilicia*, at *Ephesus*, not to mention several others. *Virgil* makes mention of that of *Jaunus* in *Italy*. Those of *Fortune* at *Preneste*, and of the *Lots* at *Antium*, are too well known to need any Enlargement upon this Subject. The Fountains too delivered Oracles, for to each of them a Divinity was ascrib'd: such, in particular, was the Fountain of *Castalia* at *Delphi*, another of the same Name in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, and the prophetick Fountain near the Temple of *Ceres* in *Achaia*. What *Pliny* tells us of that of *Limyra*, is very singular: It gave Oracles by means of the Fishes. The Consulters presented Meat to them: if the Fishes fell on greedily, it was a favourable Omen for the Event about which they came to interrogate them; if they refused the Bait, by rejecting it with their Tail, it betoken'd bad Success (a).

Juno had several Oracles: One near *Corinth*, one at *Nysa*, and in other Places. *Latona*, according to *Herodotus*, had one at *Butes* in *Egypt*. *Leucothoe* had hers in *Colchis*, according to *Strabo*. *Memnon*, in *Egypt*,
as

(1) Herodotus.

(a) Fons Limyræ transire solet in loca vicina, portendens aliquid: Nimirum quod cum piscibus transit. Responsa ab his petunt incole cibo, quem rapiunt annuentes: Si vero eventum negent, caudis abigunt. *Plin.* l. 31, c. 2.

as we learn from *Tacitus* and *Lucian*. *Machaon*, at *Gerania* in *Laconia*, according to *Pausanias*. *Minerva*, who was denominated *Fatidica*, of consequence was not without her Oracles: She had one in *Egypt* (1), in *Spain*, upon Mount *Ætna*, at *Mycenæ*, in *Colchis*; and elsewhere. Those of *Neptune* were at *Delphos*, and at *Calauria*, near *Neocesarea*, and elsewhere (2). The Nymphs had theirs in the Cave of *Corycia*. *Pan* had several, the most famous of which was that in *Arcadia*. That of the *Palici*, according to *Macrobius*, *Virgil*, and *Stephanus*, was in *Sicily* (3).

Pluto had one at *Nysa*, as we learn from *Strabo*. *Saturn* had of them in several places; but the most famous was that of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, and that of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. *Lucian* discourses of that of the Syrian Goddess; *Gruter* of that of *Sylvanus*. Those of *Venus* were dispersed in several Places, at *Gaza*, upon Mount *Libanus*, at *Paphos*, in *Cyprus*, &c. *Serapis* had one at *Alexandria*, which *Vespasian* went to consult; the Priest who minister'd to the God, would only reveal to him in secret what he had to tell him concerning the grand Designs he had in view. Upon which I shall remark by the way, that it was a very rare thing for those who came to consult the Oracles, to be permitted to enter the Sanctuary; and *Van Dale*, who has exhausted the Subject, finds but two Examples of it, that of *Alexander*, who, as *Plutarch* reports after *Calisthenes*, entered alone into the Sanctuary of *Hammon*: and that of *Vespasian*, who, according to *Tacitus*, was introduced into that of *Serapis*.

I cannot pass in silence that of *Venus Aphacite*, mention'd by *Zozimus*, which was consulted by the *Palmyrenians*, who revolted under the Reign of *Aurelian*, about the Year of *Jesus Christ* 272. *Aphaca* * was a Place between *Heliopolis* and *Byblos*, where *Venus* had a Temple, hard by which was a Lake resembling a Cistern. They, who came to consult the Oracle of that Goddess, threw Presents into the Lake; and it

was

(1) Herodotus. (2) Pausanias. (3) See their History.

* 'Tis a *Syriack* word, and signifies an Embrace. See *Suidas*.

was no matter what kind they were of. If they were acceptable to *Venus*, they went to the bottom; if she rejected them, they swam on the Surface, even tho' of Gold or Silver. The Historian, I have quoted, subjoins, that in the Year, which preceded the Ruin of the *Palmarenians*, their Presents sunk to the bottom; but that in the following Year all floated above.

Ammianus Marcellinus tells us of a God called *Beza*, but little known to Mythologists, who had an Oracle at *Abydos*, in the Extremity of *Thebais*, which was delivered by Letters under a Seal. *Zozimus* reports, that some of those Letters which had been left in the Temple of that God, were sent to *Constantius*. Upon which, the Emperor caused very strict Enquiry to be made, and imprison'd, or banish'd a considerable number of Persons: probably the Oracle had been consulted about the Fate of the Empire, or the Success of some Plot, they were forming against the Emperor.

'Tis hardly credible, that *Geryon*, the three-headed Monster, who was slain by *Hercules*, should have had an Oracle! He had one however, as well as his Conqueror. This Oracle was in *Italy*, near *Padua*; and *Suetonius* tells us (1), that *Tiberius* went to consult that God. There was the Fountain of *Aponus*, which, if we may believe *Claudian*, restored Speech to the dumb, and cured all sorts of Diseases. That of *Hercules* was at *Tivoli*, and was given by Lots, as *Statius* tells us, much after the manner of those of *Fortune* at *Preneſte* and at *Antium*, as I shall explain afterwards. I have spoke of Fountains, whose Waters had a prophetick Virtue. The Rivers did not enjoy the same Prerogative: we find one however that was privileged, and which, according to *Pliny* the younger, had an Oracle. It was *Clitumnus*, a River in *Umbria*. The Temple of that God, says this Author, is ancient and much revered: *Clitumnus* is there dressed in a *Roman* Garb. The Lots denote the Presence and Power of the Divinity. There are likewise in the same place several Chapels, some of which have Fountains and Springs; for *Clitumnus*

(1) In Tiber.

Iunus is as it were the Father of several other small Rivers, which unite their Streams with his.

Not was it only the Gods had Oracles : the Demi-Gods and Heroes had theirs too. *Lutatius* speaks of that of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which was at *Lacedemon* (1). *Bartbius* (2) makes mention of that of *Amphiaras* at *Oropus*, in *Macedonia*; and *Mopsus* had likewise one in *Cilicia*, as we learn from the Ancients. The Head of *Orpheus*, according to *Ovid*, delivered Responses at *Lesbos*; *Amphilochus*, at *Mallos*; *Sarpedon*, in *Troas*; *Hermione*, in *Macedonia*; *Pasiphae*, in *Laconia*, as we learn from *Tertullian*, who, in his Book upon the Soul, cites the Work of *Hermippus*; *Chalcas*, in *Italy* (3); *Aristæus*, in *Bæotia* (4); *Autolytus*, at *Sinope* (5); *Phryxus*, among the *Colchi*; that of *Rhesus*, was at *Pangea*; *Ulysses*, if we may believe the old Commentator on *Lycophron*, had likewise an Oracle; and so had *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes*, as *Strabo* assures us, not to mention a great many more. Even *Ephestion* too, *Alexander's* Minion, and *Antinous* had Oracles. After the death of the former, nothing would satisfy *Alexander*, but to have *Ephestion* made a God; and all the Courtiers of that Prince consented to it without the least hesitation. Immediately Temples are built to him in several Towns; Festivals instituted to his Honour; Sacrifices offered; Cures ascrib'd to him; and that nothing might be wanting, Oracles are given out in his Name.

Hadrian practis'd the same Fooleries towards *Antinous*: He caus'd the City *Antinopolis* to be built to his Memory, gave him Temples and Prophets, says *St. Jerom*; now Prophets belong'd only to the oracular Temples. We have still a *Greek* Inscription to this purpose.

TO

(1) Upon the 413th Verse of the *Thebaid*. (2) Upon the same Author, L. 9. v. 658. (3) *Strabo*. (4) *Greg. of Nazianz*. (5) *Strabo*.

TO ANTINOVS, THE COMPANION OF THE
GODS OF EGYPT; M. VLPIVS APOLLO-
NIVS HIS PROPHET.

After this, we shall not be surpriz'd at *Augustus's* having deliver'd Oracles at *Rome*, as we learn from *Prudentius*. These modern Oracles however were never in so much repute as the ancient ones, and they made these new-created Gods deliver only so many Responses, as were thought convenient in order to make their Court to the Princes who had deify'd them. And to be short, they did not consult them very seriously; and in Affairs of importance, they still had recourse to *Delpbos*, *Claros*, or the Cave of *Trophonius*.

But there would be no end of it, was I to enumerate all the Pagan Oracles. *Van Dale*, after having discoursed of the chief of them, contents himself with naming those at the end of his Work; a List of whom he had collected from the Ancients; and in this List, which may be consulted, he reckons up near three hundred, the most of them belonging to *Greece*. But to be sure he has not named them all; for there were few Temples where there was not an Oracle, or some other sort of Divination.

Of all the Parts of *Greece*, *Bæotia* was that which had most of them, upon account of the Mountains and Caverns it was full of: for 'tis proper to remark with M. *Fontenelle*, that nothing suited better with Oracles than Caverns and Mountains (a). It was in those Caves, whose View inspired a sort of religious Horrour, that the Priests could artfully contrive Passages whereby to go in, and come out, without being perceived; Machines, hollow Statues, within which they hid themselves,

(a) *Plutarch* remarks, that there were more than five and twenty in *Bæotia* alone, which was a very small Province. As many were reckoned in the *Peloponnesus*, and fifteen about *Delphi*, either at the same time, or successively.

selves, and several other Conveniencies to give more Reputation to their Oracles. For in fine, altho' I am persuaded with the most learned Fathers of the Church, that the Devil presided over Oracles, and that it was either he himself personally present, or the Priests acted by him, who deliver'd Responses concerning future Events ; since, let Men say what they will, there is no other possible way of explaining all that we learn from Antiquity relating to those Responses : yet I am fully convinced, that the Cheats of the Priests had often, nay, for the most part, if you will, a very great hand in them ; and consequently we may believe, that they neglected no Method for supporting their Impostures. The Discovery, which *Daniel* made of the Tricks of *Belus's* Priests, who came by night thro' subterraneous Passages, and carried off the Meat, which they said was eat up by the God himself ; this, I say, is a convincing Proof of the Cheats that were practised in the Pagan Temples ; a Proof which leaves no room to doubt but the like Tricks were used in the Oracles. Accordingly, when the Christian Religion had once triumphed over Idolatry, and when the Oracles were abolished with it, there were Discoveries made in the Caves and Dens where there had been Oracles, and several Marks of the Fraud and Imposture of the Ministers who had had the Charge of them.

To conclude : We must not think, that all the Oracles we have been speaking of, and others, of which we know but the bare Names, did subsist at one and the same time. There were some of them older, some of them later, and of all Dates, from that of *Dodona*, which was look'd upon as the most ancient, down to that of *Antinous*, which may be reckoned the last. Sometimes even the ancient ones came to be laid aside. Their Credit was lost, either by discovering the Impostures of their Ministers, or by Wars, which laid waste the Places where they were, or by other Accidents unknown. One thing we know, that the immense Riches, which were at *Delphi*, had frequently been a Temptation to rife that Temple, as was done more
than

than once; tho' at the same time, those Pillages did not make the Oracle to cease (a).

Upon the Ruin of those, they took care to found new ones in their room; and these, in their turn, gave place to others: but the precise time of the Declension of many of those Oracles, and of the Institution of the new, is not known.

A R T I C L E VI.

Various Manners in which the Oracles were deliver'd.

Before we finish what belongs to this Subject, I am to examine two Heads, which I have only hinted at in some places of this Chapter. The first, concerns the different Manners in which the Oracles were deliver'd: The second, the more remarkable Responses handed down to us by Antiquity.

We have seen in what manner several Oracles were given; that at *Delphi*, they interpreted and put in Verse what the Priestess pronounced in the time of her Fury; that at the Oracle of *Hannou*, it was the Priests who pronounced the Response of their God; that at *Dodona*, the Response was given from the Hollow of an Oak; that at the Cave of *Trophonius*, the Oracle was gather'd from what the Suppliant said before he recover'd his Senses; that at *Memphis*, they drew a good or bad Omen, according as the Ox *Apis* receiv'd or reject'd what was presented to him; and that it was thus likewise with the Fishes of the Fountain of *Limyra*. We must now add, that the Response of the God was often given from the bottom of his Statue, whether it was the Devil delivered his Oracles there, or the Priests, who had hollowed those Statues and found a way to convey themselves thither, by some subterraneous Passage; for, to say it over again, the Suppliants were not allow'd to enter the Sanctuaries where the Oracles were given, far less to appear too curious in that point. Accordingly they took care, that neither the

Epi-

(a) It was pillaged by a Robber, of the Race of the *Phlegreans*, by the *Phocians*, by *Pyrrhus*, by *Nero*, and lastly by the Christians.

Epicureans nor Christians should come near them; and the reason is very obvious. In several places, the Oracles were given by Letters sealed up; as in that of *Mopsus*, and at *Mallos* in *Cilicia*. He, who came to consult these Oracles, was obliged to give his Letter into the Priests hands, or to leave it upon the Altar, and to lie in the Temple; and it was in time of his Sleep, that he received the Answer to his Letter; whether it was that the Priests had the Secret of opening these Letters, as *Lucian* assures us of his false Prophet *Alexander* (1), who had founded his Oracle in *Pontus*; or whether there was something supernatural in the Case, I shall not determine.

The Manner of delivering the Oracle at *Claros* had somewhat still more extraordinary, since no more was required but that the Person should communicate his Name to the Priest of that God *. *Tacitus* is my Author. “ *Germanicus*, says he, went to consult “ the Oracle of *Claros*. The Responses of that God “ are not delivered by a Woman, as at *Delphos* ; but “ by a Man chosen out of a particular Family, and “ who is for the most part of *Miletus*. All he re- “ quires is to be told the Number and the Names of “ the Suppliants. Then he retires into a Grotto, and “ having taken Water from a secret Spring, he gives “ a Response in Verse, suitable to what every one has “ been thinking upon ; tho’, for the most part, he is “ extremely ignorant.”

Among the Oracles which were deliver'd in a Dream, there were some for which Preparations were necessary by Fastings, as that in *Amphicraus* in *Attica*, as *Philostratus* informs us of him (2), and some others, where they were oblig'd to sleep upon the Skins of the Victims.

One of the most singular Oracles was that of *Mercury*, in *Achaia*, which *Pausanias* treats of (3). After a great many Ceremonies, which we need not here

enum-

(1) In Alex. (2) Life of Apol. Tyan. L. 2. (3) In Ach.

* Numerum modo consultantium & nomina audit. *Annal.* L. 2.

enumerate, they whisper'd in the Ear of the God, and ask'd him, what they were desirous to know; then they stop'd their Ears with their hands, went out of the Temple, and the first Words they heard upon their coming out, was the Response of the God.

Oracles were frequently given by Lot; and this is what we must explain. The Lots were a kind of Dice, on which were engraven certain Characters or Words, whose Explanation they were to look for in Tables made for the purpose. The way of using those Dice for knowing Futurity was different, according to the Places where they were used. In some Temples, the Person threw them himself; in others, they were drop'd from a Box; whence came the proverbial Expression, *The Lot is fallen*. This Playing with Dice was always preceded by Sacrifices, and other usual Ceremonies.

There were of these Lots in several Oracles, even at *Dodona*, as appears in the case of the *Lacedemonians*, when they came thither for a Consultation, as we have it in *Cicero* (1); but the most famous Lots were at *Antium* and *Prænestæ*, two Towns in *Italy*. At *Prænestæ*, it was the Goddess; and at *Antium*, the Goddesses of Fortune; that is, her Divinity was represented by Statues. Those of *Antium* had this Singularity, that they moved themselves, according to *Macrobius's* Testimony (2); and their various Movements served either for the Response, or signified if the Lots could be consulted. From a Passage in *Cicero* (3), where he says, the Lots of *Prænestæ* were consulted by consent of Fortune, it would seem, that the Fortune which was in that City was a sort of Automaton, like those at *Antium*, which gave some sign with its Head, much like that of *Jupiter Hammon*; who, as has been said, thus signified to the Priests who carried him in Procession, what Rout they were to take. An Event which *Suetonius* relates, undoubtedly raised the Lots of *Prænestæ* to great Reputation, contrary to the Intention of *Tiberius*, who was going to destroy them; since he

tells

(1) De Div. L. 1. (2) Sat. L. 1. c. 23. (3) De Div. L. 1.

tells us, that they were not to be found in a Coffre securely sealed, when the Coffre was open'd at *Rome*, but when brought back to *Præneste* they were again found.

In *Greece* and *Italy*, they frequently drew Lots, from some celebrated Poet, as *Homer* and *Euripides*; and what presented itself upon opening the Book was the Decree of Heaven; of this, History furnishes a thousand Examples. Nothing is yet more common than the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or Lots which were drawn from *Virgil's* Poems. *Lampridius* informs us, that *Alexander Severus*, when yet a private Man, and at a time when the Emperor *Heliogabalus* bore no Goodwill to him, received by way of Response in the Temple of *Præneste*, that Passage in *Virgil*;

—————*Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris* (1).

*If thou canst by any means surmount severe Destiny,
thou shalt be Marcellus.*

In the Eastern Countries, Arrows served for Lots; and these the *Turks* and *Arabians* use at this day, in the same way as the Ancients did. We learn from the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, coming from *Babylon* with a great Army, stop'd in a Cross-way, to know by means of the Arrows which he mingled, *mis-cuit Sagittas*, if he should make War upon *Egypt*, or against the *Jews*; and the Prophet adds, that the *Lot* fell upon *Jerusalem*. Under this Head, we may take in the Consultation of the *Sibylline* Books, which were look'd upon at *Rome* as a continual Oracle; but of this I shall discourse at length in the History of those Prophetesses.

In fine, Lots were even introduced into Christianity, and taken from the sacred Books, where the first words that threw up, decided what they wanted to know. We shall conclude by reporting some singular Responses of Oracles.

The ordinary Ambiguity of the Oracles, and their double Meaning, could not chuse but be a great Support to them; since, by

*Singular
Responses of
certain O-
racles.*

A a 2

(1) *Æn.* L. 6. v. 882.

interpreting them in a certain sense, which they could bear, the Oracle was sure to be fulfill'd. Thus the Response given to *Cræsus*, by the Priests of *Delphos*, must, in all Events, have appear'd a true Prediction. *Cræsus*, said the Priests, *in passing the Halys shall overthrow a great Empire*: For if that *Lydian* Monarch had conquer'd *Cyrus*, he overthrew the *Assyrian* Empire; if he himself was routed, he overturn'd his own.

That deliver'd to *Pyrrhus*, which is comprized in this *Latin* Verse,

Credo equidem Æacidas Romanos vincere posse (a).

had the same advantage; for, according to the Rules of Syntax, either of the two Accusatives may be governed by the Verb, and the Verse be explain'd, either by saying the *Romans* shall conquer the *Æacids*, of whom *Pyrrhus* was descended, or these shall conquer the *Romans*.

When *Alexander* fell sick at *Babylon*, some of his Courtiers, who happen'd to be in *Egypt*, or who went thither on purpose, passed the Night in the Temple of *Serapis*, to enquire if it would not be proper to bring *Alexander* to be cured by him. The God answered, It was better that *Alexander* should remain where he was. This in all Events was a very prudent and safe Answer. If the King recover'd his health, what Glory must *Serapis* have gained by saving him the Fatigue of the Journey! If he died, it was but saying he died in a favourable Juncture after so many Conquests; which, had he lived, he could neither have enlarged nor preserved. That is actually the Construction they put upon the Response; whereas had *Alexander* undertaken the Journey, and died in the Temple, or by the way, nothing could have been said in favour of *Serapis*.

When *Trajan* had formed the Design of his Expedition against the *Parthians*, he was advised to consult the Oracle of *Heliopolis*, to which he had no more to do but send a Note under a Seal. That Prince, who had no great Faith in Oracles, sent thither a Blank Note;

(a) Cicero won't allow that any such Response was given.

Note; and they return'd him another of the same. By this *Trajan* was convinced of the Divinity of the Oracle. He sends back a second Note to the God, wherein he enquired, whether he should return to *Rome* after finishing the War he had in view. The God, as *Macrobius* tells the Story*, ordered a Vine, which was among the Offerings of his Temple, to be divided into pieces, and brought to *Trajan*. The Event justified the Oracle; for the Emperor dying in that War, his Bones were carried to *Rome*, which had been represented by that broken Vine. As the Priests of that Oracle knew *Trajan's* Design, which was no Secret, they happily devised that Response, which, in all Events, was capable of a favourable Interpretation, whether he routed and cut the *Parthians* in pieces, or if his Army met with the same fate.

But among the Responses of the Oracles, some were of a singular Nature. *Cræsus* not being satisfy'd with that of *Delphos*, altho' he had been excessively liberal to it, as *Herodotus* informs us, sent with a view to surprize the Oracle, to enquire of the Priestess, what he was a doing at the very time when his Deputy was consulting her. She answered, he was then boiling a Lamb with a Tortoise; as he really was. *Cræsus* who had contrived this odd Ragou, in hope that the Oracle would never hit upon the Secret, which he had communicated to no Mortal, and which at the same time was in the nature of the thing so unlikely to be thought of, was amazed at this Response: it heightens his Credulity, and new Presents must be sent to the God. But this Fact being very singular, and containing other Circumstances besides, I shall relate it as it is in *Herodotus* (1). “ *Cræsus* seeing the Power of the *Persians* “ grow greater and greater every day, by the Valour “ of *Cyrus*, thought it high time to be making ready “ to bear it down. Before he took any steps, he sent “ to consult the Oracles of *Greece* and *Africk*. Ac- “ cordingly he named Deputies for *Delphos*, some for “ *Dodona*, others for the Oracle of *Amphiaraus*, for “ that

A a 3

* Lib. 1. c. 23.

(1) Herod. L. 1.

“ that of *Trophonius*, and for that of the *Branchidæ*,
 “ which was upon the Frontiers of the *Milefians*. He
 “ dispatched some into *Asrick*, to consult the Oracle
 “ of *Jupiter Hammon*. This first step was only to
 “ found the Oracles; and provided they gave a true
 “ Answer, he proposed to send thither a second time,
 “ to learn from them whether he should carry on his
 “ design’d Enterprize against the *Persians*. He com-
 “ manded the Deputies to observe exactly what time
 “ interven’d between their setting out from *Sardis*,
 “ and the Day of the Consultation; and to enquire at
 “ the several Oracles what *Craſus* was doing that day.
 “ What were the Answers of the other Oracles we are
 “ not told; but upon their Arrival at *Delphos*, they
 “ were not well enter’d into the Temple, when the
 “ Priestess told them in heroick Verse, that she knew
 “ the immense Expanse of the Ocean; that she, like
 “ the Gods, could number the Grains of Sand on the
 “ Sea-shore; that she understood the Language of
 “ him who never speaks, nor was any thing a Secret
 “ to her; that she actually saw him, who was now in
 “ secret, boiling in a brazen Pot, with a Lid of the
 “ same Metal, the Flesh of a Lamb mixed with that
 “ of a Tortoise. When the Deputies sent to the o-
 “ ther Oracles arrived, *Craſus* examined with great
 “ care their several Answers, and had no regard to
 “ any of them, except to that of *Amphiaraus*, as to
 “ which our Author gives us no light; but so soon as
 “ the Deputies from *Delphos* arriv’d, the King was
 “ struck with Astonishment upon hearing the Response
 “ of the Oracle, and look’d upon it as the most infal-
 “ lible of all.”

A Governour of *Cilicia*, who had a Gang of *Epicu-
 reans* about him, who were still endeavouring to in-
 spire him with a Contempt of the Oracles, resolv’d, as
Plutarch says pleasantly, to send a Spy to the Gods.
 He gave him a Letter, well sealed, to carry to *Mal-
 los*, where was the Oracle of *Mopsus*. As the Deputy
 was lying in the Temple, a Man remarkably well-
 made appeared to him, and pronounced the word

Black.

Black. This Answer he bore to the Governour, which tho' it appear'd ridiculous to the *Epicureans*, to whom he communicated it, yet struck himself with Astonishment, and upon opening the Letter, he shewed them these words which he had there written : *Shall I sacrifice to thee a white Ox or a black ?*

Sometimes the Responses of the Oracles were nothing but a Piece of meer Banter ; witness that which was given to a Man, who came to demand by what means he might grow rich. The God answer'd him, That he had no more to do but make himself Master of all that lay between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*. Another wanting a Cure for his Gout, was answered by the Oracle, He was to drink nothing but cold Water.

We shall finish this Article with a Response, related by *Strabo* (1), which proved fatal to the Priestesses of *Dodona* who gave it. During the War between the *Thracians* and *Bæotians*, the latter came to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*, and were answer'd by the Priestesses, that they should have happy Success, if they were guilty of some impious Action. The Deputies of the *Bæotians*, from a Persuasion that the Priestesses had a mind to deceive them, to favour the *Pelasgi*, from whom she was descended, and who were in alliance with the *Thracians*, took and burnt her alive, alledging, that in whatever light that Action was considered, it could not but be justify'd. And indeed, if the Priestesses had an Intention to cheat them, she was punished for her Deceit : if she spoke sincerely, they had only literally fulfilled the Oracle. These Reasons however were not admitted, the Deputies were seized ; but not daring to punish them before they were judg'd, they brought them before the two remaining Priestesses ; for, according to *Strabo's* Account, there were at that time three belonging to that Oracle. The Deputies having remonstrated against this Proceeding, were allowed two Men to judge them with the Priestesses. These were clear for their being condemn'd ; but the

(1) Strab. p. 177.

360 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
two other Judges were more favourable to them. Thus the Votes being equal, they were absolv'd.

We may remark in the Conclusion, that as the Priests turn'd into Verse what was deliver'd by the Priestess in her Fury ; so their Poetry was often wretchedly bad. The *Epicureans* especially made it their open Jest, and said, in raillery, It was surprizing enough, that *Apollo*, the God of Poetry, should be a much worse Poet than *Homer*, whom he himself had inspir'd. The Priests were even frequently obliged to steal from that famous Poet, despairing to make so good of their own. No doubt, it was the Railleries of these Philosophers, and more particularly those of the *Cynicks* and *Peripateticks*, that obliged the Priests to lay aside that Practice of turning the Responses of the *Pythia* into Verse ; which, according to *Plutarch*, was one of the principal Causes of the Declension of the Oracle of *Delphos*.

C H A P. II.

History of the Sibyls.

NEXT to the Oracles, we come to treat of the *Sibyls*, whose Predictions were, to the *Romans* especially, a kind of standing Oracle, consulted by them upon all occasions wherein the Republick was threatened with any Disaster.

I presume, it will not be expected I should insist long upon a Subject, already fully handled by several learned Men ; but this Mythology being design'd for general Use, and there being many who are not in a Condition to consult Books, where *Hebrew* and *Greek* are crouded together without reserve, I can't forbear mentioning the more necessary things upon the Subject, referring those who want to go deeper into it, to the learned Dissertations of *Gallæus* (1) ; to the Treatise upon it by M. *Petit* (2), Physician in *Paris* ; to *Van Dele* ; to *Thomas Hyde* (3) ; and in particular to *Lactantius*, who has handed down to us the ancient Tradition

(1) See Gallæi Dissert. de Sibyll. Amst. 1683. in 4to. (2) Pet. Petit de Sibylla. Lip. 1686. 8vo. (3) De Rel. Vet. Pers.

dition concerning the *Sibyls*, which he had taken from the Works of *Varro*.

For the sake of Method, I divide what I have to say in this Chapter into several Articles. 1. I shall examine whether there really were *Sibyls*. 2. How many were of them. 3. Upon what ground the Ancients believ'd they had the Gift of Prophecy. 4. How the Collection of their Predictions was made up. 5. How they deliver'd their Oracles. 6. Lastly, If they were reputed Divinities, and what Worship was paid to them.

ARTICLE I.

If there were Sibyls.

The Ancients gave the Name of *Sibyls* to a certain number of young Women, whom they believ'd endued with the Gift of Prophecy: Whether this Name be originally *Hebrew*, as *Delrio*, *Peucerus*, *Neander*, and some others contend; or *Latin*, as *Suidas* says; or *African*, as *Pausanias* will have it (1); or in fine, *Greek*, as most of the Learned assert. This last was the Opinion of *Diodorus*, who derives the Name from a Word importing in the *Greek Language*, *Inspired*, *Enthusiast* (a), because they were fully persuaded that the *Sibyls* were inspired by the Gods: But of all who have enquired into the Etymology of this Name, *Lactantius* is he whose Opinion is generally followed. This learned Author says, it signifies *the Counsel of God*: *Omnes (feminae Vates) Sibyllae sunt a Veteribus nuncupatae, vel ab unius Delphidis nomine, vel a consiliis Deorum enuncian-*
dis; Σίβης enim, Deos, non Θεῶς, ἔ' consilium, non Βαλὴν, sed Βουλὴν, appellabant Æolico Sermonis genere; itaque inde Sibyllam dictam esse, Σιβουλὴν, (Consilium Dei.)

Be that as it will, all Antiquity concurs in establishing the Existence of some such Persons, and tho' there is a considerable variation with respect to their Number, as we shall see afterwards, that does not however destroy the certainty of their having existed. One disputes

(1) In Phoc.

(a) See below, the Translation of the Passage of this Author.

putes about their Number, another about their Country; a third about the time when they liv'd, &c. But these very Disputes prove their Existence to be taken for granted; so that it cannot be deny'd, without overturning whatever is most certain in Antiquity, and without contradicting, at the same time, several Fathers of the first Centuries, who have given into the unanimous opinion of Antiquity. I have no mind to cite all the Testimonies that might be drawn together for proof of this Truth; but then I can't expect to be believ'd merely upon my own word.

Plato (1), on occasion of that sort of Fury with which some Persons are seized, and are enabled thereby to know Futurity, after making mention of the Priestess of *Delphos*, and of *Dodona*, subjoins: "Were we to
 " discourse of the *Sibyl*, and other Persons who were
 " possess'd with the same Enthusiasm, we should lose
 " our time and our labour." *Aristotle* (2) examines the Cause to which the *Sibyls* Capacity of knowing future Events may have been owing; and consequently he supposes their Existence. *Diodorus Siculus* (3) takes occasion, from the Story of *Daphne* the Daughter of *Tiresias*, whom the *Epigoni* in accomplishment of their Vow, sent to *Delphos* after the taking of *Thebes*, to enter more fully into this Subject. "This Daughter,
 " says he, was no less knowing than her Father, in
 " the Art of Divination, and she made therein very
 " great progress, after she had been transported to *Del-*
 " *phos*. Being endued with a wonderful Genius, she
 " wrote a great number of Oracles in several manners,
 " the one differing from the other. 'Tis said, that
 " *Homer* appropriated to himself several of *Daphne's*
 " Verses, and made use of them to embellish his Poems.
 " Being often possess'd with a divine Fury in delivering
 " her Responses, she got the name of *Sibyl*; which, in
 " the Language of the Country, signified *Enthusiast*," *Strabo* (4) makes mention of the *Sibyl Erythraea*, and of another, who, according to him, liv'd in the time of
 Alex.

(1) In *Phaed.* (2) *Prob.* 30. Q. 1. (3) *Lib.* 4. (4) *L.* 14.

Alexander, and whose Name was *Athenais*; and in another place the same Author asserts (1), that there had been one more ancient. *Plutarch*, in that small Piece wherein he examines into the Cause of the Cessation of Oracles, speaks at great length of the *Sibyls*, and to stop the mouth of those who gave no credit to their Oracles, he recites several examples of the taking of Towns, of Wars, Irruptions of Barbarians, Migrations of different Nations, and several other remarkable Events, which had happen'd in the manner they had foretold. *Elian* (2) speaks of four of these *Sibyls*, as we shall see in the following Article. *Pausanias* (3) gives a description of the Rock where the Sibyl *Erophile*, who liv'd before the Siege of *Troy*, dwelt, and where she deliver'd her Oracles, tho' according to him, she was not the most ancient of all. The same Author speaks of the Tomb of this Sibyl, and gives her Epitaph and some of her Oracles (a). *Stephanus*, in the Article of *Gergis*, a Town of *Troas*, says, upon the Authority of *Phlegon*, that the Sibyl who was born there was called *Gergithia*, and that the People of that Town represented her upon their Coin, with a *Sphinx*: *Aristophanes*, in his Comedy of the *Birds*, names three *Sibyls*, of whom, one was Sister to *Apollo*, another was an *Erythræan*, and the third, a Native of *Sardis*.

To these Testimonies I might add that of *Varro*, the most knowing of the *Romans*, who not only names ten *Sibyls*, but also cites ancient Authors who had spoke of them; but I reserve what he says of them to the following Article. I might add that of *Cicero*, who makes mention of the *Sibyls* in his Books of Divination; that of *Virgil*, who tells such curious things of the *Cumean Sibyl*; those of *Pliny*, *Solinus*, of the Philosopher *Hermias*, of *Procopius*, *Agathus*, *Jamblichus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Justin*, and a world of others. I might add to these, what has been said of them by *St. Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Augustin*, and other Fathers of the Church; and I might close the History of this

(1) L. 16. (2) Hist. Var. l. 12. (3) In Phoc.

(a) The Passage of this Author is given in the last Article.

this Tradition, with the Authority of all the Learned whom I have quoted at the beginning of this Chapter. 'Tis therefore unquestionably certain, that there were at different times, and in different places, Persons to whom it was believed the Gods had communicated the Faculty of knowing and predicting future Events, and who bore the name of *Sibyls*.

ARTICLE II.

The Number of the Sibyls.

If the Ancients are agreed as to the Existence of the *Sibyls*, they are far from being so as to their Number. The cause of their Uncertainty about this Subject is, that one and the same Sibyl travell'd into several Countries, and after having stay'd some time in one Place, and delivered Oracles there, she pass'd into another: Frequently two different Names were given to the same, sometimes that of her Country, sometimes that of the Places of her abode. The opinion, however, most generally received, is that of *Varro*, recited by *Lactantius*; and the Account of them given by that learned Father of the Church, is as follows (1). “ *Varro*, in the Books
 “ which he compos'd upon divine Things, dedicated
 “ by him to C. *Cæsar* the High-Priest, when he comes
 “ to the Article of the Sibylline Books, says, that those
 “ Books were not the Work of only one Sibyl, but of
 “ ten, for there were so many of them in all. Then he
 “ names them one after another, with the Authors who
 “ had spoke of them before him. The first, says he,
 “ and the most ancient one, was a *Persian* by Birth, as
 “ we learn from *Nicanor*, the same who had wrote the
 “ History of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. The second was
 “ born in *Lilya*, and of her *Euripides* makes mention,
 “ in the Prologue to his Tragedy, intitled *Lamia*. The
 “ third was of *Delphos*, as we learn from the Book of
 “ Divination compos'd by *Chrysippus*. The fourth had
 “ her Birth among the *Cimmerians* in *Italy*; *Nævius*
 “ speaks of her in his History of the *Punick* War, and
 “ *Piso* in his Annals. The fifth was of *Erythræa*, ac-
 “ cording

(1) De Fal. Rel. l. 1. c. 6.

“ cording to *Apollodorus*, who was of the same Coun-
 “ try ; the prophesy'd to the *Greeks* who were going
 “ to besiege *Troy*, the happy Success of their Enter-
 “ prize, and at the same time, that *Homer* should one
 “ day write a great deal of Fictions upon that Subject.
 “ The sixth was of *Samos*, and her History was to be
 “ found in the most ancient Annals of the *Samians*, as
 “ we learn from *Eratosthenes*. The seventh born at
 “ *Cumæ*, was named *Amalthæa*, according to some Au-
 “ thors, and according to others, *Demophile* or *Hiero-*
 “ *phile*: It was she who offer'd to *Tarquin* the elder, a
 “ Collection of Sibylline Verses, in nine Books. The
 “ eighth was the *Hellepontine*, born at *Marpesus* * near
 “ the Town of *Gergis* in *Troas* † : *Heraclides* of *Pontus*
 “ said, she liv'd in the time of *Cyrus* and *Solon*. The
 “ ninth, likewise a *Phrygian* by birth, gave her Oracles
 “ at *Ancyra*, the place of her Residence. The tenth,
 “ in fine, named *Albunæa*, was of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, and
 “ was honour'd as a Divinity in the Neighbourhood of
 “ the River *Anio*.”

These are the ten Sibyls whom *Varro* admitted: But
 in order to give more light to what that learned *Roman*
 said of them, 'tis necessary here to make some Reflec-
 tions. 1. He does not mention the Name of the *Per-*
sian Sibyl, whom the *Persians* called *Sabethe*. 2. *Eu-*
ripides speaking of the *Libyan* Sibyl, says, she was the
 Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*. She travell'd into
 several Places, to *Samos*, *Delphos*, *Claros*, &c. 'Twas
 these Travels, in short, that led some Authors to say,
 that three or four Sibyls had been made out of one.
 3. *Diodorus Siculus* names *Daphne*, the third of *Varro*'s
 Sibyls, and says, she was born at *Thebes* in *Bæotia*.
 4. *Eusebius* reckons, that the *Erythræan* Sibyl, the most
 famous of all, lived not in the time of the *Trojan* War,
 as *Varro* believes, upon the Authority of *Apollodorus*,
 but under the Reign of *Romulus*. 5. She of *Samos*,
 whose Name is not mention'd by *Varro*, was called, ac-
 cording to *Suidas*, *Pitho*, or *Persuasion*, and according
 to *Eusebius*, *Eriphile*.

Suidas,

* *Marmissus*, in *Suidas*. † *Gergiticum*. *ibid*.

Suidas, who speaks of the Sibyls, like a Compiler not very accurate, has given us two Articles about them which don't resemble one another, tho' in both he reckons ten of them. Thus, *Gallæus* is mistaken in saying, that he made fourteen of them, as is *Rosinus* in affirming, that he named only nine.

Ælian, on the contrary (1), allows none but four of them, namely, the *Erythræan*, the *Egyptian*, she who was born at *Samos*, and another at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Solinus* seems persuaded, that their number ought to be reduc'd to three, those of *Sardis*, and *Cumæ*, and the *Erythræan*, wherein he is followed by *Ausonius* (2), who likewise admits no more of them than three.

Et tres fatidicæ nomen commune Sibyllæ

Quarum tergemini fatalia carmina libri.

Martianus Capella cuts off one more of them, and owns none but the *Erythræan* and the *Phrygian*. In fine, *P. Petit*, whose Work I have cited at the beginning of this Chapter, contends that there was none but one Sibyl, the *Erythræan*; and that her being called by different Names, such as the *Cumæan*, &c. was owing to her having travelled into different Countries, where she resided, and delivered her Oracles. Thus, with respect to this Sibyl, the Case was contrary to what had happened as to other fabulous Facts. For when several Persons bore the same Name, they used to insert into the History of the one who was most famous, the whole Adventures of the rest; thus accordingly it happen'd in the case of *Hercules*, as we shall see in the History of that Hero. Here again, *Varro*, and others who have multiply'd the Sibyls, have distributed among several, the Actions, Travels, and Predictions of only one. That learned Author brings several Arguments to support his Opinion, which may be seen in the Work I have quoted; but two of them which he takes to be the strongest, to me appear not conclusive. The first is, that *Plato* and *Pliny* speak of the Sibyl in the singular Number; the former in the Passage I have already given; the latter in these Words: *Divinitas, & quædam Societas cœlitum nobi-*

(1) Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 35. (2) Gryph. Num. tern.

nobilissima, ex feminis in Sibylla fuit, ex viris in Melampode apud Græcos, apud Romanos in Marcio. But these two Authorities are by no means conclusive: *Plato*, in that Passage of his Dialogue, was only speaking of the Sibyls by the by, and it was sufficient for his purpose to give an example of the prophetick Fury with which some Persons were acted. The same answer may be given as to what is said by *Pliny*, who in like manner, having no other thing in view but to give some examples of those who had a particular Intercourse with the Gods, has named *Melampus* and *Marcion* for the Men, and for the Women the Sibyl, without intending thereby to exclude others.

The second Argument of *M. Petit*, appears stronger. The Collection of the Sibylline Verses was writ in *Greek*; now the question is, how all the Sibyls knew that Language? How should she of *Persia*, the *Libyan*, the *Hellepontine*, the *Sardian*, all of them have spoke *Greek*, in Countries where the *Greeks* were not known in their time? But who pretends that all the Sibyls spoke *Greek*? Was there any difficulty of making a *Greek* Translation of their Predictions, which were collected with the same care as the Oracles of *Pythia*? Besides, tho' it is true that the Sibylline Books now extant are in *Greek* Verse, how are we sure that they were always so? The *Pythia* deliver'd her Responses in Prose, and it was People particularly commissioned, who put them into Verse, as has been said in the preceding Chapter. I suppose then, and 'tis a very probable Supposition, that some curious Persons made a Collection of all the Sibylline Predictions, at least of so many of them as they could find, and having caused such of them as were in foreign Languages to be translated, put them into Verse: Thus, in all appearance, were the different Collections of those Predictions made up.

Thomas Hyde (1) in his Treatise of the Religion of the ancient *Persians*, has an opinion about the Sibyls, still more singular than that of *P. Petit*, since he denies that there ever were any of them. This Fable, which

(1) De Rel. vet. Pers. p. 392.

368 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV,
which was so current in *Greece* and *Italy*, derives its Origin, according to him, from *Persia* and *Chaldea*; and what gave rise to it there, was the Sign of the *Virgin*, in which Sign, the brightest Star was called, and is still at this day named Σίβυλλα, or Σίββυλα, *Spica*; now this Word comes from the *Persian* *Sambula*, or *Sumbula*, and signifies in that Language, an Ear of Corn. Accordingly, the *Persians* in their Planispheres were wont to represent that Star under the figure of a young *Virgin*, holding a handful of Ears. As the *Persians* and the *Chaldeans*, says this learned Author, are the Inventers of *Astrology*, and drew their Predictions from the Inspection of the Stars, they gave particular attention to that Sign, as representing a *Virgin*.

The *Greeks*, continues the same Author, who learn'd the Arts and Sciences from the eastern Nations, and who invented Fables upon the smallest Ambiguity in Language, meeting with the Word *Sambula* in the History of the *Persian* *Astrology*, feign'd first the Sibyl *Sambetbe*, and then the rest: But, as in Fictions 'tis not easy intirely to deface the Tradition which gave rise to them, hence the same *Greeks* always look'd upon the Sibyl of *Persia*, as the most ancient of all.

However ingenious the Conjecture of this learned *English* Writer may be, it cannot destroy the united Testimony of all Antiquity, which allows that there were, in different Times and Countries, such extraordinary Persons, who were reputed to have a particular Foreknowledge of Futurity, and whose Predictions carefully collected, were consulted upon important Occasions; for how many Suppositions must be made, in order to destroy so general a Tradition? The most that can be granted to this Author, is, that the Sibyl of *Persia*, nam'd *Sambetbe*, owed her original to the double meaning of the Word *Sambula*; but that is no Argument against the Existence of other Sibyls.

This would be the proper place to examine when the Sibyls liv'd; their Parentage, the Place of their birth, and the Order wherein they ought to be placed; but so many different Opinions in relation to these four Ar-
ticles

articles are to be found among both Ancients and Moderns, that after strict Examination, one is at a loss what to fix upon. I have chosen to name them in the same order as *Lactantius* has done after *Varro*, altho' I am not ignorant that several of the Learned have inverted that Order, as if it was a thing worth while to make a bustle about it. What does it really avail whether that of *Persia* be the first and most ancient of all, as *Varro* alledged; or the fifth, as *Boissard* will have it; or only the eighth, according to *Onuphrius Panvinus*. *Gallæus* has taken the trouble to put together all that has been said upon this Subject; to him the Learned may have recourse.

ARTICLE III.

What Ground there was to believe that the Sibyls were endued with the Gift of Prophecy.

The Ancients have reason'd profoundly upon the Intercourse and Union which the Creature is capable of attaining to with the Deity; and this Union and Correspondence they reckon'd might be so intimate, that when Man was arriv'd to a certain degree of Perfection, the darkest Events of Futurity were then laid open to his view. To this pitch of Perfection, several endeavoured to arrive, and some of them were actually believ'd to have attain'd it, by virtue of that sort of Magick, which they term'd *Theurgia*, as shall be said in one of the subsequent Chapters. Thus at present, taking it for granted that this was one of the fundamental Articles of the Pagan Theology, we may say, that what made them believe the Sibyls possess'd of a prophetick Gift, must have been owing to their having had a persuasion that they enjoy'd this intimate Union with the Gods, especially with *Apollo* the Master of Divination. It was likewise for this reason that they gave the same Privilege to the *Pythia* of *Delphos*, and to the Priestesses of *Dodona*, whom they believ'd intimately united with the Divinity by whom they were inspir'd. Thus reason'd the *Platonicks* upon the Union which Man may have with the Gods: But other Philosophers had very different

different Sentiments about the prophetick Spirit of the Sibyls, and attributed it to the Influence of a black and melancholy Humour, or to some other Disease. Others were of opinion, that the Fury to which they were wrought up, enabled them to know and foretel future Events, as *Jamblichus* (1) and *Agathias* (2) maintain. To this Fury, *Cicero* added Dreams, which sometimes inform us of things to come. There are, says he (3), two ways of foreknowing Futurity, either in a way of Fury, or by Dreams: *Cum duobus modis animi, sine ratione & scientia, motu ipsi suo soluto & libero inciterentur; uno furente, altero somniente. Furoris Divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati, &c.* This illustrious Author says in another place; there are Persons, who without any Science, without any Observation, foretel future Events, by I know not what furious Impulse: *Carent arte ii qui non ratione aut conjecturâ, observatis ac notatis signis, sed concitatione quadam animi Ut Sibylla Erythræa.*

We find ancient Authors who ascrib'd this Faculty of Divination which the Sibyls had, to the Vapours and Exhalations of the Caverns inhabited by them, as has been said of the Cave of *Delphos*.

Lastly, *St. Jerom* maintain'd that this Gift was communicated to them as a Reward of their Chastity: Hear how the Father of the Church, celebrating the Praises of Chastity, delivers his Thoughts with relation to the Sibyls: *Quid referam Sibyllas, Erythræam atque Cumanam, & cæto reliquas, nam Varro decem esse autumat, quarum insigne Virginitas, & Virginitatis præmium Divinatio* (4). True it is, that Chastity has always been looked upon, even by the Pagans, as a necessary qualification in those who approach'd the Altars; that the Priests, before they offered up the Sacrifices, were obliged to prepare themselves for that Service by Continence, and that there were even some of them who used medicinal means to acquire this Gift. 'Tis likewise true, that in order to be assured of the Chastity of the Priestess

(1) *Ad Porp.*
(4) *Ad Jovin.*

(2) *Hist. l. 1.*

(3) *De Div. l. 1.*

Priestess of *Delphos*, they chose her in the earlier times, from among the Country-People, where this Virtue is less expos'd than in Towns. I know not, however, what foundation St. *Jerom* had, for entertaining such a favourable Notion of the Chastity of the Sibyls, since there is one of them who boasts of having had a great number of Lovers, without being married, in this Verse which I have taken from the *Latin* Translation (1) ;

Mille mihi Læti, Connubia nulla fuere.

The Sibyl of *Persia* too, speaks of her Husband who was with her in *Noah's* Ark, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Our Opinion therefore is, that the Sibyls, being of a sullen melancholy Humour, living retired, and giving way to a fanatick Impulse, as *Virgil* describes the Sibyl of *Cumæ*, deliver'd at a venture what came into their mind, and that in the course of their frequent Predictions, they sometimes hit right ; or rather by the help of a favourable Commentary, People persuaded themselves that they had divin'd. And indeed, how easy was it for those who collected their Predictions, and put them in Verse, as was done to those of the Priestess of *Delphos*, to retrench or add what they pleas'd, and that frequently even after the Event? Some have been Prophets in spight of themselves, and the Publick frequently gives itself the trouble to accommodate Words spoke at random, to Facts which were never dream'd of by him who utter'd them. Do we not see instances of this every day among ourselves, with relation to one of our pretended Prophets (2)? And tho' his Work is a Master-piece of Obscurity, have not several Events that happened since his Death, been therein discover'd? The good-natur'd *Ronsard* at least, was fully persuaded that this extraordinary Man both knew and foretold what was to come, since after having search'd what Cause might have rendered this same Futurity present to his view, he thus concludes:

B b 2

In

“ In short, let the Cause be what it will, he it is who
 “ by dubious Words drop’d from his prophetick Lips,
 “ has like an ancient Oracle foretold the greatest part of
 “ our Destiny, for many a year to come (a):

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Collection of the Sibylline Verses.

As to the manner how the Collection of the Sibylline Verses was made, ’tis not known. ’Tis not likely that they prophesy’d in Verse, far less that they themselves kept their Predictions, and digested them into Order. Besides, they lived in different periods of Time, and in Countries remote the one from the other. How then came the World by a Collection of those Predictions, put in Hexameters? In what Age did it appear? Who was its Author? These are Facts which Antiquity has not transmitted down to us. All that we know is, that a Woman came to *Tarquin* the Proud, offering him a Collection of those Verses, in nine Books, and that she demanded for them three hundred Pieces of Gold; that when the Prince would not give that Sum, she threw three of them into the Fire, and exacted the same Sum for the remaining six; which being refused her, she burnt three more of them, and still persisted in asking the three hundred Pieces for those that were left; at length, the King fearing that she would burn the other three, gave her the Sum she demanded.

This Story has all the air of a Romance; it is attested however by a great many Authors, and perhaps the Falshood of it lies only in the Circumstances: For ’tis certain that the *Romans* had in their possession a Collection of the Sibylline Verses, and that they preserv’d it from the Reign of *Tarquin* to the time of *Sylla*, when it perish’d in the burning of the Capitol, where it had been deposited. And therefore, that the Reader may be

(a) Bref, il est ce qu’il est : Si est-ce toutefois
 Que par les mots douteux de sa prophete voix,
 Comme un Oracle antique il a de mainte année
 Predit la plus grand part de notre destinée.

be able to judge of this Fact, I shall put it in a true light. *Lactantius*, who relates it in the Narrative which we have given, says, it was the Sibyl of *Cumæ* who presented this Collection to *Tarquin*, and he has been follow'd by *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Isidorus*. Perhaps *Lactantius* had found it in *Varro's* Books of divine Things, whence he had taken his Account of the Sibyls; but other Authors barely affirm, that a Woman offer'd those Books to *Tarquin*, without saying it was the Sibyl herself. *Servius*, who agrees to this Fact, and appears to have examined it, says, it is not credible that the Sibyl of *Cumæ*, with all the length of Years they have given her, having been in the time of *Æneas* who consulted her, was also alive in the time of *Tarquin*; that is, five or six hundred Years after. *Multæ Sibyllæ fuerunt*, says he, *quas omnes Varro in libris rerum divinarum commemorat, & requirit a qua sint Romana fata conscripta; & multi sequentes Virgilium, ab hac Cumana dicunt, quæ licet longæva dicatur, non tamen valde congruit, eam usque ad Tarquinii tempora durasse, cui libros Sibyllinos constat esse oblatos* (1).

I might quote several other ancient Authors for the truth of the substance of this Story; but I content myself with the single Testimony of *Pliny*, who asserts it to be universally attested: *Inter omnes vero convenit, Sibyllam ad Tarquinium Superbum tres libros attulisse; ex quibus igni duo cremati ab ipsa, tertius cum Capitolio Syllanis temporibus, &c* (2). In this Passage there are only two Articles, in which we find *Pliny* differs from *Lactantius*, or if you will, from *Varro*: First, in saying the Books were presented not to *Tarquin* the elder, but to *Tarquin* the Proud; and then, that this Collection consisted, not of nine Books, but only of three, wherein *Solinus* his Copier agrees with him; Circumstances which are so far from destroying the Fact, that in my opinion, they serve but to confirm it.

Be that as it will, the *Romans* carefully kept this Collection, from the time of *Tarquin* to the burning of the Capitol, when it was consumed with that Edifice.

(1) In 6. *Æn.* (2) L. 13. c. 13.

In this long period of time, it was only consulted by the Priests, as we learn from *Solinus* (1): *Cujus Librum ad Cornelium usque Syllam Pontifices nostri consulebant.*

After this Accident, the Romans to repair their loss, sent, as *Tacitus* has it (2), into different Places, to *Samos*, to *Troy*, into *Africk*, *Sicily*, and among the Colonies settled in *Italy*, to collect all the Sibylline Verses could be found; and the Deputies brought back a great quantity of them. As no doubt there were many of them dubious, Priests were commissioned to make a judicious Choice of them. *Post exustum civili bello Capitolium, quæsitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam, ac Siciliam, & Italicas Colonias Carminibus Sibyllæ; (una seu plures fuere) datoque Sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humanâ ope potuissent, discernere.* *Fenestella* in *Lactantius* says only, that the Senate, after the Capitol was rebuilt, sent to *Erythræa*, *P. Gabinius*, *M. Otacilius*, and *L. Valerius*, to search for the Verses of the Sibyl of that Name, and that they had found in the hands of private Persons, about an hundred of them, which they brought to *Rome*.

Thus was the second Collection of Sibylline Verses made up; but I don't believe they had equal Faith in them as in the former. They had been in the possession it seems, of private Persons, who added or retrenched what they had a mind. There were none, according to *Lactantius*, but the Verses of the *Cumæan* Sibyl, that were carefully kept by the Romans: And these, none had access to see. The *Quindecimviri* were the only Persons who had permission to inspect and consult them. As to those of the other Sibyls, they were in every body's hands: *Hæc omnia Sibyllarum carmina & fermentur & habentur, præter quam Cumææ, cujus Libri a Romanis occulantur, nec eos ab ullo, nisi a Quindecimviris inspicere fas habent.* The Consequence of this was, that upon every Event, Predictions were propagated in *Rome* and through all *Italy*; and this abuse went so far, that *Tiberius* forbid the keeping of those private Collections, and order'd that they, in whose hands

(1) C. 8. (2) *Annal.* l. 6. c. 12.

hands they were, should deliver them up to the Prætor : *Simul commonefecit (Tiberius) quia multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur, sanxisse Augustum, quem intra diem ad Prætorem urbanum deferrentur, neque habere privatim liceret (1).*

To conclude, these Books were not writ upon Paper ; but upon Linen-cloth, that they might last the longer : 'Tis to this that *Claudian* alludes, in these Verses (2),

Quid meditentur aves ? quid carmine poscat

Fatidico custos Romani carbasus ævi ?

As also *Symmachus*, when he says ; *Cumanos (Versus) iuncta texta sumpserunt.*

There was a College of fifteen Persons founded, to be the Guardians of this Collection, whom they called the *Quindecimviri* of the Sibyls (a) : To them this Depositum was committed : By them it was to be consulted ; and so great was the Faith that was put in the Predictions it contain'd, that whenever they were to enter upon a War ; when Plague or Famine, or any epidemical Calamity infested either City or Country, hither they were sure to have recourse. It was a kind of standing Oracle, as often consulted by the *Romans*, as that of *Delphos* was by the *Greeks* and other Nations. We learn more particularly from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, on what Occasions they had recourse to the Sibylline Books, “ The Senate, says he, orders them “ to be consulted, upon the rise of any Sedition, upon “ the defeat of the Army, or when some Prodigies “ are observed, which presage a great Calamity, as there “ have been many such.” As to this last Article, it is confirmed by *Varro* (3) : *Ad cujus (Sibyllæ) Libros tot annis post publicè solemus redire, cum desideramus quid faciendum sit nobis ex aliquo portento.* And the Roman History furnishes us with several Examples, which prove that they consulted them upon like occasions.

B b 4

We

(1) Tacit. ibid. (2) De Bel. Ger. l. 8.

(a) They were at first only two, then ten, as has been said in explaining the Oracles.

(3) De Rē Rust. l. 1. c. 1.

We know not what was the fate of this Collection of Sibylline Verses ; for as to that which we have at present, consisting of eight Books, upon which *Gallæus* has made a learned Commentary, tho' it may possibly contain some of the ancient Predictions, yet all the Critics look upon it as a very dubious Composition, and likely to have been the Product of the pious Fraud of some more zealous than judicious Christians, who thought, by compiling it, to strengthen the Authority of the Christian Religion, and enable its Defenders to combat Paganism with more advantage : As if Truth stood in need of Forgery and Lyes, in order to its triumphing over Error. What puts the matter quite out of doubt, is, that we find in this indigested Collection, Predictions relating to the Mysteries of Christianity, clearer than they are in *Isaiab* and the other Prophets. There the very Name of Jesus Christ, and that of the Virgin *Mary*, occur in every Page. It speaks of the Mystery of Redemption, of our Saviour's Miracles, his Passion, his Death and Resurrection, the Creation of the World, the terrestrial Paradise, the Longevity of the Patriarchs, the Deluge. One of the Sibyls even vaunts, that she had been in the Ark with *Noah*. There mention is made of the Invention of Arts, and they who are said to have excelled in them, are the same with those whom *Moses* names ; with a thousand other particularities which are evidently drawn from the sacred Books : Insomuch that it is amazing to find Authors so blindly prepossess'd as to hold, that whatever this Collection contains was composed by the Sibyls. Would God have revealed to Pagans the Mysteries of our Religion, in a clearer manner than he had done to his own People, by the Mouth of his Prophets ?

I said, there were probably in this last Collection Verses taken from the two former ; but 'tis not easy to distinguish such as were borrowed thence from those which the Author has spun out of his own Brain. *P. Petit*, 'tis true, attempted to do it ; but to me, it appears, that this otherwise ingenious Author has, in

this part of his Work, shew'd more Credulity than sound Criticism. He even seems so prepossessed in favour of his *Sibyl*, and allows her such a deep Insight into Futurity, that the Priestesses of *Apollo*, compared to her, was but a Learner (1). But what proves undeniably the difference between this Collection and the ancient one, is, that the *Sibylline Verses*, consulted at *Rome*, breath'd nothing but Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods, and for the most part prescrib'd nothing but barbarous Sacrifices, and human Victims; whereas those we have now remaining, inculcate the Worship of the true God, and are mostly calculated to lead Men to Piety.

We are then to distinguish three Collections of *Sibylline Verses*; for I wave those that some private Persons might have. The first is that which was presented to *Tarquinius*, which contain'd only three Books. The second is that which was compil'd after the burning of the Capitol, consisting of several Shreds, which the Deputies we mentioned had brought back from their Travels; how many Books it contained is what we don't know. The third, in fine, is what we have in eight Books, wherein there is no doubt, but the Author has inserted several Predictions of the second, whether he took them from a Copy, or pick'd up such of them as were become publick; but he has added a vast number of others, which certainly were not the Composition of those Prophetesses.

If we credit *Servius*, the ancient Collection contain'd in all but a hundred Predictions. This Author upon these Verses of the sixth Book of the *Æneid*,

Excisum Euboicæ latus ingens rupis in antrum

Quò lati ducunt Aditus centum, Ostia centum,

Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllæ,

makes this Remark: There were but a hundred Responses, or an hundred Predictions of the *Sibyls*, neither more nor less: *Sane sciendum omnia Responsa Sibyllæ, plus minusve centum contineri sermonibus (a);*
but

(1) See that Author's third Book.

(a) I have followed the Amendment of *P. Petit*, who suppresses the

but 'tis probable, that this learned Commentator meant only in this place the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ*, to whom the Passage in *Virgil* relates. *Laëtantius*, who allowed ten *Sibyls*, as also *Varro*, attributes to each of them a Book of Predictions (1), tho' there is no way to distinguish to which of them each of those Books belong'd, except that of the *Erythræan Sibyl*, who had put her Name at the Head of the Book which contain'd hers: *Et sunt singuli Libri, qui quia Sibyllæ nomine inscribuntur, suntque confusi, nec discerni ac suum cuique assignari potest, nisi Erythrææ quæ et nomen suum verum carmini inseruit.* I know not whence *Laëtantius* had taken what he here says; but 'tis certain the *Romans* had but three of those Books; the Avarice of *Tarquin* having occasion'd the other six to be burn'd by her who presented them to him.

Before we close this Article, I reckon it will not be amiss to insert here some Predictions of the *Sibyls*: by these we may judge what account ought to be made of the Collection wherein they are contain'd: I shall make use of the *Latin* Translation. Hear how the *Persian Sibyl*, who calls herself the Daughter of *Noah*, speaks of the Deluge:

. *Siquidem cum dilueretur
Mundus aquis, cum vir solus probus exuperavit.
Quidam, quem per aquas vexit domus erula sylvis,
Et pecudes et aves, rursus impleretur ut orbis,
Ejus ego nurus, ejus item de sanguine nata.*

And she adds in another place;

*O ævi sexti stirps prima, ô gaudia magna!
Quod sortita fui, postquam discrimina mortis
Effugi, jactata meo cum conjuge multum, &c.*

But as this *Sibyl* is not very sure of what she says of herself, or rather as the Impostor, who puts Words in her mouth, had forgot himself in this place, she asserts elsewhere, that she had met with the Adventure of *Lot's* Daughters; and again in another place, she calls herself Christian:

Nos

the Particle *Nos*, to reconcile *Servius* with himself. *Petr. Pet. de Sibylla*, L. 3. c. 14.

(1) *Div. Inst.* L. 1. c. 6.

*Nos igitur sancta Christi de stirpe creati
Cælesti, nomen retinemus proximitatis.*
As if there had really been Christians in the days of
Noah or of *Lot*.

She whom they called the *Libyan*, speaks of the mi-
raculous Birth of *Jesus Christ*, and of his Miracles in
these Terms ;

Virgo hunc sancta dabit terris, gremioque fovebit.
.....
.....
.....
*Ille quidem morbis pressos sanabit, et omnes
Firmos restituet læsos, &c.*

Wou'd you not think this was *Isaiab*, or one of the
Evangelists speaking ? She of *Delphos* is as plain upon
our Saviour's Conception and Nativity :

*Non tarde veniet, tacitâ sed mente tenendum
Hoc opus ; hoc memori semper qui corde reponet
Hujus pertendant cor gaudia magna Prophetæ
Eximii, qui Virgineâ conceptus ab alvo,
Prodibit sine contactu maris, &c.*

Then forgetting that she speaks in the Character of a
true Prophet, she resumes her Pagan Stile, and men-
tions her Gallantries with *Apollo* :

Quod fuerim Phæbo grata, ferens pretium.
The *Cumean Sibyl*, after having spoke of the Incarna-
tion,

E cælo veniens mortales induit artus.
throws out at random several Predictions, which the
Romans did her the honour to believe had a relation
to their Empire.

Among the Predictions of the *Erythræan Sibyl* we
find Acrostick Verses, the initial Letters of which form
these words, *Jesus-Christus, Dei-Filius, Salvator*. Of
her St. *Augustin* says to this purpose (1), “ The *Ery-*
“ *thræan Sibyl* has prophesy'd of *Jesus Christ* in a very
“ perspicuous manner : I had seen a Translation thereof,
“ but it was a very false one, when *Flavianus* the Pro-
“ consul, a very knowing Man, shew'd me the original
“ Greek

(1) De Civ. Dei, L. 18.

“ *Greek*, where was this Prediction in Acrostick Verses,
 “ each of which began with one of the Letters which
 “ make up these words, *Ἰησὺς Χριστὸς Θεὸς υἱὸς Σωτὴρ.*”

The *Sibyl of Samos*, after having spoke of God, in an equally sublime and orthodox Manner, says, there is none but he who is worthy to be ador'd.

*Principium, finem, media omnia novit : ab ipso
 Omnia sunt : solus Deus est, neque est Deus alter.*

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*Illum igitur solum existentem colite Opificem mundi,
 Qui solus e sæculo, et in sæculum fuit, estque futurus.*

She of *Cumæ in Ionia* speaks of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, of the End of the World, and of the general Conflagration ; then she foretels the Overthrow of *Alexander's* Empire, on whose Ruins the Power of the *Romans* was to be formed.

The *Hellepontine* prophesies of an Age under *Jesus Christ* as happy as the golden Age, so much sung by the Poets, and mentions the Eclipse that was to happen at his Death.

The *Pbrygian* foretels the Annunciation, and the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, miraculously conceived in the Womb of a Virgin, his Death, his Passion, his Resurrection ; and as if she had copied the Evangelists, she prophesies that he shall shew his Hands and his Feet to his Apostles.

*Tum Dominus linquet manes, lucemque reviset,
 Prima resurgendi lectis vestigia monstrans.
 Porro suis primum Dominus patefiet, eritque
 Corporeus, sicut fuit ante, manusque pedesque
 Ostendet, &c.*

To these Predictions so plain and clear, she subjoins others about Idolaters, whom she threatens with the Wrath of God, unless they abandon the Worship of Idols. She foresees the last Judgment, and *Jesus Christ* seated upon a Throne, coming to judge all Mankind. She does not even omit the Signs that are to usher

usher in the Last Day, nor the Trumpet, which shall be heard in the four Corners of the World.

In fine, she of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, speaks also of the Birth of *Jesus Christ* at *Bethlehem*; but if the *Cumæan Sibyl* foretold the *Romans* only a Train of Prosperity, she threatens *Rome* with the most grievous Calamities; and after having drawn an ugly Picture of that City, she thus denounces its approaching Ruin:

Nunc Deus æternus disperdet teque tuosque;

Nec super ulla tui in terra monumenta manebunt.

The Author of this Collection had conceal'd his Forgeries much better, if, instead of inserting so many Predictions, which God never revealed to Pagan Women, he had interspersed it with several of their Oracles, which are to be found in profane Authors; but it would seem he had not read them over so carefully as *Gallæus*, *P. Petit*, and others who have collected them. A single Example, which I am going to quote from *Pausanias*, will let us see how they were conceived; and at the same time in what manner they were apply'd to Events. “*Philip*, says that Author (1), “having given battel to *Flaminius*, was totally routed, “and obtain'd a Peace, but upon condition, that he “should evacuate all the Fortresses which he held in “*Greece*; nay, this Peace, tho' dear bought, was but “an empty Name, since, in effect, he became the “Slave of the *Romans*. Thus was fulfilled what had “been long before foretold by the *Sibyl*, inspired no “doubt from above, that the *Macedonian* Empire, “after having arrived to the highest pitch of Glory “under *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, should sink and “fall into ruin under another *Philip*; for the Oracle “which she delivered was conceived in these Terms: “*Ye Macedonians, who value yourselves on being the* “*Subjects of Monarchs sprung from the ancient Kings of* “*Argos, know, that two of the Name of Philip shall* “*bring about your greatest Prosperity and Misfortune.* “*The first shall give Lords to mighty Cities and Nations;* “*the second, vanquish'd by a People come from the East* “and

(1) *Achaic*. p. 412.

“ *and West, shall involve you in irrecoverable Ruin, and*
 “ *subject you to everlasting Infamy.* Accordingly, adds
 “ *Pausanias, the Romans, by whom the Macedonian*
 “ *Empire was overthrown, were in the West of Eu-*
 “ *rope, and they were assisted by Attalus King of My-*
 “ *sia, and by the Mysians; who were the Eastern*
 “ *People* (1).

’Tis easy to judge from this, and several other Examples which might be brought, that most of the Predictions of the *Sibyls*, which are still to be found in ancient Authors, had been made after the Event.

The *Sibyls* had likewise foretold several other Overthrows of Empires, Earthquakes, and other Calamities, which the Pagans believed to have happened conformably to their Predictions, as has been said. It would seem they had made particular mention of that great Earthquake, which shook the Island of *Rhodes* to its very Foundations, since the Author I have now cited, says upon this Occasion (2); *That the Prediction of the Sibyl was fully accomplish’d.*

ARTICLE V.

In what Manner the Sibyls deliver’d their Oracles, and what we are to think of the long Life that was attributed to them.

Gallæus, in his thirteenth Dissertation upon the *Sibyls*, explains at great length all the Manners in which Futurity may be revealed to Men. He quotes all the Passages of Scripture, where they are mentioned, and carefully examines in what sense the Devil may be said to foreknow and reveal it. I have no mind to follow him in Questions, which would carry me too far. It would be necessary first of all to prove, that the *Sibyls* gave true Predictions, and then to determine from whom they had their Revelations; each of those two Articles is clog’d with great difficulties.

Let us resume a little of what we said upon the Oracles, and apply it to the *Sibyls*. The Oracles were sometimes pronounced *viva voce*, as those of the
 Priests

(1) In Acha. Lib. 7. p. 412. Han.

(2) In Cor. p. 97.

Priestess of *Delphos*; the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* in *Italy* sometimes delivered hers in the same manner, since *Helenus* tells *Æneas*, as he is advising him to consult her when he arriv'd in *Italy*, to intreat her not to write her Predictions upon Leaves of Trees, as she usually did; but to answer him in another manner, which *Æneas* literally obeys, when he comes to consult her:

. *Foliis tantum ne carmina manda,*
Ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis;
Ipsa canas oro (1).

The Priests of *Apollo*, after remaining a while upon the *Tripod*, turn'd furious, and in the Transport with which she was actuated, pronounc'd her Oracles; the *Sibyl* was seized with the same Fury when she utter'd her Predictions.

. *Sed pectus anhelum,*
Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei (2).

Ovid represents her much in the same way:

. *Tandemque Deo furibunda recepto,*
Magna petis, dixit, &c. (3).

As there were Priests at *Delphos*, whose business it was to gather up what the Priests pronounced in her Fury, and put it in Verse; so 'tis probable, that they did much the same with the Responses of the *Sibyl*, since all those, which Antiquity has transmitted down to us, are likewise in Verse.

The Oracles were delivered in other different ways, either in a Dream, or by Letters under a Seal, &c. As to the other *Sibyls*, 'tis not known in what manner they delivered theirs. *Virgil* informs us only of the singular manner how the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was wont to declare hers. She wrote them upon the Leaves of a Tree, which she ranged in order at the Entrance to her Cave; and it requir'd one to be pretty nimble and expeditious, to gather up the Leaves in the same order as she left them. For if they happen'd to be discompos'd by the Wind, or any other Accident, all was lost; and

(1) *Æn.* L. 6. v. 74. (2) *Ibid.* v. 48. (3) *Met.* L. 14. v. 107.

384 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV,
and the Person was obliged to go away without expecting another Response.

. *Rupe sub imà
Fata canit, foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
Quaecunque in foliis descripsit carmina Virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atque antro seclusa relinquit.
Illa manent immota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt:
Verum eadem verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondes,
Nunquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,
Nec revocare situs, aut jungere carmina curat.
Inconsulti abeunt, sedemque odere Sibyllæ (1).*

This manner of the *Cumæan Sibyl's* delivering her Oracles was by no means a Fiction of the Poet's; it was an ancient Tradition which we find in *Varro*. That learned *Roman*, according to *Servius* (2), says expressly in his Book of Divine Things, that this *Sibyl* wrote her Predictions on the Leaves of the Palm-tree. The same *Servius* likewise informs us, that she had three ways of delivering her Oracles, either by word of Mouth, or by Writing, or by Signs: *Tribus modis futura prædicit; aut voce, aut scriptura, aut signis, id est quibusdam notis, ut in Obelisco Romano videmus; vel, ut alii dicunt, notis literarum, ut per aliquam literam, significet aliquid* (3). It may be ask'd what this Author means by those Signs; but since he tells us himself they were Marks like those which are found upon the Obelisk that was at *Rome*, 'tis plain, that he has in his view that hieroglyphical Writing, in use among the *Egyptians*, and which was upon the Obelisk that had been carried from *Egypt* to *Rome*: as to which *Pliny* may be consulted (4).

In fine, nothing was more famous in *Italy*, than the Cave where this *Sibyl* had delivered her Oracles. *Aristotle* (5) mentions it as a Place of great Curiosity; and *Virgil* gives a magnificent Description of it. Religion had consecrated this Cave, and made a Temple of it, as shall be said in the following Article.

(1) *Æn.* L. 3. v. 444. (2) In 3 *Æn.* (3) Loc. cit. (4) L. 36. c. 8. & 9. (5) *Adon.*

I am not now to collect all that the *Roman* Historians and Poets say of this *Sibyl*; but I cannot pass in silence, what *Ovid* tells in his *Metamorphoses*, of her Amours with *Apollo*. That God, says he (1), falling in love with her, she promised to receive his Addresses, if he would grant her to live as many Years, as she had Grains of Sand in her hand: but after she had obtained her Request, she repaid the God with nothing but Ingratitude, and was punished in the Enjoyment of her vain Desire; for having forgot to ask, that her youthful Vigour might be continued through that length of Years, she lived till she became a Burden to herself, oppressed with old Age, and so emaciated, that she had nothing left but the Voice.

. *Nullique videnda*

Voce tamen noscar, vocem mihi fata relinquent.

'Tis easy to see, that this Fable is founded upon a double Tradition; the one, that they look'd upon *Apollo* to be the God, who had deepest Insight into Futurity, and who communicated the same to his Favourites, which accounts for their saying, he had been in love with this *Sibyl*, who was believ'd to be greatly endued with the prophetick Gift. And what accounts for the other part of the Fable is the general Persuasion that prevailed of the *Sibyl*'s having lived to a very great Age. *Virgil*, in two Passages, calls her of *Cumæ* the aged Priestess, *Longæva Sacerdos* (2). *Erasmus* assures us, it was from this Longevity of the *Sibyls*, that the Proverb came, *Sibyllâ vivacior* (3); and *Propertius* says, in the second Book of his Elegies (4), *Tho' you should live as many Ages as the Sibyl*:

Et si Cumææ sæcula Vatis agas.

To the same purpose are usually quoted the Verses of an old Poet, who gives three Examples of Persons who were long-liv'd, viz. *Hecuba*, the Wife of *Priam*; *Æthra*, the Mother of *Theseus*; and the *Sibyl*.

Ovid tells us, that at the time when *Æneas* consulted her, she had already lived seven hundred

C c

Years,

(1) *Met.* L. 14. v. 130. (2) *Æn.* L. 6. (3) *Adag.*
(4) *El.* 2.

Years, and that she had three hundred more to live :

. *Namque mihi jam sæcula septem
Acta vides : superest, numeros ut pulveris æquem,
Ter centum messes, ter centum musta videre.*

Phlegon gives the same Account of the *Erythræan Sibyl* ; and she herself, in her Predictions, boasts of this Privilege.

These Testimonies for the Longevity of the *Sibyls*, induce me to make two Reflections. First, that 'tis easy to see they are nothing but Exaggerations of the Poets. That some of them lived as long as *Hecuba* and *Ætbra*, that is, fourscore or fourscore and ten Years, has nothing in it extraordinary ; but this is the most we can allow. Even *Lucian*, who gives a long Detail of Persons who were long-liv'd (1), makes no mention of the *Sibyls* ; which is a strong Presumption against the great Age which is assigned to them. But as poetical Fictions have always some Foundation, learned Authors will have it, that the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was said to have lived a thousand Years, only because she had foretold what was to befall the *Romans* in that space of time. The Transformation of that *Sibyl* into *Voice*, is nothing but an Emblem, which imports that her Oracles were to last for ever.

The second Reflection is, that in all appearance, the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* was the same with that of *Erythræa*, who having quitted her native Country, came and settled in *Italy*. And indeed, if we credit *Servius*, the *Amour*, which we have just now taken from *Ovid*, concerns the *Erythræan Sibyl*. That Author speaking of *Apollo's* Amours with that Virgin, subjoins to what we have said of her, that the God granted her the long Life she sought, only upon condition she would abandon the Isle *Erythræa*, the Place of her Birth, to come and settle in *Italy*. Accordingly she came thither, and fixed her Residence near *Cumæ*, where she lived so long, till, quite spent with old Age, nothing remain'd of her but the Voice. Those of her own Country, says the

(1) In *Macr.*

the same Author, whether out of pity, or some other Motive, wrote her a Letter; but fearing, that she would not be able to read the Character then in use, and which must have been much alter'd since she had left their Island, they thought fit to use the oldest they knew, and to seal the Letter after the old fashion; but no sooner had she read it than she died.

We may add, that the Ancients give the same Account of the long Life of the *Sibyls* of *Erythræ* and *Cumæ* in *Ionie*, as we have now given of the *Cumæan Sibyl* in *Italy*; which made *Gallæus* inclined to believe that those three *Sibyls* were but one, who had passed her Life in the Island of *Erythræa* in *Ionie*, and at *Cumæ* in *Italy*, where she ended her days.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Worship paid to the Sibyls.

The Pagans, especially the *Romans*, had the highest possible Veneration for the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, the Collection whereof they preserved in the Capitol, under a Guard of fifteen Priests, who consulted them upon important Occasions, as I have already said. We must add here, that their Veneration for the *Sibyls* themselves was no less than for their Oracles; and if they did not always look upon them to be Divinities, they at least reputed them of a middle Nature between Gods and Men. This is what one of the *Sibyls* said of herself, according to *Pausanias* (1). While she acknowledg'd, that after a Life of several Ages, she was to pay the Tribute which all Men owe to Death; at the same time she said, she was to be one day transform'd into that Face which appears in the Moon, as may be seen in *Plutarch* (2); as if before the *Sibyls* were, that Planet had not exhibited the same Appearance of a Face, which is thought to be there discern'd. Mythologists, ancient and modern, have trifled egregiously in making moral and physical Lectures upon this Metamorphosis of the *Sibyls*, and I hope it will not be expected I am to copy them. And indeed what rea-

(1) In. Phoc.

(2) Opusc. de Facie Lunæ.

sonable Allegories can be imagin'd as a Foundation for a Fiction so frivolous ?

Such was the Idea the Ancients had of the *Sibyls*: In later times, they, at least some of them, had divine Honours paid them. *P. Petit*, in the Treatise we have mentioned, says, there is nothing in Antiquity to persuade us, that the *Sibyls* were worship'd as Divinities (1); but he is certainly in a mistake. *Lactantius*, who had read the Work of *Varro*, in which he speaks of the *Sibyls*, is positive that the *Tiburtine* was worship'd as a Goddess at *Tibur*: *Tiburi cultam ut Deam juxta ripas amnis Anienis, cujus in gurgite simulacrum ejus inventum esse dicitur, tenens in manu librum* (2). It would likewise seem, that the Worship which those of her own Country paid to her, was brought to *Rome*, since that learned Father of the Church subjoins immediately after those words now cited, *Cujus sacra Senatus in Capitolium transtulit*. The highest Mark of supreme Worship given to any one, was to consecrate Temples to him; now 'tis certain, that some of the *Sibyls* had Temples. *St. Justin Martyr* mentions that of the *Sibyl* of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, built over the very Cave where she had delivered her Oracles: and as he had the Curiosity to visit it when in *Italy*, he has given a very full Description of it. *Virgil* makes mention of this Temple; or rather he considers as a Temple the Grotto where the *Sibyl* delivered her Oracles, because in after-times there was one actually built there: *Vocat alta in Templâ Sacerdos* (3). We read in *M. Spon's Travels* (4), that near the Place, which the People of the Country give out to be the Cave of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, are to be seen the Ruins of a small Temple, which is thought to have been consecrated to her. We may add farther, that the Inhabitants of *Gergis*, in the lesser *Phrygia*, had a custom of representing upon their Medals, the *Sibyl* who was born in that City, as being their great Divinity (5).

Another Proof of the Worship paid to the *Sibyls*, is that

(1) L. 2. c. 14. (2) *Lact. de Fal. Rel.* l. 1. c. 6. (3) *Æn.* L. 6.
(4) P. I. p. 57. (5) *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* L. 4. c. 15.

that there were Statues erected to them, which were placed in the Temples ; those of which *Gallæus* has given us Prints, were even in the Church of *Sienna*, where probably they had been left at its Consecration. Now, if we would know what Honours were paid to Statues in the Temples, *Arnobius* will inform us : *Cum per omnia supplices irent Tempia, cum Deorum ante ora prostrati, limina ipsa converrerent osculis* (1) ; They prostrated themselves before the Statues of the Gods, and kissed the very Ground. We may add farther, that they would not touch the Book containing their Oracles, unless their Hands were cover'd ; which was the Practice in all the other religious Ceremonies (2).

These are the most positive Arguments we find for the Worship paid to the *Sibyls*. 'Tis true *Gallæus* (3) alledges others in confirmation of this Truth ; but there are many of them, which, in my opinion, are the farthest possible from being conclusive.

But however this be, it is probable, that a religious Worship was paid to the *Sibyls* in several Places, especially in the Places of their Nativity ; but I don't believe there are any other Proofs of it, than those which I have now pointed out.

In fine, to bring this Subject to a period, it only remains, that I briefly take notice of the Tomb and Epitaph of the *Erythræan Sibyl*, the most celebrated of all. As the Passage, where it is mentioned by *Pausanias*, contains some Particularities concerning this *Sibyl*, which are not to be met with elsewhere, I shall copy him, making use of the elegant Translation of M. *Gedoy*n. “ The *Sibyl Herophile*, says *Pausanias* (4), is “ later than she who was Daughter to *Jupiter* and “ *Lamia*, and yet she lived before the Siege of *Troy* ; “ for she prophesy'd, that *Helen* should be educated at “ *Sparta*, to be the Curse of *Asia*, and that upon her “ account all *Greece* should one day conspire the Ruin “ of *Troy*. The Inhabitants of *Delos* have Hymns in “ honour of *Apollo*, which they ascribe to this Woman. “ In these Verses, she gives herself out not only for

C c 3

“ *Hera-*

(1) Adv. Gen. L. 1. (2) See Gall. p. 267. (3) Gall. p. 267.
(4) In Phoc. p. 630.

“ *Herophile*, but for *Diana* too. Sometimes she makes
 “ herself the Wife, sometimes the Sister, and some-
 “ times the Daughter of *Apollo* ; but then she speaks
 “ like one inspired, and as it were delirious : For else-
 “ where she says she was born of an immortal Mother,
 “ one of the Nymphs of *Ida*, and a mortal Father ; I
 “ am, says she, *the Daughter of an immortal Nymph,*
 “ *but of a mortal Father, a Native of Ida, that Coun-*
 “ *try where the Soil is so parch’d and light ; Marpeffus*
 “ *is the Birth-place of my Mother, and the River Ai-*
 “ *doneus.* Accordingly about Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*,
 “ there are to be seen at this day, the Ruins of *Mar-*
 “ *peffus*, where are still remaining about sixty Inhabi-
 “ tants. *Marpessus* is about two hundred and forty
 “ Furlongs from *Alexandria*, a City of *Troas*. The
 “ Inhabitants of *Alexandria* say, *Herophile* was the
 “ Keeper of the Temple * to *Apollo Smintheus*, and
 “ that she had given an Interpretation of *Hecuba’s*
 “ Dream, whereof the Truth was justified by the E-
 “ vent. This *Sibyl* passed a good part of her Life at
 “ *Samos* ; then she came to *Claros*, which belongs to
 “ the *Colophonians* ; then to *Delos* ; from that to *Del-*
 “ *phos*, where she deliver’d her Oracles from the Rock
 “ I have spoke of. She ended her days in *Troas* : her
 “ Tomb is still subsisting in the sacred Grove of *Apollo*
 “ *Smintheus*, with an Epitaph in elegiack Verse, en-
 “ grav’d on a Column, which is to this effect : *I am*
 “ *that famous Sibyl, whom Apollo had for the Interpre-*
 “ *ter of his Oracles ; once an eloquent Virgin, now lying*
 “ *speechless underneath this Marble, and condemned to*
 “ *an eternal Silence : nevertheless by the Favour of the*
 “ *God, dead as I am, I enjoy the sweet Society of Mer-*
 “ *cury, and of the Nymphs my Companions.* And in-
 “ deed, nigh her Monument stands *Mercury* in a
 “ quadrangular Figure ; on the left, a Fountain of
 “ Water falls into a Bason, where Statues of Nymphs
 “ are to be seen. The *Erythraeans* are they of all the
 “ *Greeks* who claim this *Sibyl* with the greatest warmth.
 “ They vauntingly shew their Mount *Corycus*, and in
 “ this

“this Mountain a Cave, where they pretend *Herophile*
 “had her Birth. According to them, a Shepherd of
 “the Country, named *Theodorus*, was her Father, and
 “a Nymph her Mother. This Nymph was surnamed
 “*Idæa*, because every Place was then called *Ida*, which
 “was planted with a number of Trees. As for those
 “Verses, which speak of *Marpessus* and the River *Ai-*
 “*doneus*, as her native Country, the *Erythræans* strike
 “them out of the Poems of *Herophile*.”

I must not omit that the Veneration for the Sibyl-
 line Verses lasted a good while under the Reign of the
 Emperors ; but a part of the Senate having embraced
 Christianity, in the time of *Theodosius*, that supersti-
 tious Veneration began to be laid aside ; and at last
Stilico, under the Reign of *Honorius*, caused them
 to be burned.

But so much now for these celebrated Virgins, whose
 Predictions were in vogue for so many Ages among
 the Pagans : let us pass to other means that were used
 for knowing the Will of the Gods, and that Futurity
 about which human Curiosity has always been most
 keenly exercised.

C H A P. III.

Of Divination.

MA N, always anxious about future Events, did
 not content himself with seeking to come at the
 Knowledge thereof by Oracles, and the Predictions of
 the *Sibyls* ; he attempted to make the Discovery by a
 thousand other ways, and invented several sorts of Di-
 vinations, and for these he even established Maxims and
 Rules, as if such frivolous Observations had been capable
 of being reduced to fixed and certain Rules.

Divination was defined, *Rerum futurarum Scientia*,
 and it was of several sorts, as shall be shewn as we go
 on. This Science is as ancient as Idolatry, and made
 a considerable part of the Pagan Theology. It was

392 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
even authorized by the Laws, particularly among the
Romans.

Cicero, who has composed two Books, equally curious and elegant, upon Divination, examines first how far the thing is possible, and delivers three Opinions of the Philosophers on this Question. Some believed, that as soon as the Being of Gods was admitted, a Divination must likewise necessarily be admitted. Others held, that there might be Gods, and yet there be no Divination; and the last were persuaded, that the thing was possible, tho' there were even no Gods existing. 'Tis not worth while to reason upon these three Opinions: Religion informs us, that Futurity is not only hid from Man, unless God please to reveal it to him; but also that it is a criminal tempting of Providence to pry into it, and that all the Arts employed for that end, are as criminal as insignificant. *Cicero* himself, tho' immers'd in Pagan Darknesh, yet in the Work I have quoted, makes a jest of those Pieces of Superstition, and has turned them into ridicule; tho' his Brother had done all that lay in his power to support them.

This learned and ingenious Author divides Divination into artificial and natural. *I am then of their opinion*, says his Brother *Quintus*, *who allow two sorts of Divination; the one wherein Art has a great share; and the other wherein it has none.* 'Tis an Art in those who follow the ancient Observations; but it is not so in those, who, without having recourse to any Conjecture, founded upon previous Observations, foretel future Events by a kind of Agitation of the Mind, and by a Motion free and detach'd from all sorts of Reasonings, as is frequently their Case who deal in Dreams, and sometimes theirs who are actuated by a certain Fury, as Boeotian Bacchis, Epimenides of Crete, and the Erythræan Sibyl.

To prove the universality of the Practice of Divination, he says in another place: *Now, is there any People who do not receive, either Divination by Art, as for instance, that which is drawn from inspecting the Entrails of Victims, from the Interpretation of Prodiges and*
Thunders,

Thunders, from the Use of Auspices, from the Practice of Lots and Astrological Predictions; or natural Divination, which is what they get by Dreams, and by Prophecy (a).

I have said enough of natural Divination, that is, of Dreams and enthusiastick Impulse, in the Chapter of Oracles, and in that of the Sibyls: As to the artificial, it was practised a hundred different ways. The sacred Scripture speaks of nine sorts of Divination: The first was by inspection of the Planets, Stars, and Clouds; of this we shall discourse in the Chapter of Astrology. The second, by means of Auguries. The third, by Witchcrafts. The fourth, by Charms. The fifth, by consulting Spirits; or, as *Moses* says, those who interrogated *Python*, or a familiar Spirit. The sixth, by Diviners, or Magicians, whom the same *Moses* calls *Jedeoni*. The seventh, by Necromancy, or by calling up the Dead. The eighth, by means of Staves or Rods, as may be seen in the Prophet *Hosea* (1): This sort of Divination may be called *Rabdomancy*; and *Bolomancy*, that which was perform'd by mingling Arrows: The Prophet *Ezekiel* mentions this, in relation to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as shall be said elsewhere. In fine, the ninth was by inspection of the Liver, and was term'd *Hepatoscopia*.

These nine sorts of Divination are very ancient, since most of 'em were in use even in the time of *Moses*: A world of others have been since invented, which it shall suffice to name. In the mean time we shall insist a little longer upon those which were practised by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, because they fall in with the History of their Religion, whereof they were a part.

The four most general kinds of Divination, were those in which they had recourse to some one of the four Elements, Water, Earth, Air, and Fire; whence these Divinations derived their Names (a). As

(a) Translation of Mr. l'Abbé Regnier des Marets.

(1) Hof. iv. 12.

(a) The Names of Pyromancy, Hydromancy, Geomancy, are compounded of the Greek Words, signifying Fire, Water, Earth, and so others; and of the Word *μαντεια*, which in the same Language signifies Divination,

As to the first, they made use either of Sea-Water, and then it was called *Hydromancy*, or Spring-Water, and it was named *Pegomancy*. This sort of Divination is very ancient, since we are told, it derives its Origin from the *Persians*, who communicated it to other Nations, and particularly to the *Greeks*, especially to *Pythagoras*, who, according to *Varro*, was very much addicted to it (1). The Ceremony was performed two ways, either by filling a Basin with Water, and suspending a Ring to a thread, which they held with one Finger, while he who perform'd the Operation pronounc'd certain Words, and according as the Ring struck against the sides of the Basin, he drew from it his Predictions ; or by conjuring up Spirits who appear'd at the bottom of the Basin ; and it was this second kind which *Numa Pompilius* practised.

Pegomancy, or Divination by Fountain-Water, was performed by throwing Lots, or a kind of Dice. They drew happy Presages when they went to the bottom ; but when they remain'd on the surface of the Water, it was a bad Omen. *Rous* (2) informs us, that there were other Methods besides of prognosticating by means of Water ; 1. By drinking the Water of certain Fountains, as that of *Castalia* in *Bœotia*, which had the Virtue of communicating that Gift. 2. By throwing Cakes into certain Fountains, as into that of *Ino* in *Laconia* ; for if they went to the bottom, it was a good Omen, but bad if they floated above, as we learn from *Pausanias* (3). The same Observations were also made by Letters, which they used to throw into the two Lakes of the *Palici*, as shall be said in the History of these Gods. 3. When the Image of the thing they wanted to see, appear'd in the Water, as they tell us it happen'd in the Fountain of *Apollo Phryxus*, in *Achaia*. 4. By throwing Glass-Vials into certain Waters, to know the issue of some Disease ; for 'tis alledg'd, that upon taking them out, a judgment could be made whether it was mortal, or if the Patient would recover.

5. By

(1) Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 53. (2) Arch. Att. (3) In Lac. p. 203.

5. By observing the motion of three Stones which were thrown into the Water: for which that Author may be consulted (1).

Pyromancy was performed by means of Fire, either by observing the sparkling of the Flame, or by the Light of a Lamp. For this purpose at *Athens*, they had always a Lamp burning in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, constantly fed by Virgins, who regularly observed the motion of the Flame, the *Aruspices* observ'd it in like manner, as we shall take notice afterwards.

Another ancient kind of Pyromancy, was to fill Bladders with Urine, which they threw into the Fire; and by observing in what manner the Urine run out when the Bladder burst, they believed they could pre-
sage future Events: As also by throwing Pitch into the Fire, and attending to the manner of its burning, taking particular notice of the Smoke, &c. Several ways were devised of divining by means of Fire, but I insist only upon those which made a part of Idolatry.

Geomancy was performed by employing Earth, as its Name sufficiently denotes. It consisted mostly in drawing Lines or Circles, by which they flatter'd themselves to be able to divine whatever they were desirous to be informed about; or in observing the Chinks and Crannies which naturally break out in the surface of the Earth, whence, said they, issued divine Exhalations, as we have said of the Cave of *Delphos*.

Divination by means of Air, was also perform'd in different manners, either by observing the Flight of Birds and the Cries of certain Animals, or by examining from what side Thunder broke, or upon occasional appearance of Meteors and Comets; but of these we shall speak in the Article of Auguries and Prodigies: In fine, from the inspection of the Clouds; and it was a Woman named *Anthusa*, who, in the time of the Emperor *Leo*, invented this sort of Divination, which, if we credit *Photius*, had never been thought of by any body before her.

There were besides, an infinity of other sorts of Divination,

(1) Arch. Att. l. 7. c. 7.

vination, which I shall only name, that I may come to those which were authorized by the Laws and by Religion. They gave the name *Ornithomancy* to that which they drew from the Flight or the chirping of Birds, *Cledonismancy* to that which they drew from the Voice. *Cicero* remarks on this occasion (1), that the *Pythagoreans* not only observ'd the Voice of the Gods, but of Men too; *Pythagorici non solum voces Deorum observabant, sed & hominum*. Divination by the Lines which appear in the Palm of the Hand, was denominated *Chiromancy*; and this sort of Divination has been most in vogue, and been of longest continuance.

That which was practised by means of Keys, was named *Clidomancy*; by a Sieve, *Coscinomancy*; by Meal, *Alphitomancy*; by means of certain Stones, *Lithomancy*; by one or more Rings, *Dactyliomancy*; by conjuring up the Dead, *Psychomancy*, or *Sciomancy*; by the Flame of a Lamp, *Lychnomancy*; by means of a Mirror, *Catoptromancy*; when waxen Figures were made use of therein, it was denominated *Ceromancy*; if it was perform'd with an Ax or Hatchet, *Axinomancy*; and when they had recourse to Numbers, *Arithmomancy*.

We meet with some other kinds of Divination in *Cicero's* Books; in the fourth Book of *Wisdom*, by *Cardan*; in *Robert Fludd*, and elsewhere: But possibly we have dwelt too long upon so vain and frivolous a Subject. As most of these Divinations made a part of the Science of the *Augurs*, *Auspices*, and *Aruspices*, whose Functions were authorized by the Laws of the *Romans*, and constituted a part of their Religion, we shall see in the subsequent Chapter, what use they made of them.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Auguria, Auspicia, and Aruspicia.

THE *Augurium*, to speak accurately, was taken from the Phenomena which appeared in the Skies; the *Auspicium*, from the Flight and Chirping of Birds; and the *Aruspicium* from the inspection

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(1) *De Div.* l. 5.

of the Entrails of the Victims : The Augurs however, observ'd also the Chirping of Birds ; and hence the very Name Augur, is thought to be derived, *ab avium garritu*.

Be that as it will, the Augur's Art is very ancient, since it was in use in the time of *Moses*, who thus prohibits it, as well as every other sort of Divination : *Cave ne imitari velis abominationes illarum gentium, nec inveniatur in te qui lustret filium tuum, aut filiam, ducens per ignem ; aut qui Ariolos sciscitetur, & observet somnia atque auguria, &c* (1). 'Tis thought to have taken its rise among the *Chaldeans*, whence the *Greeks*, and then the *Romans*, came to the knowledge of it. The last had so great esteem and regard for this Science, that there was a Law of the twelve Tables, forbidding to disobey the Augurs, under pain of Death : *Quæ Augur injusta, nefasta, vitiosa, dirave dixerit, irrita infestaque sunt : Quique non paruerit, capitale esto*.

This Art was known in *Italy* before the time of *Romulus*, since that Prince did not set about the building of *Rome* till he had taken the Auguries. The *Etrurians* or *Tuscans* practis'd it in the earliest times, and had render'd themselves extremely expert in it since the time they had learn'd it from *Tages*. The Kings who were *Romulus's* Successors, not to suffer a Science to be lost which they thought so useful, and at the same time not to render it contemptible by becoming too familiar, fetch'd from *Etruria* the most skilful Augurs, to introduce the practice of it into the religious Ceremonies, and to teach it to their Citizens ; and from that time, they sent every Year into *Tuscany* some of the Youth of the best Families in *Rome*, to study it there, as I shall prove in the Sequel.

Romulus at first made up this College only of three Augurs, taken from the three Tribes which then comprehended all the Inhabitants of the City, and *Servius* added a fourth. None were qualify'd for being Members of this College, but such as were of a *Patrician* Family, and the Custom of admitting no others into it,

continued

(1) Deut. xviij. v. 9, 10.

continued till the Year of *Rome* CCCCLIV, under the Consulship of *Q. Apuleius Pansa*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, when the Tribunes of the People insisted on having Plebeians raised to the Augural Dignity; which after some struggle was granted to them, and five were chosen from among the People: Thus this College consisted of nine Persons till the time of *Sylla*, who added two more to it, as we learn from *Livy* and *Florus*; or fifteen, according to other Historians, who will have it, that under that Dictator the College of Augurs was composed of twenty-four Persons. The Head of this College was named *Magister Augurum*. The number of Augurs, however, was not limited to those who composed this College, since besides those who were in Commission, the Emperors had private ones for themselves, who lived at Court, and attended them wherever they went; and some of the Cities subject to the *Romans* had so many of them, that the College of Augurs at *Lions*, amounted to three hundred Persons.

In the earlier times, the Augurs were elected by the Assembly of the People, but afterwards only two of the eldest of each *Curia* had the Privilege to propose one from among those who had studied that Science; and after a serious examination, he was admitted or rejected by the College in a body: And this Custom continued to the Year of *Rome* DCLI, when *Marius*, dissatisfied that another should have been promoted to the Augural Dignity, which he had solicited, promulgated a Law (1), investing the People for the future with the Power of electing the Augurs, the Pontiffs, and the other Priests (2); but not long after, *Sylla* abrogated this Law, and restored to the Augurs the Right of Election, of which they had been divested through the Resentment of *Marius*. They did not enjoy it long; for *Julius Cæsar*, who aspired after the Dignity of High-Priest, which he despaired of attaining, but by the Faction of the People, prevail'd with the Tribune *Titius Attius Labienus* to re-establish the *Domitian* Law. There were likewise other Alterations made in
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(1) The *Domitian* Law.

(2) Cic. de Leg. Agr.

this matter during the time of the Broils that harrassed the Commonwealth. But at length, *Augustus*, after having put an end to the civil Wars, reinstated the College of Augurs in their Right of Election; and thus it stood till the time that the Emperors reserv'd it to themselves.

Great Precautions were taken in the Election of Augurs; and none were qualify'd for being advanced to that Dignity, but Persons of a blameless Life, and free from all corporal Defects. And then his Character was sacred and *indelible*, nor could the Augurs be deposed on any account whatsoever. Their Functions were of very great Consideration, both with regard to Religion and the State. The Senate could not assemble, but in a place which they had consecrated. If in the time of an Assembly, either of the Senate or People, they observed any bad Omen, they had a Power to dissolve the Meeting, as also to invalidate the Election of Magistrates, who had been chosen under bad Auspices.

In fine, so high regard had they for the Augurs, and for their Declarations, that such as contemned their Persons, or made their Predictions the subject of their Raillery, were accounted impious and prophane. Accordingly, they construed as a Punishment from the Gods, the Overthrow of *Claudius Pulcher*, who ordered the sacred Chickens to be thrown into the Sea, because they had refused to eat what was set before them: *If they won't eat, says he, they shall drink.*

They enter'd upon no important Enterprize, no War, no Siege, without having first consulted the Augurs. If the Presages which they drew on these occasions, were favourable, *Prospera*, they made answer, *Id aves addicunt*, the Birds are for it: If they were bad, *Adversa*, *Infausta*, *Piacularia*, their answer was, *Id aves abdicunt*, the Birds are against it. When the Omens offer'd of themselves, they were called, *Oblativa*; and if they only appear'd when sought after, *Impetrata*.

The Auguries were taken in different manners, and always with particular Ceremonies. They were taken
from

from the Flight of Birds, and three things were observ'd; the Augury, *Augurium*; the Auspice, *Auspicium*; and that particular Motion called, *Tripudium**; from the Entrails of Animals, and this they called, the *Extispicium*: From Prodigies, as shall be said in a separate Article: From Meteors, and the Phenomena which appeared in the Heavens; and of all the ways of taking the Augury, this was the most authentick and certain, in regard that these sorts of Phenomena were seldom exhibited more than once, on one and the same Day. Accordingly, when the chief Augur had a mind to dissolve an Assembly, he had no more to do but to give publick intimation, that he had observ'd Signs in the Heavens, with this Formula; *Alio die dixerit, He refers to another Day*. But the Senate considering, that the Power of the Augurs was capable of authorizing numbers of Abuses, decreed that those Advertisements of theirs should not henceforth adjourn Assemblies that were legally convened.

Among the Signs in the Heavens which the Augurs observ'd, there were some that had no Meaning, and these they called *Bruta*, or *Vana*; others which declared a certain Event, were term'd *Fatidica*; of these last, such as appear'd while they were deliberating upon an Affair, had the name of *Consiliaria Signa*: Such as did not offer till the thing was determined, were called *Auctoritativa*, or confirming Signs. Of these again there were two kinds; *Postularia*, which obliged them to renew the Sacrifices; and *Monitoria*, which warn'd them of what was to be avoided.

All Days and Seasons were not equally proper for taking the Auguries, and therefore *Metellus*, as *Plutarch* reports, forbid them to be taken after the Month of *August*, because the Birds moult in that Season. As little were they allowed to be taken, immediately after the Ides of each Month, because the Moon then begins to wane, nor after Noon on any day whatsoever.

The

* When the Corn was thrown to the Chickens, if they fell greedily upon it, so that some of it drop'd out of their Mouths and rebounded from the ground, it was called *Tripudium*, or *Tripudium Solistimum*, than which no Omen was more auspicious.

The Place where the Augury was taken, was to be on an Eminence, and therefore, according to *Servius*, it was called *Templum*, *Arx*, *Auguraculum*, and the Field consecrated to that use, *Ager effatus* (1). When the Weather was calm and serene, (for the Augury was not allowed to be taken in any other State of the Air) and when all the other Ceremonies were perform'd, the Augur cloathed in his Robe call'd *Læna* or *Trabea*, and holding in his right hand the augural Staff, which resembled our Bishop's Crozier, sat down at the Entry to his Tent, survey'd all around, and after having mark'd out the Divisions of the Heavens with his Staff, and drawn one Line from East to West, and another from South to North, he offered up Sacrifice, and addressed this Prayer to *Jupiter*: *Jovis Pater, si mihi es Auctor, Urbi, Populoque Romano Quiritium, hæc sanè sartèque esse, ut tu nunc mihi bene spon sis, beneque volueris.* Father Jupiter, if thou art the Protector of Rome, and of the Roman People, grant me a favourable Augury. Or as *Livy* has it, upon occasion of the Election of *Numa Pompilius*: *Jupiter Pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilius, cujus ego caput teneo, Regem Romæ esse, ut tua signa nobis certa & clara sint inter eos fines quos feci.* Jupiter, if it is thy Will, that this *Numa Pompilius*, on whose Head I lay my hands, should be King of Rome, grant clear and unerring Signs within these Bounds which I have marked out. This Prayer being over, the Priest turned his Eyes to the right and left, and towards whatever Place the Birds took their flight, from thence to determine if the Augury was prosperous or unhappy.

As this Ceremony constituted a Part of the Religion of the *Romans*, it was attended to with high Veneration, and during the Sacrifice and Prayer, profound Silence was kept. If the Augury was favourable, he who had taken it came down from his place, and gave Intimation of it to the People in this form which we have already reported; *The Birds approve it, or disapprove it.* Though the Augury was favourable, they sometimes defer'd the Enterprize

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till

(1) Serv. in Virgil.

402 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
till the Gods confirm'd it by a new Sign : This is what
we learn from *Virgil* in these Verses ;

Da deinde auxilium, Pater, atque hæc omina firma ;
Jupiter be propitious to me, and confirm the Presages
thou hast now given me.

Of all the Signs in the Heavens, which were observ'd
in taking the Augury, the most unerring were Thunder
and Lightnings; especially when it thunder'd in
serene Weather. If the Thunder and Lightnings came
from the left hand, it was a good Omen, and a bad
one if they came from the right. *Virgil*, who has
shewn his Skill in introducing into his Poems a great
Part of the religious Customs of the *Romans*, says to
this purpose (1) :

Audiit, & cæli Genitor de parte serenâ
Intonuit lævum, &c.

Donatus explaining this Verse, lets us know that the
Reason why Thunder breaking on the left, was repu-
ted a favourable Omen ; namely, that all Appearances
on that hand proceeded from the right of the Gods :
Quia sacrificantis latus lævum, dextra est ejus qui postu-
lata largitur. The Thunders, which passed from North
to East, were reckoned auspicious.

The Winds were another Sign of the Heavens ob-
serv'd in Auguries, because they looked upon them as
the Messengers of the Gods, who came to signify their
Decrees to Men. *Lutatius*, the ancient Commentator
upon *Statius*, explaining that Place where the Poet
says, that the Inspection of the Winds, and of the
Flight of Birds caused the War to be deferr'd,

. *Ventisque aut alite visa*
Bellorum proferre Diem, &c.

observes that the Augurs drew their Presages from the
Winds : *Solent Augures Ventorum flatibus futura cog-*
noscere ; but he lets us know nothing more particular
upon this Subject. Thus we are at a loss to determine
what Winds were favourable, and what were unlucky.

Farthermore, all that we have now been saying of the
Auguries that were taken from Signs in the Heavens,
was

(1) *Æn. L. 9. v. 630.*

was equally practised in those which they took from the Flight of Birds: Their different manner in flying prognosticated good or bad Omens. If it was an unlucky Omen, it was called *Sinistra* or *Funesta*, or *Arcula*, that is, such as prohibited any Enterprize; *Devia*, to denote that the same Enterprize would be difficult to accomplish; *Remora*, when it ought to be delayed; *Inebra*, when the Augury seem'd to portend some obstacle in the way; and in fine, *Alteræ*, when a second Prefage destroy'd the first.

The Birds, whose Flight and Chirping they more exactly noticed, were the Eagle, the Vultur, the Kite, the Owl, the Raven and the Crow. *Horace* (1) says of the Raven:

*Oscinem Corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.*

And *Virgil* speaking of the Crow:

Sæpe sinistra cavâ prædixit ab ilicè Cornix.

But the most common way of taking the Augury, consisted in examining the manner how the sacred Chickens took the Corn that was offered them. They generally fetch'd these Chickens from the Island of *Negropont* or *Eubæa*, and they had them shut up in Coops. He who had the care of them was named *Pullarius*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2): so great was the Faith which the *Romans* had in the manner of their feeding, that they undertook nothing of Importance, without having previously taken this sort of Augury. Even Generals of Armies had them brought into their Camps; and consulted them before they gave battel. The Consul, after notice given to the Person who had the care of those Chickens, to make the necessary Preparations for taking the Auspice; threw down Grain to them himself: If they fell on with greediness*, the Omen was good; but if they refused to eat, spurning away the Corn with their Feet, and scattering it here and there, it was reckoned so unlucky, that they desisted from the Enterprize for which they consulted them.

D d 2

'Tis

(1) L. 3. Od. 27.

(2) De Div.

* There appears to be somewhat omitted in the Original; I have filled up the Sense from *Rosinus Ant.* L. 3. c. 10.

'Tis matter of just Surprize to find that so grave and wise a People as the *Romans*, had for whole Ages been addicted to such a childish Superstition, and made the greatest Enterprizes depend upon a Chicken's having or wanting an Appetite; but the Fact is nevertheless unquestionably true. *Cicero* indeed openly ridicules it, without appearing to have made it a serious Affair; but the times it seems were changed when he wrote his Books of Divination: it may be questioned, whether in another Age it would have been safe for him to rally the thing as he does.

Be that as it will, the *Romans* were so attach'd to the *Auspices* and *Auguries*, and had so great Faith in them, as to take them upon every Enterprize. After having used the antecedent Ceremonies prescrib'd by Religion, they always consulted a Person well versed in that sort of Science. We have their form of interrogating him whom they address'd still remaining: *Quintus Fabius, favour me with your Assistance in taking the Auspice; tell me if all the usual Ceremonies have been punctually observ'd, and if there is nothing deficient in the Auspice. Quinte Fabi, te volo mihi in Auspicio esse; dicito si silentium esse videtur.* To which the Answer was: There is nothing deficient in it; *Silentium esse videtur.*

The *Aruspices* were equally regarded at *Rome* with the *Augurs*. As their Functions consisted in examining the Entrails of the Victims, they were likewise named *Extispices*, a name compounded of two *Latin* words, *Extæ*, Entrails, and *inspicere*, to survey, to observe, as has been said in speaking of the Sacrifices. The *Tuscans*, of all the People of *Italy*, were most Masters of this Science, they having been taught it by *Tages*; and it was from their Country that the *Romans* brought those whom they employ'd, or at least chose them from among those whom they had sent thither to be instructed in it: for they sent every Year into *Tuscany*, as the Senate had ordained, six young Persons, according to *Cicero*, or ten, as *Valerius Maximus* has it, or twelve, as we are assured by other Authors, to be instructed in

the Knowledge of the *Aruspices*, and other sorts of Divination. And for fear that this Science should be undervalued, by the Quality of the Persons who professed it, they chose these Youths from among the best Families in Rome : *Tantum autem studium antiquis, non solum observandæ, sed etiam amplificandæ Religionis fuit, ut e florentissima & opulentissima Civitate decem principum filii Senatus-Consulto singulis Hetruriæ populis, percipiendæ sacrorum disciplinæ gratiâ, traderentur* (1).

Andrew Glareanus reckons, that as the *Tuscans* were divided into twelve Nations, so we ought to read in *Valerius Maximus*, and in *Cicero's* second Book of Divination, twelve Youths, and not ten, as it is in *Valerius Maximus*, nor six, as *Cicero* makes it; being persuaded that the Text in both these Authors has been vitiated by some Transcriber. We said *Tages* was the first who taught the *Tuscans* the Science of the *Aruspices*, and that other sort of Divination, which the *Latins* call the *Tuscan Divination*; we are now to let you know who this *Tages* was. *Cicero* thus relates his History, or rather his Fable (2) : “ A Peasant, says
“ he, labouring in a Field, and his Plough-share go-
“ ing pretty deep into the Earth, turned up a Clod,
“ whence sprung a Child, who taught him as well as
“ the other *Tuscans*, the Principles of Divination.”

Ovid tells the same Fable in the 15th Book of his *Metamorphoses* (3):

*Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Hetruscam
Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.*

As the manner of relating a Fact, may considerably alter its Circumstances without destroying it, I am persuaded, that the Fable I have now rehearsed has a true Foundation, and that it imports, either that *Tages* was of an obscure Birth, or that he was a Native of the Country, *Autochthon*; for it was those sorts of People they commonly gave out to be sprung from the Earth. However this may be, *Tages* grew expert in the Science of Divination, especially in that which consisted in exploring the Entrails; and he afterwards communicated

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(1) Val. Max. L. 3. c. 11. (2) De Div. L. 2. (3) V. 558.

it to the *Tuscans*, who likewise became great Proficients therein. He had even composed upon this Subject a Treatise, which was kept with peculiar care, and explained afterwards by *Antistius Labeo*, who divided it into fifteen Books.

'Tis not known, whether *Tages* himself had invented this sort of Divination, or if he had learned it from Strangers who travelled into *Tuscany* in his time. This much at least we are assured of by several Authors, that it was known and practised in other Countries. The *Greeks* had it in the time of *Tiresias* and *Cares*; the first of whom, according to *Pliny*, invented the *Auspice*; and the second, the *Augury*. *Clemens of Alexandria*, who has preserved to us precious Fragments upon Antiquity, alledges that the *Phrygians* were the first of all the Nations in the World, who made Observations upon the Singing and Flight of Birds; and at the same time informs us, that they gave the name of *Præpetes* to those who made Observations by the Flight; and of *Oscines*, to those who studied their Chirping; which, by the way, may serve to make us understand the Verses of *Horace*, which I have quoted in this Chapter.

Other Authors again trace the Original of this Science higher up, and maintain, that it was in use in the earliest Ages in *Chaldea*, and in *Egypt*, whence the *Greeks* learned it, and for a long time put it in practice. Nay there were in *Greece* two Families, the *Jamidae* and the *Clytidae*, who were peculiarly set apart for the Functions which it prescrib'd. From *Greece* it passed into *Etruria*, and the *Tuscans* accomplished themselves therein, so as to become the most knowing of all the *Aruspices*, as has been already said. It must have been diffused thro' several Parts of *Italy*, even before the Foundation of *Rome*; since *Romulus*, in his new City, founded a College of three *Auspices*, chusing one from each Tribe.

The *Aruspex* drew his Presages from the Motions of the Victim which they led to sacrifice, from its Entrails, and from the Fire in which it was consumed. If the Victim
suffer'd

suffer'd itself to be led without any struggle ; if it gave no extraordinary Cries when it got the deadly Blow ; if it did not get loose from the Person's hands who led it ; all these were good Omens, and bad if the contrary happened. The Victim being struck down, its Belly was rip'd up, and its Entrails examined, especially the Liver, the Heart, the Spleen, the Kidneys, and the Tongue. Their Colour was particularly noticed, and accurate Observation made, if they appear'd withered, and if every Part was as it ought to be.

Before the Victim was opened, one of the Lobes of the Liver was allotted to those who offered the Sacrifice, and the other to the Enemies of the State. That which was found to be ruddy, and of a fresh Vermilion Colour, neither larger nor smaller than it ought to be, not blemished nor withered, prognosticated the greatest Prosperity to those for whom it was set apart ; that which was lean, livid, &c. presaged the worst of all Omens. *Lucan*, who has describ'd with a great deal of Elegance all the Operations of the *Aruspices*, has not omitted this Circumstance :

*The Liver wet with putrid Streams he spy'd,
And Veins that threatned on the hostile side ;
Part of the heaving Lungs is no where found,
And thinner Films the sever'd Entrails bound ;
No usual Motion stirs the panting Heart ;
The chinky Vessels ouze on ev'ry Part ;
The Cawl where wrapt the close Intestines lie,
Betrays its dark Recesses to the Eye.
One Prodigy superiour threaten'd still ;
The never-failing Harbinger of Ill :
Lo ! by the fibrous Liver's rising Head,
A second rival Prominence is spread, &c.*

Rowe's *Lucan*. B. i. v. 1057.

Next to the Liver, the Heart was the Part which they observed with most care. If it palpitated, was lean, and of a less size than ordinary, all these were bad Omens ; but if no Heart was found in the Victim, they drew from thence the most unhappy Presages. We are assured, that on the day of *Cæsar's* Assassina-

tion, this Part was wanting in two Victims which they had offered up. The same thing happen'd, say they, to *Caius Marius* in a Sacrifice which he offer'd at *Utica* in *Africk*, and to the Emperor *Pertinax*.

In like manner they did with the Spleen, the Gall, and the Lungs; nor was the Augury propitious unless these three Parts had much the same Qualities with those that were requisite in the Heart and Liver. If the Entrails drop'd from the hands of him who examined them; if they smelt rank; in fine, if they were livid, wither'd, or bloated, the *Aruspex* boded nothing from thence but Misfortunes.

After having scrupulously examined the Entrails of the Victim, they kindled the Fire and drew several Omens from its manner of burning. If the Flame was clear, if it mounted up without dividing, if it did not go out till the Victim was entirely consumed, this was an infallible Mark that the Sacrifice was acceptable. If on the contrary, they had difficulty in kindling the Fire; if the Flame divided; if, instead of fastening on the Victim, it only play'd around, or if it sunk downward, all these were bad Presages.

Again, the *Aruspex* drew his Prognosticks from the Wine used for the Libation. If it lost its Colour and Flavour, the Omen was unlucky. This, according to *Virgil* (1), is what happened to *Dido*, when offering a Sacrifice she perceived the Wine was chang'd into a blackish and corrupted Blood:

. *Latices nigrescere sacros*

Fusaque in obsecrum se vertere vina cruorem.

As also to *Xerxes*, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, being at Supper the Evening before he laid siege to *Sparta*, saw, to his astonishment, the Wine that was served up for his Drink turn three times into Blood: *Infusum namque Pateræ ejus vinum, in sanguinem nec semel, sed iterum & tertio conversum.*

Such were the Presages drawn by the *Augurs*, the *Auspices*, and *Aruspices*: But as there were several others

(1) *Æn.* L. 4. v. 473.

others, which every private Man might observe, I shall speak of them in the following Chapter.

C H A P. V.

Of Presages and Prodigies.

MR. *Simon*, in a Dissertation, whereof a Copy is printed in the first Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), reduces to seven kinds the Presages now to be under our Consideration.

1. Casual Words, which were again divided into two Classes ; those whose Author was unknown, which they called *Divine Voices* : Such was the Voice whereby the *Romans* were apprized, without knowing whence it proceeded, of the Approach of the *Gauls*, and to which they built a Temple, under the name of *Aius Loquutus*. These same articulate Sounds were called human Voices, when it was known who pronounced them. They used this sort of Presage, either by picking up the first Words they heard at coming out of the House, or by sending a Slave into the Street, to report the first Words which he heard. To this kind of Presage, we may refer what was taken from the Words pronounced by Children at play, which were interpreted either in a good or bad sense.

2. The Startings of some Parts of the Body, chiefly of the Eyes, the Eye-brows, and the Heart, formed the second kind of Presages. The Starting of the right Eye and of the Eye-brows, was a happy Omen ; that of the Heart, or its Palpitations, were a bad Omen ; and presaged, according to *Melampus*, the Treachery of a Friend. The Numbness of the little Finger, and the Starting of the Thumb of the left Hand, portended nothing favourable.

3. The Tingling of the Ear, and those imaginary Sounds, which were sometimes heard, were likewise bad Presages : Hence this ancient Epigram,

Garrula

*Garrula quid toties resonas mihi noctibus auris ?
Nescio quem dicis nunc meminisse mei.*

4. Sneezings in the Morning were by no means good Omens, but those in the Afternoon were.

5. Accidental Falls were always bad Omens, even those of Statues : Thus, those of *Nero* being found overturned one first Day of *January*, they foreboded from thence the approaching Death of that Prince. If at going abroad, a Person hit his Foot against the Threshold of the Door ; if by any straining, he broke the Strings of his Shoes ; or if at rising from his Seat he happen'd to be held by his Robe, all these were taken for bad Omens.

6. The accidental Rencounter of certain Persons, or certain Animals, presaged either good or bad. If they met in the Morning an *Æthiopian*, a Dwarf, an Eunuch, a Man deformed, they were sure to return quickly home, and stir no more abroad for that Day. The Rencounter of a Serpent, of a Wolf, a Fox, a Dog, a Cat ; the Squeak of a Mouse, &c. presaged nothing but bad luck. The Lion, the Ants, the Bees, were, on the contrary, of a happy Omen.

7. Again, there were Names of good or bad portent ; and they were very scrupulous in observing, that the first Soldiers they lifted, the Children who serv'd at the Sacrifices, those who perform'd the Dedication of a Temple, should have lucky Names ; and they had an aversion to those which imported any thing sad or disastrous.

Several other Presages might be added to those we have now recited : But what could we learn from a longer detail, but that the Superstition of the Pagans knew no bounds, since there was hardly any Action in life, especially among the *Romans*, for which they had not recourse to Presages ; none where they believed themselves at liberty to neglect them ? But that superstitious Attention was chiefly engaged in all the Ceremonies of Religion, in the publick Acts, which for that reason, were all usher'd in with this Preamble ; *Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit* ; in Marriages, at the Birth of Children, in Travelling, in their Repasts, &c.

&c. But it was not enough to observe the Presages, it was necessary to accept of them when favourable, thank the Gods for them, beg of them their Accomplishment, and even supplicate them to send new ones in confirmation of the first; and in case they were bad, pray that they would divert their Effect: *Quod Di prius Omen in ipsum convertant* (1), says Sinon, in Virgil, speaking of Calchas.

The Romans had particular Gods whom they invoked, and to whom they sacrificed, when they wanted to have bad Omens diverted, and the Effect of them prevented; and these Gods were named *Averrunci*, or *Averruncani*, from the old Latin Word *averruncare*, which signify'd to ward off or divert. But independently of the aid of those Gods, they thought bad Presages could be redress'd by many other ways, since, in order to obviate the bad effect of an unlucky Expression or Object, it sufficed to spit hastily, as it were to throw out the Poison they had suck'd in. They were scrupulously careful, when they could not shun making use of unlucky Words, to soften the terms, and keep as far as possible from the shocking Idea which they naturally raised: Thus, instead of saying directly, a Man was dead, they said, he has liv'd, *Vixit*. At Athens they called a Prison, the House; the common Executioner, the publick Man; the Furies, *Eumenides*, or the good-natur'd Goddeses; and so of the rest.

The Prodigious.

Of all Presages, Prodigious were the worst, and those for which the Pagan Religion prescrib'd the greatest Ceremonies. When the Prodigy was followed by any dismal Event, they were always credulous enough to believe, that the one had been the Cause of the other, or at least sent to prognosticate the same. *Titus Livius*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and other Historians, have taken care to insert into their Works the Prodigious, which the Annals they consulted, inform'd them to have fallen out at different times; and they have mark'd the

(1) Virg. *Æn.* l. 2. v. 190.

the calamitous Events which followed upon them, *Pliny* likewise reports a great number of them, as also *Valerius Maximus*; and *Julius Obsequens* has made up a Collection of them. I have no design to dwell long upon a Subject so known, and the Dissertation of M. *Freret*, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), may save a good deal of reading upon this Subject.

All the Prodigies related of by the Ancients may be reduced to two Classes. In the first, we comprehend those Miracles of Paganism which seem inexplicable, unless we have recourse to a supernatural Cause. Such, among others, was the Story of the *Dii Penates*, or Household Gods, which is thus related by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2). “While they were employed in carrying on the Works, there happen’d a surprizing Prodigy. The Temple and the Sanctuary being put in order to receive the Gods which *Æneas* had brought from *Troy*, and which he had placed at *Lavinium*, their Statues were transported into the new Temple; but the next day they were found in the very same Place, and upon the same Bases whence they had been taken the Evening before, tho’ the Gates had been shut during the night, nor was there any appearance of a Breach in the Walls: They were transported a second time from *Lavinium* in form, after a Sacrifice had been offered up to appease the offended Gods; but they were again found set down in the same Place at *Lavinium*.”

We may take into the same Class, that of *Jupiter Terminalis*, which there was no possibility of forcing from its place, at the time of building the Capitol: The Adventure of *Accius Nævius*, who cut, as they say, a Flint-Stone with a Razor, to convince the Incredulity of a King of *Rome* who slighted the Augurs, and the *Tuscan* Divination: That of the Vestal Virgin *Æmilia*, who drew Water in a Sieve: That of another Vestal, who with her Girdle drew to shore a Ship stranded, which the strongest Efforts of others were not able to move:

(1) T. 4. p. 411. (2) L. 1.

move: And that of another, who with the Lappet of her Gown kindled the sacred Fire, which her inadvertency had suffer'd to go out. To the Prodigies of this first kind we may join, the Apparition of those two young Knights, mounted on two white Horses, who were seen near the Lake *Rhegillum*, at the time when the Dictator *Posthumius* was upon the point of losing the Battle, and, having fought for the *Romans* till they had gain'd the Victory, disappear'd in a moment, while the General, who order'd strict search after them, that he might have rewarded their Valour, could never hear account of them more: The Adventure which *Julius Obsequens* relates (1) of that Statue of *Juno*, who being interrogated by a young Man, if she would go to *Rome*, gave a nod with the Head, to signify the Goddess's consenting to go; and not only so, but answered, that she would go with all her heart, to the great astonishment of all who were present at this Prodigy; *Visne ire Roman, Juno? Posteaquam capite annuisset, se libenter ituram, magnâ omnium admiratione respondit*: That of the two Oxen that spake: And in fine, that of the Shield which fell from Heaven, under the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*, as is told by the same Author; with several others which appear to be supernatural Effects.

The Prodigies of the second Class were indeed of the kind of purely natural Events, but being less frequent, and appearing to be contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, were ascribed to a superiour Cause, thro' the Superstition and excessive Credulity of the Pagans, affrighted with the sight of these Effects, either rare or quite unknown. Such were most part of Meteors, as the *Parbelia**, the Appearances of Fire and Lights by night, monstrous Births, whether of Men or Animals, Showers of Blood, of Stones, of Ashes or Fire, and a thousand other things purely natural, whereof I shall give some Examples, drawn from ancient Authors, and in particular from *Julius Obsequens*

Under

(1) C. 19.

* The Image of the Sun reflected on the Clouds when the Atmosphere is in a certain Disposition.

Under the Reign of *Romulus*, says this Author (1); and at a time when that Prince was besieging the Town of *Fidenæ*, there fell a Shower of Blood, and soon after, *Rome* was infested with the Plague. Under that of *Tullus Hostilius* (2), there fell from Heaven a prodigious quantity of Stones, much like a Shower of Hail. Under the Consulship of *P. Posthumius Tubero*, and of *Menenius Agrippa*, there were seen in the Heavens, during a considerable part of the Night, burning Arrows (3).

The same Author makes frequent mention of these same fiery Meteors appearing in the Heavens, like Armies encountering one another; as also Spectres and extraordinary Voices that had been heard by night.

The Lake of *Alba*, according to *Livy*, swell'd to a considerable height, without any preceding Rain, or other visible Cause; and that Incident so terrify'd the *Romans*, who were then employed in the Siege of *Veia*; that not having an opportunity to consult the *Tuscans*, with whom they were then at War, they were obliged to send to the Oracle of *Delphos*. Under the Consulship of *M. Valerius Maximus*, and of *Q. Manilius Vitulus* (4), Blood was seen rising out of the Earth, while a Shower of Milk fell from Heaven; and under that of *C. Quintus Flaminius*, and of *P. Furio*, a River appeared cover'd with Blood.

The other Prodigies reported by the Ancients, are pretty much of the same kind. To be short, they are either Statues of Gods struck with Thunder, or overspread with Blood; Earthquakes, or sudden Inundations: Here, a Child of two Months cries out, *Triumph* (5); there, the Heavens are all inflamed, and Nights illuminated by the Sun, or rather by a Globe of Light which resembles him; or else 'tis thick Darkness at Noon-day. Sometimes you have the Birth of a Monster, of an Infant, for instance, with two Heads and but one Hand; or who has the Shape of some brute Animal; a Stone of an enormous Size falling from Heaven; a Rainbow without Clouds, &c.

It

It would be no hard matter, if one was so disposed, to account for the Prodigies of this second kind, from natural Causes. All those nocturnal Fires, those inflamed Spears, those Armies appearing in the Heavens, are what we now call the *Lumen Boreale*, northern Lights, so common for some Years past, and perhaps as ancient as the World. Those extraordinary Inundations, whereof no visible Cause could be discern'd, might have been owing to some Fermentation which raised the Waters. Showers of Stones, of Ashes, or Fire, were the effect of some Vulcano, like those of Mount *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*. Those of Milk, a whitish Water condensed by some quality in the Air: No body questions now-a-days, but that those of Blood, are the Stains left upon Stones, upon the Earth, and upon Leaves of Trees, by Butterflies which hatch in hot and stormy Weather, M. *de Peyresc* had guessed at it an hundred Years ago, upon occasion of one of those Showers; having observed, that the same Stains were found in cover'd Places; and M. *Reaumur*, in his Memoirs for the History of Insects (1), has put the matter beyond doubt.

As to the Prodigies of the first kind, I own they are harder to be explain'd: But are they all well attested? Were they all seen and writ down by Persons of ability, at the very time when we are told they happen'd? Are they not mostly founded upon popular Traditions? May they not, some of them at least, be explained naturally, especially if we strip them of those marvellous Circumstances, with which excess of Credulity had cloathed them? We may say with the Author of the Dissertation now quoted, that those Facts, and all others that resemble them, are to be looked upon as Fables invented by corrupt Priests, and swallowed down by an ignorant superstitious Populace. The consent of People, says he, who believe all, tho' they have seen nothing, and who are always the Bubbles of Stories of that kind, can hardly have more weight to make us entertain them, than the Testimony of Pagan Priests, who

(1) Tom. II.

416 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
in every Age and Country, have had too strong Motives from Self-Interest, for improving those sorts of Miracles, to be Vouchers of great Credit.

Be that as it will, inexpressible was the Astonishment and Consternation of the Pagans, upon the apparition of one of those Prodigies, even of such as might easily have been accounted to be purely natural Effects. The whole Empire was in perplexity upon such an occasion, it was the only Subject of Conversation at *Rome*: The Senate gave orders to the *Quindécimviri*, to consult the Books of the *Sibyls*, for it was principally upon those occasions they had recourse to them, as I have already remark'd, after *Varro*, and they prescrib'd the Ceremonies of Expiation, whereof we shall speak in the following Chapter. If in the mean while, any Calamity happened to befall the Commonwealth; if an Enemy declared War against it; if it was overtaken with an epidemical Distemper, &c. All was imputed to the Influence of the Prodigy; it was this had come to denounce these Calamities.

Is it not surprizing, I must again repeat it, to see the *Romans*, of whom we have so high an Idea given us, who are extolled as the wisest and most intelligent People of the World; to see that Kingly People, as *Virgil* calls them, carry Superstition such a length as we have seen they did, chiefly with relation to Prodigies? But our Astonishment ceases, when we consider the weakness of Man, having no other Guides but his own light. It will perhaps be said, it was only the Vulgar who gave into those childish Superstitions, and that the more knowing People and the Philosophers, knew better things. The Religion however, which prescrib'd the particular Ceremonies on those Occasions, was the same for the People and for the Philosopher. *Cicero* himself, who in his Books of Divination had made a jest of most of the popular Superstitions, and who, in another place, expresses his wonder how two Augurs when they met, could refrain from laughing at one another, says, in the same Work, that the *Aruspice* ought to be respected, for the sake of the Religion

gion and Republick whereby it is authorized: *Aruspicinam ego, Reipublicæ causa communisque Religionis, colendam censeo.* But we shall examine more thoroughly, what Opinion we are to have of the Religion of the Pagan Sages, in the Reflexions upon Idolatry, which occur at the end of the next Book.

C H A P. VI.

Of Expiations.

EXpiation was an Act of Religion, instituted for purifying the Guilty, and the Places which were reckon'd defiled. Tho' this Ceremony, to speak accurately, was only to be used for Crimes, yet they put it in practice upon several other Occasions (*a*). Dread of publick Calamities, and hope of appeasing the incensed Gods, occasioned the Institution of several sorts of Expiations: Monsters, Prodigies, Presages, Auguries, all were subject to it; and the expiatory Sacrifices were renewed upon a thousand occasions, insomuch that there was hardly any Action in life, whether private or publick, but had need of them, or which was not either followed or usher'd in with the Ceremony of Expiation. Was a General to assume the Command of an Army; were Games or Festivals to be celebrated, an Assembly to be called, or was a Person to be initiated into any Mystery, they were sure to have recourse to expiatory Sacrifices. As to private Life, every Individual took care to purify himself, not only for the smallest Faults, but even upon occasion of every Object which Superstition taught to consider as of bad portent. Accordingly, these Words, which occur so often in the Writings of the Ancients, *Expiare, Purgare, Februare*, signify'd to perform Acts of Religion, either for blotting out some Fault, or for diverting impending Calamities.

Tho' in general, publick Expiations were accompany'd

(*a*) See the Copy of a Dissertation on this Subject, by M. l'Abbé de Boissy; *Mem. of the Acad. of Bel. Let.* T. 1. P. 41.

pany'd with Prayers and Sacrifices, yet there were of them more or less solemn, encumber'd with more or fewer Ceremonies, nor was it always the same Gods who were to be invoked. Those whom the *Latins* stiled *Averrunci*, were implored in order to avert the Evils which some Prodigy or Object of bad Omen had portended. They were free to make their Addresses to others, upon private Occasions, wherein they thought there was need of Expiation.

There were then several sorts of Expiations, and particular Ceremonies for each kind. I shall say but little of those used by every private Man, since it sufficed for him to wash himself, or to receive the holy Water when he was entring into the Temple; but I shall expatiate more fully upon those which Religion and the Laws had prescrib'd.

Expiations for Prodigia. One of the most solemn, was what they used upon the appearance of some Prodigy. The Senate, after having order'd the Sibylline Books to be consulted by those who had the keeping of them, to see what was to be done upon those occasions, ordinarily appointed Days of Fasting, Festivals, especially those of the *Leßisternia*, Games, publick Prayers, and Sacrifices. Then you might have seen the whole City of *Rome*, and in imitation of her, all the other Cities of the Empire, in Mourning and Consternation; the Temples adorn'd, the *Leßisternia* prepared in the publick Places, expiatory Sacrifices repeated over and over again. The Senators and Patricians, their Wives and their Children, with Garlands on their Heads; every Tribe, every Order, preceded by the High-Priest, and the *Diunviri*, march'd gravely thro' the Streets, and this Procession was accompany'd with the whole Youth, singing Hymns, or repeating Prayers, while the Priests were offering expiatory Sacrifices in the Temples, and invoking the Gods to divert the Calamities, with which they thought themselves threatned.

Expiation for Homicide. Anciently, but a few Ceremonies were required for the Expiation of Homicide; but in after times, a great many were added, and it be-
came

came even exceedingly burdensome. All that was requisite at first for a Person's Purification from Murder, was to wash himself in running Water ; and thus it was, according to *Athenæus* (1), that *Achilles* was purify'd, after having killed *Strambelus* King of the *Leleges*. *Aeneas*, as he was leaving *Troy*, then in the Enemies hands, left to his Father the care of the Household-Gods, which he was going to take along with him, not daring to touch them with his polluted Hands (a), until he had purify'd himself in some River : *Donec me flumine vivo abluero* (2) ; a Punishment, if indeed it was one, abundantly gentle, for a Crime such as Homicide. Accordingly *Ovid*, after having mention'd several Heroes who had been purify'd in this manner, breaks forth into this Exclamation ; How credulous must they be, who believe that the Crime of Murder can be purg'd away at so easy a rate !

Ab ! nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis

Fluminea tolli posse putatis aqua (3).

This sort of Expiation did not last long, since we see in the Heroick Ages, it was attended with more irksome and solemn Ceremonies : at that time, when the Offender was a Person of Distinction, even Kings themselves did not disdain to perform the Ceremony. Thus in *Apollodorus*, *Copreus* who had slain *Iphifus*, is expiated by *Euristheus* King of *Mycenæ*. *Adrastus*, according to the Testimony of *Herodotus*, came to receive Expiation from *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*. Frequently the Hero guilty of Manslaughter was even obliged to traverse several Countries, not lighting upon any body who would give him Expiation ; which was the Case of *Hercules*, who was expiated at length by *Ceyx* King of *Trachinia*.

No body has given a fuller Description of the Ceremonial of this sort of Expiation, than *Apollonius* of *Rhodes*, on occasion of the Murder of *Abfyrtus*, *Medea's*

E e 2

Brother,

(1) L. 2. c. 8.

(a) Tu Genitor, cape sacra manu, patriosque Penates ;

Me bello a tanto digressam, & cæde recenti

Attrectare nefas.

Virg. Æn. l. 2.

(2) *Æn. l. 2.*

(3) *Fast. l. 2.*

Brother, slain by *Jason*: That Prince, says he, being arrived with *Medea* in the Island of *Æa*, sent their Addresses to *Circe*, desiring her to perform the Ceremony of Expiation for them; and having obtain'd permission to come to the Palace of that Princess, they advanc'd both of them, with downcast Eyes, after the manner of Suppliants, till they came up to the Hearth, where *Jason* stuck into the Ground the Sword wherewith he had slain his Brother-in-law. Their Silence and Posture made *Circe* easily perceive that they were Fugitives, guilty of some Murder, and she prepared herself to expiate them. First, she caused a young Pig not yet weaned, to be brought, and having cut its Throat, she rubb'd the Hands of *Jason* and *Medea* with its Blood. Then she offer'd Libations in honour of *Jupiter Expiator*. After which, having ordered the Remains of the Sacrifice to be thrown out of the Hall, she burn'd upon the Altar, Cakes made of Flower, Salt and Water, and accompany'd these Ceremonies with Prayers proper to appease the wrath of the Furies, who commonly pursue the Guilty. The Ceremony ended, she caused her Guests to sit down upon magnificent Seats, where they were regaled.

The *Romans* had Ceremonies for expiation of Murder, different from those of the *Greeks*. We have a very authentick Example of them in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who relates in what manner *Horatius* was expiated, after having kill'd his Sister. “ Sentence was
 “ given, says he (1), for the Father of the young *Ho-*
 “ *ratius*, and the Son was absolved from the Crime of
 “ Parricide: But the King, who did not think the
 “ Judgment of Men sufficient to absolve a Criminal, in
 “ a City which made profession of fearing the Gods,
 “ sent for the Pontifs, and would needs have them to
 “ appease the Gods and *Genii*, and the Offender to pass
 “ thro' all the Tryals that were in use, for expiating
 “ involuntary Crimes. The Pontifs therefore erected
 “ two Altars, the one to *Juno*, the Protectress of Sisters,
 “ the other to a certain God, or *Genius* of the Country,
 “ who

(1) L. 3. c. 22.

“ who has since bore the Name of the *Curatii*, whom
 “ *Horatius* had slain. Upon these Altars were offer'd
 “ several Sacrifices of Expiation, after which, the Cri-
 “ minal was made to pass under the Yoke ; that is,
 “ under a cross Beam, supported by two other pieces of
 “ Timber,

The Ceremony of Expiation for Cities *Expiation*
 was one of the most solemn. In the *Roman of Cities.*
 Kalendar, there were Days mark'd out for this Cere-
 mony (1): It was perform'd at *Rome* on the 5th of *Fe-*
bruary. The Sacrifice which was there offer'd, was de-
 nominated, according to *Servius*, *Suburbale*, or *Subur-*
bium, and the Victims there sacrificed, were called, as
Festus has it, *Amburbiales*. Besides this Festival, there
 was another, which return'd but once in five Years,
 the Solemnity whereof was employ'd in purifying a
 whole City ; and from the word *Lustrare*, to expiate,
 the Name *Lustrum* came to denote, the space of five
 Years.

Important Occasions sometimes made it necessary to
 celebrate this Solemnity, out of the ordinary time, as
 was the Case, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*,
 when the *Tarquins* were banished from *Rome*. If any
 particular place happen'd to be defiled, they took care
 to have it expiated ; and these sorts of Expiations had
 Names whereby they were design'd. That of the Cross-
 ways, for instance, was term'd *Compitalia* ; that of the
 Fields, *Ambarvalia*. The *Greeks* had particular Expi-
 ations for the Theatres, and for the Places where the
 People assembled.

Before and after a Battel, there was a Puri- *Expiation*
 fication of the Army, and that Ceremony was *of Armies.*
 termed *Armilustrum* ; a Word which was taken in af-
 ter times, to express a Review of the Troops, as ap-
 pears from several Passages of *Cæsar's Commentaries* ;
 just as that of *Lustrum* was taken for the Inrolment of
 the People ; but both these Ceremonies were always
 accompany'd with Sacrifices. The Festival of the *Armi-*
lustrum

(1) See *Rosinus's Rom. Kal.*

lustrum was celebrated at *Rome*, on the fourteenth of the Kalends of *November* *.

To these publick Expiations, I might subjoin those which they used in order to be initiated into the greater and lesser *Eleusinian* Mysteries, into those of *Mithras*, into the *Orgies*, &c. But of these I shall speak in the History of *Ceres*, in that of the *Persian* Gods, and in that of *Bacchus*. It suffices to say here, that Fasting was often prescrib'd for Expiations of this sort; thus it is we are to understand *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, when he says, that those who were to be initiated, being interrogated by the Priests, answered, *I have performed what is prescrib'd in order to the Mysteries, I have kept the Fast.*

The publick Expiations were far from being equal in number to the private ones, since they used these in almost every Action of Life, as we have already remark'd: Thus, there were neither Nuptials nor Funerals, nor hardly any matter of consequence, that was not preceded by Expiation. Whatever was reputed of bad Portent; the Encounter of a Weasel; a Raven, or a Hare; an unexpected Storm, a Dream, and a thousand other Accidents, obliged the People to have recourse to the same Ceremony. But 'tis necessary to observe, that for these sort of private Expiations, there was not always a necessity, as in the publick ones, of offering Sacrifices, but a simple Ablution sufficed. The Sea-Water, however, when it could be had, was preferred to that of Rivers; and running Water to that which stagnated. Sometimes the Party was obliged to wash his whole Body, sometimes only his Hands or Ears. 'Tis from *Euripides* we learn this last Usage, when he makes *Hippolitus* say, that as he looked upon himself to be polluted for having been solicited to a Crime, so he must needs wash his Ears. *Procopius* of *Gaza*, speaking of the Expiations so much in use among the *Jews*, informs us that in general they made use of Water, Salt, Barley, Laurel, and Fire, which those were made to pass through, who were to be purify'd; and there is no doubt

* The 19th of *October*.

doubt but that the Pagans, in the Ceremonies of their Expiations, had imitated most of those which *Moses* had prescribed to the *Jews*, as is prov'd by learned Commentators on the sacred Books.

Here I should subjoin what regards Oaths, *Of Oaths.* one of the most ancient and most solemn Acts of Religion, since it was a kind of Expiation, he who took the Oath, purging himself thereby from the Crime that was laid to his charge. But as this Subject has been handled by several Authors, whether Lawyers or Divines, I shall only refer the Reader to them, or rather to the two learned Dissertations of the late Abbé *Massieu*, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1).

There the Author examines, 1. Into the Origin of Oaths, which, he says, is near as ancient as the World, since they began as soon as Men became false and dishonest.

2. By what Divinities the Ancients swore; and he proves, that it was by almost all the Gods, especially by two, who were regarded as the Guarantees thereof, to wit, Good Faith, *Bona Fides*, and *Deus Fidius*. The Gods themselves swore by *Styx*, and this Oath was of all others the most inviolable (a).

3. The Ceremonies of the Oath; at first they were very simple, and no more was required but holding up the Hand, as is still the Practice at this Day. The Great introduced more Formality into it; Kings lifted up their Scepters, Generals of Armies their Spears or Shields, and the Soldiers their Swords, the Points of which some of them put to their Throats, as we learn from *Marcellinus*. In later times, it was required that the Oath should be taken in the Temples, the Party laying his Hand upon the Altar. Nay, if there was occasion for taking an Oath when no Temples were near, an Altar was raised in haste, or there were portable ones immediately set up. Frequently too it happen'd, that

E c 4

those

(1) Tom. 1, and 4.

(a) See the Article of the infernal Rivers.

424 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book IV.
those who swore, dipt their Hands in the Blood of the sacrificed Victims.

4. What were the moral Sentiments of the Ancients about Oaths ; and they were such, that Perjury was looked upon as the greatest of Crimes. But more allowances were made for the Oaths of Orators, Poets, and Lovers, but then these were not taken in Courts of Justice. That fine Sentence of *Pythagoras*, *Honour the Gods, and revere an Oath**, comprehends, according to the Commentators on that famous Philosopher, the purest, and at the same time, the most sublime Morality, with relation to this last Act of Religion.

5. The Use which the Ancients made of an Oath in civil Society ; and this was much the same as among our selves, that is, it was required of all who enter'd into any Office, or who were to intermeddle in any manner of way with the Government, and the publick Revenues. The General, when he assumed the Command of an Army ; the Soldier when he was list'd ; those who enter'd into the Priesthood, or into other Offices which depended upon it ; the Vestals, the Augurs, the *Feciales*, or those who were employed in Treaties of Peace ; all of them were obliged to take an Oath.

6. In fine, what Notion they had in those Days, of such as violated their Oath. And he finds that they were looked upon as the basest of all Mortals, since they had trampled upon all the sacred Ties of Religion, and endeavoured to put a Cheat upon the Gods, as well as upon Men.

C H A P. VII.

Of Magick.

AFTER having spoke of Divination, and other Means which the Pagans made use of for coming at the knowledge of future Events, I must needs say somewhat of Magick, which, of all the Excesses to
which

* *Αἰδούμενος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς. Νομὸς ὡς διακινεῖται,
τίμα, καὶ σέβας ἔρχεται.* Pyth. Aur. Carm.

which a vain and criminal Curiosity has carry'd Men, was the greatest, and at the same time the most dangerous. How may we be justly amazed, on the one hand, to consider the Uselessness of so frivolous an Art; on the other, the Crimes in which it has involv'd the most civiliz'd and most knowing Nations, as well as the more rude and barbarous ones! It will not, I presume, be expected, that I should fully handle a Subject, on which we have perhaps but too many Works already. I shall speak of it, only so far as it had a relation to the Pagan Theology, and to the superstitious Practices of Idolatry.

The Ancients are not agreed as to the Time when, nor Country where Magick had its Original. But what does it avail to know, whether it was the *Egyptians* or *Chaldeans*, or other People, who were Inventors of an Art, as abominable as it is frivolous? What we may aver, is, that it is of very great antiquity, and perhaps as old as Idolatry itself. Scripture informs us, that the *Egyptians* practis'd it from the earliest Ages, when it makes mention of the Magicians whom *Pharaoh* oppos'd to *Moses*, and who imitated, by their Incantments, almost all the Miracles which God wrought, by means of that great Man. Among those Magicians, there were two whom *St. Paul* names *Jannes* and *Jambres*, whom *Pliny* had heard of; but he puts them and *Moses*, their great Adversary, in the same rank, and takes them for *Jews* as well as him: *Est & alia Magices factio, a Mose, a Jamne, a Jopate Judæis pridem, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem.* It is the same *Zoroaster*, in short, whom the Ancients believ'd to be the first Inventor of Magick: *Rex Bactrianorum Zoroaster*, says *Justin* after *Trogus Pompeius*, *qui primus dicitur artes Magicas invenisse.*

Magick is commonly distinguish'd into several kinds: The Natural, which is nothing but a deeper and more exact Insight into Physical Causes, than that of the ignorant Vulgar, whose way is, to take for Prodigies, Effects, of whose Cause they are ignorant, and for real Predictions what was foretold to happen by the natural Philosopher.

Philosopher. We are told, it was in this sort of Magick that *Hermes Trismegistus* of old, *Zoroaster*, and some others excell'd. The *Indians*, *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, and *Persians*, were also very much addicted to it; and in this Science, we are assured by *Plato*, that the Children of the Kings of *Persia* were educated.

The second kind of Magick is what they call Mathematical, which, joining certain subtle and ingenious Usages; to the pretended Influence of the Stars upon things here below, pretends to produce miraculous Effects. As this coincides with Astrology, of which we are to speak in the following Chapter, we shall insist no longer upon it: Only we may observe, that certain Machines well made, and some pieces of Clock-work, in times of Ignorance pass'd for effects of this Magick, and made those be taken for Magicians who had compos'd them. *M. Bonami*, in a Dissertation whereof a Copy is printed, in the 7th Volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, of which I shall make considerable use, in the Sequel of this Chapter, says, 'tis highly probable that the *Egyptian* Magick, so famous in the Writings of the Ancients, consisted in nothing but Discoveries drawn from the Mathematicks and natural Philosophy; since so many of the *Greek* Philosophers, who travell'd on purpose into *Egypt*, in order to be instructed in the Sciences of the *Egyptians*, such as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, not only brought back nothing but pieces of mere natural Knowledge, but did not even alledge that any other was there to be acquired.

But I am persuaded, that the Magicians of *Egypt* put in practice the most superstitious Rites, and this is the Idea of them given us by *Moses*. I shall not even name the other sorts of Magick, which are founded upon Usages as criminal as insignificant, and which lead those who are addicted to them into Excesses, which are shocking to think of. Thanks to Heaven, so vile a Science is now-a-days exploded; Men's eyes at length are open'd, to see the vanity of those Superstitions, and the folly of relying upon them; and if it is still practised by some of the rude and abject Multitude, yet

sure it never was in less repute, than it is in our days.

Let us now come to that Magick which constituted one of the principal Doctrines of the Pagan Theology, than which none had more illustrious Partisans, especially among the Philosophers who lived in the first Ages of Christianity.

Magick may be defined, the Art of producing in Nature, things above the Power of Man, by the assistance of the Gods, upon using certain Words and Ceremonies. As the Magicians invoked two sorts of Divinities, the one benevolent, and the other malevolent and mischievous, this difference constitutes two sorts of Magick. The one, namely that which had recourse to the beneficent Gods, was called *Theurgia* *; the other, which had no other end but to do mischief, for which purpose it invoked only the malevolent *Genii*, was called *Goétia* †. The wisest of the Pagan World, and their greatest Philosophers, despised the latter, as much as they esteemed the former. This, namely *Theurgy*, was, according to them, a divine Art, which serv'd only to advance the Mind of Man to higher perfection, and render the Soul more pure; and they, who by means of this Magick had the happiness to arrive at what they call'd *Autopsia*, or *Intuition*, a state wherein they enjoy'd intimate Intercourse with the Gods, believ'd themselves invested with all their Power, and were persuaded that nothing to them was impossible.

Towards this state of Perfection all those aspired, who made profession of this sort of Magick; but then it laid them under severe Regulations. None could be Priest of this Order, but a Man of unblemish'd Morals, and all who joined with him in his Operations; were bound to strict Purity; they were not allowed to have any commerce with Women; to eat any kind of animal Food, nor to defile themselves by the touch of a dead Body. The Philosophers, and Persons of the greatest Virtue, thought it their honour to be initiated into the Mysteries of this sort of Magick. Their *Goétia*

* *Θεουργία.*† *Γοητεία.*

tia was quite different: Every thing render'd it equally odious and contemptible. The Professors of it had correspondence with none but the evil *Genii*, and employ'd their Operations only to do mischief. The Apparatus of their Ceremonies heighten'd the aversion which all sober People had to this Magick. The subterraneous Places were chosen preferably to others: The Darkness of the Night, the black Victims which they offer'd, the Bones of the Dead, the Corpses with which they were surrounded in the Caves; the Infants whose throats they cut, to rake into their Entrails for an insight into Futurity; all conspired to make it equally shocking and criminal.

Jamblicus, in his Treatise of Mysteries, insists at great length upon this Subject, and his Work supposes thro' the whole, this distinction between the *Theurgia* and *Goetia*, and of the first he seems to have a high esteem. What both of them had in common, is, that they equally employed Words, to which they believed a certain Virtue to be annexed. Sometimes the mere Charm of these Words wrought all the effect that was expected. Sometimes it was necessary to add to them Compositions of Herbs; there was always a necessity of observing exactly the time when the Sacrifices were offered, the Days, the Hours, the aspect of the Stars, the number and quality of the Victims. What puzzled them most, was to know what Divinities they were to invoke, what Offerings to present to them, what Plants, what Perfumes, were most agreeable to them. And indeed, the Dose, if too strong or too weak, render'd the whole magical Operation abortive, as well as the omission of a single Divinity. As one broken String disconcerts the Harmony of an Instrument; just so, *Jamblicus* remarks, one God, whose Name had been omitted, or in whose honour they had neglected, among the other Ingredients that were offer'd, the particular Perfume, Herb, or whatever else was specially consecrated to him, defeated the effect of the Sacrifice.

Pliny ridicules this Superstition with some Humour (1), when, after mentioning an Herb, the mere

(1) L. 26 c. 4.

throwing of which into the midst of an Army, was sufficient, they said, to put it to the rout, he asks, "Where was this Herb when *Rome* was so distress'd by the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*? Why did not the *Per-*
sians make use of it when *Lucullus* cut their Troops in pieces?" Then resuming his serious air, he expostulates with *Scipio* for having drawn together such quantities of Arms and warlike Engines, since one single Plant had been sufficient to open to him the Gates of *Carthage*.

As Paganism admitted a vast number of Gods, some of them beneficent, others malevolent; as each had his own particular Worship and Ceremonies appropriated to him; so none could obtain a favour from them, nor desired success in their Enterprizes, unless they were careful to observe the manner of worshipping them, as it was taught by Religion. This Principle laid down, 'tis easy to see that both the kinds of Magick above named had a plain Connection with their Theology, and that such as professed either of them, must needs have been excellent Pagan Theologues. This is what makes *Pliny* say, that Magick, the Offspring of Medicine, after having fortify'd itself with the help of Astrology, had borrow'd all its Splendor and Authority from Religion.

They who profess'd *Theurgy*, did not arrive all at once at that state of Perfection to which they aspired, and they were first to undergo Expiations; next, they got themselves initiated into the lesser Mysteries, which were as a Preparation for a more advanced State: They were obliged to fast and pray, to live in strict Continence and Self-purification: Then came the high Mysteries, where their sole Employment was to meditate, and contemplate universal Nature, who by that time disclosed all her Secrets to them who had passed thro' those Tryals. *Nero*, who was so foolish that he would needs command the Gods, which he thought there was no way of attaining but by Magick, had such a high esteem for the Magicians (1), that he sent for them from every

(1) Plin. l. 30. c. 12.

every Quarter, and heap'd favours upon them. *Tiridates*, for his pains in providing him with them, was rewarded with the Crown of *Armenia*.

The Pagans were so fully persuaded of the Power of Magick, especially of the *Theurgick* kind, and of the Efficacy of Mysteries, that they believed those Prodigies of Valour perform'd by *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and other Heroes, were owing to their initiation into these Mysteries. *Varro*, the most learned of the *Romans*, was so convinced of the Force and Power of that Magick, that he did not doubt but what *Homer* relates of the Transformation of *Ulysses's* Companions into Hogs, was the effect of *Circe's* Inchantments. He judg'd the same way of what was given out concerning the *Arcadians*, who, according to the Story, as they were swimming over a Pond were transformed into Wolves, and recovered their former figure at the end of nine Years, if after abstaining from human Flesh during that time, they repass'd the same Pond.

I have observ'd, that in order to succeed in the Operations of *Theurgy*, it was necessary that nothing should be forgot in the Rites and Ceremonies which were prescrib'd in relation to it: Thus it also was with the Forms of Prayers and other Words that were of necessity to be pronounced; and tho' those Forms were often composed of words in a strange Language, which were not understood, it was necessary however to recite them, such as they were, without omitting one Syllable; as was said in speaking of the Evocations and Forms of Devoting (1). They were even so fully persuaded of the necessity of keeping exactly to the Ceremonial, that it was alledged, if *Tullus Hostilius* had consulted the Pontif set over the religious Rites, when he undertook to bring down *Jupiter* from Heaven, according to the Forms prescrib'd in the Ritual of *Numa Pompilius*, he had not been thunder-struck for an Omission in some Punctilio of the Sacrifice, which he offer'd for that end. This piece of History, to mention it by the way, informs us, that *Numa*, among the religious Ceremonies

he

(1) L. 3.

he taught, had prescribed those for Evocations, which were a consequence of *Theurgick* Magick.

Among these Evocations, the most solemn, and at the same time the most frequently practised, was that of conjuring up Souls departed. The Custom of raising the *Manes* was so ancient, that its Origin is traced as high as the earliest periods of time; and all the Anathemas denounc'd by the sacred Authors, against those who consulted familiar Spirits, are proofs of the Antiquity of this Practice. Among the different sorts of Magick which *Moses* prohibits, that of calling up the Dead is there expressly specify'd: *Nec sit . . . qui quærat a Mortuis Veritatem.* Every body knows the History of *Saul*, who went to consult the Witch of *Endor*, to call up the Ghost of *Samuel* (1). I shall not enter into the effect which this Conjuratation produc'd, nor shall I examine if it was really *Samuel* who appeared to that Prince, or if it was the Devil who deceived him under a borrow'd appearance, or in fine, if the Witch herself imposed upon him by some illusion. We know that the Fathers and ecclesiastick Writers are much divided in their Sentiments about it, and that there is nothing in Religion to determine us to follow the one Opinion rather than the other. I only take notice of the use of the thing, and this, 'tis certain, was as ancient, as it was universally practised.

*The Evocation
of the Manes.*

Prophane Authors look upon *Orpheus* as the Inventor of this cursed Art, and so far indeed it is true, that the Hymns which are ascrib'd to him, are mostly real pieces of Conjuratation: But 'tis probable that this Practice came from the eastern People, and was carried into *Greece* with the other religious Ceremonies, by Colonies which came and settled there. Let this be as it will, it is certain that in *Homer's* time, this sort of Conjuratation was in practice, as appears from some Passages in the *Iliad*, where mention is made of it. Nor was it at that time reputed odious or criminal, since there were Persons who made publick profession of conjuring up Ghosts, and

(1) 1 Sam. xxviii. ver. 11, 12.

and there were Temples where the Ceremony of Conjur-
 ation was to be perform'd. *Pausanias* speaks of that
 which was in *Thesprotia*, where *Orpheus* came to call up
 the Soul of his Wife *Eurydice* (1). 'Tis this very
 Journey, and the motive which put him upon it, that
 made it be believ'd he went down to Hell. *Ulysses's*
 Travels into the Country of the *Cimmerians*, whither
 he went to consult the Ghost of *Tiresias*, which *Homer*
 so well describes in the *Odyssæy* (2), has all the air of
 such another Conjuratation ; and the same may be said of
 all the other pretended Journeys into *Pluto's* Kingdom.

But 'tis not only the Poets who speak of conjuring
 up Spirits ; History likewise furnishes examples thereof.
Periander, the Tyrant of *Corinth*, visited the *Thespro-*
tians, to consult his Wife about something left with
 her in trust : And Historians tell us, that the *Lacede-*
monians having starved *Pausanias* to death in the Tem-
 ple of *Pallas*, and not being able to appease his *Manes*
 which tormented them without intermission, sent for
 the Magicians from *Thessaly*, who having brought up
 the Ghosts of his Enemies, they banished *Pausanias's*
 Ghost so effectually, that it was obliged to quit the
 Country.

I have no mind to display the horrid Rites that were
 practised by those who dealt in Necromancy, when
 they raised the Souls of the Dead : 'Tis enough that I
 have shew'd the Union and Connection, which this ex-
 ecrable Art had with the Pagan Religion which autho-
 rized it.

We shall conclude, by remarking that this Phrase,
to call up Souls, is not accurate : For what the Magi-
 cians, and Priests appointed in the Temples of the *Ma-*
nes called up, was neither Soul nor Body, but a sort of
 middle Substance, between Soul and Body, which the
Greeks called εἰδωλον, the *Latins*, *Simulachrum*, *Imago*,
Umbra *. When *Patroclus* prays *Achilles* to grant him
 the honours of Burial, 'tis that he might not be hindred
 from

(1) In *Bæot.* (2) L. 11.

* The *English* Reader may consult for this, Mr. *Pope's* Note upon
Homer, Iliad 23. v. 92.

from passing the fatal River by the thin Phantoms of the Dead: It was neither Soul nor Body that went down to the infernal Regions, but these Phantoms. Accordingly, *Ulysses* sees the Phantom of *Hercules* in the *Elysian* Fields, while the Hero himself is in Heaven. But I shall explain this point of the Pagan Theology, when I come to speak of the infernal Regions.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Astrologers.

THE Ancients are not agreed as to the People who have a just claim to the Invention of Astrology. *Herodotus* says, it took its rise in *Egypt*; and 'tis agreed, that it was cultivated there from the earliest periods of time; but the name of *Chaldaick* Science, which it has always had, proves that it is in *Chaldea* we are to search for its Original: accordingly this is the Sentiment of *Cicero* (1). "As the *Assyrians*, says he, "inhabiting vast Plains, whence they have a full view "of the Heavens on every side, were the first who ob- "serv'd the course of the Stars, they too were the first "who taught Posterity the effects which were thought "to be owing to them; and of their Observations have "made a Science, whereby they pretend to be able to "foretel every one what is to befall him, and what "Fate is ordain'd for him from his Birth." A Passage in the Prophet *Isaiab* informs us, that this Art of Prediction by means of the Stars, was very ancient in *Chaldea*, and particularly at *Babylon*, the Capital thereof: Let now the *Astrologers*, says that Prophet, (2), making an Apostrophe to that idolatrous City, the *Star-gazers*, the *monthly Prognosticators*, stand up and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee.

We see then, judicial Astrology was known in *Chaldea* in the earliest Ages: This is all we can say for certain about the Origin of this Science. For how little ground should we gain did we know assuredly, as *Suidas*

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says,

(1) De Div. l. 1.

(2) If. xlvii. 13.

says, that *Zoroaster* and *Ostanes* were the Inventors of it, since many Difficulties would still remain as to the Country of these two Personages, and still more as to the Time when they lived? Testimonies from *Berosus* and *Eupolemus*, cited by *Eusebius* (1), inform us indeed, that *Abraham* was well versed in the Knowledge of the Stars, and was Master of what was anciently called, the *Chaldaick* Science; but these two Authors have not distinguish'd Astronomy, to which that holy Patriarch perhaps applied himself, from judicial Astrology: For it frequently happen'd that these two Sciences were confounded, tho' the one is as solid and useful, as the other is vain and frivolous.

From *Chaldea* this Science passed into *Egypt*, where it was very much cultivated, as has been already remark'd; and from *Egypt* into *Greece*: this is the ordinary course which Sciences, Arts, and Fables took. The *Greeks*, vain and curious as they were, gave great Application to it; and we are told that *Chilo* the *Lacedemonian*, one of the seven wise Men of *Greece*, was the first who addicted himself to it. From *Greece* it was propagated to the other western Countries, where it made such progress, that never was any Science more universally diffused.

I am not to insist upon its Propagation, far less upon the different Rites which the Astrologers used, to come at the knowledge of Futurity by surveying the Stars: Nothing is so frivolous as the Principles they built upon. And indeed, what is that position of the Heavens which the Astrologer takes, to ground his Predictions upon? The ancient Astronomers had divided the Zodiack into twelve portions, and gave Names to the twelve Constellations, of which it was form'd; but they might have had other Names, as they actually had in other Planispheres. The *Barbarick* Sphere, says *Firmicus*, was entirely different from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and that of the *Chinese* again was different from all the three. In the *Greek* Sphere, the Planets bore the Names of seven Divinities; the *Ara-*
bians,

(1) Præp. Ev. l. 7.

bians, who would have thought themselves guilty of Idolatry, had they placed human Figures in the Heavens, put Animals or other things in their room; Peacocks, for example, in place of the Twins; a Sheaf, instead of the Virgin; a Quiver, instead of Sagittarius, &c. All this was quite arbitrary. How comes it then that the Astrologers judg'd of the Temper and Actions of Men from the Names of those Planets or Constellations, under whose aspect they were born? What ground had they for saying, that he who was born under the Sign of the Virgin, was chaste? That they at whose Birth *Venus* had presided, were galant and amorous? That *Mercury* inspired with Wit and Ingenuity; *Saturn* with Wisdom and Prudence; that the Moon made the good Sailors; *Mars*, the Warriors? &c. Had these Constellations and Planets the smallest Connection with the Symbols that represented them? And how came they to have the same Connection in Countries, where they were differently represented?

Farther, who can pretend to take the exact position of the Heavens, at the moment of any one's Birth; of those Heavens where the Scenes are continually shifting, and which are so immensely distant from us? But why attempt to refute those Absurdities? Numbers of others have done it before me, and the Triumph on this Subject is so easy, that there is but little honour in the Success. In short, is it not evident, so evident I mean, as to be able to strike the most opinionative and headstrong with Conviction, that those Bodies which roll in Spaces so remote from us, cannot so exactly direct their Influences, that is, the minute Corpuscles which fly off from them, (for there is no other way of conceiving their Action) as to meet with nothing to divert them from falling directly upon our Earth, which is but an invisible Point in respect of them, where it would take them many Years to arrive, even tho' they should move with the velocity of a Cannon-Bullet; upon a Kingdom, a Province, a Town, a House, and in particular, upon a Man, who occupies but a small Space in that same invisible point of Earth? How is

it conceivable, even tho' these Corpuscles should come into the place where a Child is born, that they should be able to determine all the Actions of the Child's Life, with which they have certainly no manner of Connection ; to act upon his Thoughts, upon his Liberty, &c. ? What wild Extravagance then has embolden'd Men to advance, that these Influences acted so powerfully upon us, that they determined all our Actions, inclined us to good or evil ; that they formed our Tempers, our Inclinations, our Habits ? How could it be said in good earnest, that the Sign of the Ram presided over the Head ; the Bull over the Gullet ; the Twins, over the Breast ; the Scorpion, over the Entrails ; the Fishes over the Feet : That the Lion gave Strength ; that the different aspects of these Signs were the Causes of the good or bad Disposition of our Bodies ? That there was great need of caution, for example, in taking Medicine under the aspect of the Bull, because, as this Animal chews his cud, the Person would vomit it up ? With a thousand other Extravagances which I would be ashamed to repeat.

We shall end this Chapter and Book, with one Reflection. Would it then be for our Interest to see into this Futurity, which Men have strain'd so hard to know ? No, surely no ; 'tis with infinite Wisdom, that God has conceal'd it from us, as *Horace* says :

Prudens futuri temporis exitum

Caliginosa nocte premit Deus.

Nothing is more moving nor more elegant than what *Cicero* says upon this occasion (1). “ In what deep
 “ Melancholy had *Priam* spent the remainder of his
 “ Life, had he known the lamentable Fate that awaited
 “ him ? Would the three Consulships, the three Tri-
 “ umphs of *Pompey*, have made him sensible of the
 “ smallest impression of Joy, had he been capable to
 “ foresee, what we ourselves are even unable to men-
 “ tion without shedding a flood of Tears, that on a day,
 “ after the loss of a Battel, and the total defeat of his
 “ Army, he should be slain in the Desarts of *Egypt* ?
 “ And

(1) De Div. l. 2.

“ And what would *Cæsar* have thought, if he too had
 “ known, that in the midst of that very Senate, which
 “ he had fill'd with his Friends and Creatures, near
 “ the Statue of *Pompey*, in sight of his Guards,
 “ he should be stabb'd with Wounds from his best
 “ Friends, and his Body be abandon'd, not a Soul
 “ daring to approach it? 'Tis therefore more for our
 “ Interest and real Good, to remain in our present state
 “ of Ignorance, than to know the Evils which are to
 “ come upon us.” *Certe igitur ignoratio futurorum*
malorum melior est, quam scientia.



B O O K V.

*Of the Nature of the Gods ; of their Division into
 several Classes.*

ALL that we have seen in the two foregoing Books, respects Idolatry in general, its Origin, its Advances. In the third, we have discoursed of the Worship which the Pagan World paid to their false Divinities ; of all that was subservient to that Worship, Temples, Altars, sacred Groves, Sacrifices, Priests, Victims, &c. In the fourth, we have run over all the sorts of Divination ; Oracles, Sibyls, Aruspices, Auguries, &c. It now remains that I examine, what was the Nature of those Gods, who for so many Ages were the Objects of Worship to the far greater part of the World ; who were those whom they looked upon as their Children ; and lastly, make a Division of them into different Classes. In this Book, after having reported the Opinions of the ancient Philosophers concerning the Divinity, I shall prove from the most considerable Testimonies of Antiquity, that notwithstanding their Refinements, they still believed that most of
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the Gods had been Men, subject to Death like their Votaries; and this Article of the Pagan Theology will, I hope, be undeniably proved.

C H A P. I.

Of the Nature of the Gods.

TH E R E is nothing in the world about which the ancient Philosophers reasoned so much, as about the Nature of the Gods; but we are very imperfectly acquainted with their Systems; and had it not been for *Diogenes Laertius*, and *Cicero*, who have preserved to us the History of their Opinions, the one in the Lives of the Philosophers, the other in his three Books of the Nature of the Gods, we should have been entirely in the dark about them. 'Tis true, we ought to make a great distinction between these two Authors, the former being much less to be depended upon than the latter, who appears fully Master of his Subject: But as he has treated it like an Academick, we are often at a loss to find out what is his own Opinion. That learned Philosopher introduces in his Work three Philosophers of opposite Sects, an *Epicurean*, a *Stoick*, and an *Academick*, who dispute about the Nature of the Gods. As for the two first, each of them has a Creed of his own, and believes himself quite orthodox in exclusion of the other; but the Academick, who will yield to nothing but Evidence, stops them short by turns, discovers to them the fallacy of their Prejudices, and thinks himself secure against Error, only by affirming nothing positively on either side.

We see plainly that 'tis not in their Systems we are to look for a just Idea of the Divinity; and if ever they wandered in their vain Speculations, as the Apostle reproaches them, 'tis especially when they attempted to speak of the Gods. They even shook off the Yoke of the gross Idolatry of *Greece* and *Rome*, only to take up with vain Subtilties in its room, or the Systems which they devised were frequently even worse than Polytheism itself. And indeed, let us run over the whole of

Cicero

Cicero's Work; let us examine the Sentiments of the Philosophers which he has recited with so much Learning; we shall find that they who are the most orthodox, that is, they who suppose a Being independent on Matter, an infinite and eternal Intelligence, a first Mover who gives the World its present conspicuous Order; we shall find, I say, that they suppose at the same time the Eternity of that Matter, and that none of them either comprehended or allowed a Creation, as has been said already upon another occasion. This, upon impartial enquiry, will be found the amount of the Opinions of all the Philosophers.

We must farther observe, that the Philosophers studied the Nature of the Gods, only with a reference to things of Sense, the Origin and Formation whereof, they were curious to know; and instead of subjecting Physicks to Divinity, they only founded their Divinity upon Physicks. Thus, the different Manners in which they conceived the Arrangement of the Universe, made up their different Creeds about the Deity. For, let it be said with *Thales*, that Water is the Principle of all things, and that God is the Intelligence by whom the Universe was form'd of Water; it will be replied to him, that this Intelligence did not form the Water which itself made use of. If one alledged with *Anaximander*, that the Gods had a communicated Existence, that they are born, and die after long intervals, and that these are so many numberless Worlds; might it not be justly said to him with *Cicero* (1); How can he be allowed to be a God who is not eternal?

Let a Disciple of *Anaximenes* pretend that the Air is God, that he is produced, that he is immense and infinite, that he is always in motion: But how could the Air be God, would they say, since it has no Form, whereas God ought to have a Form, nay, a most beautiful Form? Besides, to say that he is produced, is to say that he is perishable. *Anaxagoras*, the Pupil of *Anaximenes*, was no doubt nearer the Truth, since he maintain'd that the System and Dispo-

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

fiction of the Universe, were the effect of the Power and Wisdom of an infinite Being; but then that same wise and powerful Being had not made that Universe, which he disposed into such a beautiful Order.

If *Pythagoras*, as *Cicero* reports (1), believed that God was the Soul diffused thro' all the bounds of Nature, and he from whom human Souls were derived; besides, that this System is nothing but the pure Materialism of *Strato* and some others, how easy would it be to triumph with *Cicero*, in objecting to him, that if this was the case, God must needs suffer pain, that he would be torn and rent in pieces, when those Souls are detached from him? Now, a God is incapable of suffering. Besides, why is the Mind of Man ignorant of any thing, if it be God?

If *Parmenides* enters the lists to prove, that God is like to a Crown, a luminous uninterrupted Circle, which encompasses the Heavens: He will be ask'd, with *Cicero*, where he finds the divine Figure in that Circle, and how Thought can possibly be there? If the same Philosopher deifies War, Discord, Concupiscence, a thousand other things, which, instead of being immortal, Sickness or Sleep, Oblivion, or Time alone will destroy; may not such Hypotheses as these be justly treated after the manner of Visions and mere Chimæras?

If *Democritus* gives the title of God, both to the Images of Objects which strike our Senses, and to Nature, which furnishes, which conveys these Images, and to the Ideas with which they fill our Minds; when after this he asserts that nothing is eternal, because nothing continues eternally in the same state: Is not this, to use *Cicero's* Words, to destroy, and at once to demolish the Existence of the Gods, and all the Opinions which establish it?

“ As for *Plato*, says the same Author (2), it would
 “ take a long discourse to shew how he varies upon this
 “ Subject. In his *Timæus*, he says, the Father of this
 “ Universe cannot be named; and in his Books of the
 “ Laws,

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) Ibid.

“ Laws, that we ought not curiously to enquire what
 “ God is. When he holds that God is incorporeal, it
 “ is to make way for his Conclusion, that God is a
 “ Being absolutely incomprehensible, neither capable
 “ of Sensation, nor Wisdom, nor Pleasure ; Attributes
 “ essential to the Gods. He likewise says, both in the *Ti-*
 “ *mæus*, and in his Treatise of the Laws, that the World,
 “ the Heavens, the Stars, the Earth, the Souls of Men,
 “ the Divinities who teach us the Religion of our Fa-
 “ thers, all these, he says, are God ; Opinions, conti-
 “ nues the same Author, which, considered by them-
 “ selves, are evidently false, and taken all together,
 “ are prodigiously inconsistent.”

Xenocrates again, says *Cicero* (1), who had the same Master with *Aristotle*, reasons no better than he upon this Subject, since he admits eight Gods, whereof the Planets make five : But I have said enough elsewhere of the Opinion of those who reckon'd the Stars in the number of the Gods. As for that of the Stoicks, who added illustrious Men to the number, I reserve it for the following Chapter. Nor shall I say any thing of the Opinions of the other Philosophers, since it is enough to know, that they are reducible to three Classes. The first is that of the Materialist-Philosophers, who believed that mere Matter, void of Sense and Reason, was capable of forming the World ; whether it was that one of the Elements produced all the rest, as *Thales* asserted of the Water ; or, that Matter being divided into an infinity of Atoms, these Atoms, by dancing fortuitously thro' the infinite Void, at length, by a happy Concourse, ranged themselves into regular Forms, as *Epicurus* dreamed.

The second is the Opinion of those more enlightned Philosophers, who rose to more sublime Conceptions, and from the beautiful Order of the Universe inferred, that it must needs be the effect of an intelligent Cause ; but not being able to comprehend a Substance not material, they believ'd Intelligence to be a Property of Matter ; and this Perfection they attributed to the
 ætherial

(1) Ibid.

ætherial Fire, or to the Fire of the more subtilized and more agitated Matter.

The third, in fine, is that of those Philosophers, who finding that Intelligence could not be material, concluded that it must be absolutely distinguished from all that is Body: But at the same time they believ'd, as has been already said, that Bodies existed independently on that Intelligence, whose Power was necessary to the animating and ranging them into order.

I shall add nothing here to what I have said elsewhere of those ancient *Egyptian* Philosophers, who under the Name of *Cneph* comprehended a first Being, from whose Mouth proceeded the primitive Egg, whence all other Beings were derived: Nor shall I dwell longer upon this Subject, which respects the History of Philosophy, rather than that of Religion. They who want to be more particularly instructed in the Opinions of the Philosophers, as to the Divinity, may consult, besides *Niogenes Laertius* and *Cicero*, the History of Philosophy by *Stanley*, and *Cudworth's Intellectual System*. Let us come to something more particularly relative to Mythology.

C H A P. II.

Wherein the Nature of the Pagan Gods is more particularly examined.

IT was not upon these vain Speculations that the Pagan Theology was form'd at first. On the contrary, it was only to polish and refine that gross System, that the Philosophers contriv'd so many different ones of their own. 'Tis of the Nature of the Gods, as they were really the Objects of the establish'd Pagan Worship, that I am to discourse; and there occurs an important Question to be previously examined. Had all these Gods been Men? or at least, had not some of them been so? I am persuaded that the examination of the second part of this Question, will be thought needless. Have we not always heard, have we not read in different Authors,

Authors, both ancient and modern, that illustrious Men had been raised to the Rank of Gods, had been honour'd with a publick Worship? We find some of the Learned, however, who, after having seriously examin'd the Opinions generally adopted, think them not always supported upon a solid Foundation; some I know, who hold that no example can be given of any Man, who was worshipped as a God. 'Tis therefore, on this second part of the Question that I am to enlarge most, and I hope to prove the thing undeniably; for as to the first, I don't believe there ever was any Author, either ancient or modern, who thought that all the Pagan Gods had been Men. Let us reflect on what I said, in discoursing of the Origin and Progress of Idolatry (1): There I shew'd, that Idolatry at first was far from being so monstrous as it came to be in After-ages; that the Idea of the first Being, the Creator of the Universe, having been insensibly defaced, they had first affix'd it to sensible Objects; that the heavenly Bodies, especially the Sun and Moon, whose resplendent Beauty made a more vigorous Impression upon the Minds of Men, and whose Influences seem'd to act more immediately upon them, had attracted the first Homage, and been the first Gods; that from the Adoration of the Stars, Mankind had passed on to that of the Elements, the Rivers, the Fountains, &c. and in a word, to the Worship of universal Nature. I add, that this was the Opinion of most of the Philosophers. Cicero, giving the Opinion of Chrysippus (2), says, he maintain'd that the Air was Jupiter, that the Sea was Neptune, the Earth Ceres, &c. *Denique disputat Æthera esse eum, quem Homines Jovem appellant; quique aer per maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum; terramque eam esse, quæ Ceres diceretur; similique ratione percurrit vocabula reliquorum Deorum.*

Zeno, according to Diogenes Laertius (3), had much the same Notions, since, according to that Chief of the Stoicks, it was the universal Soul of the World, who assumed different Names, according to the different

(1) L. III. (2) De Nat. Deor. l. 1. (3) In Zeno.

444 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book V,
 rent Relations of his Power: That it was called *Dios*,
 because it is the Spring of all Operations; *Athene*, be-
 cause its Empire is in the Heavens; *Hera*, because it
 is the Mistress of the Universe; *Vulcan*, as presiding
 over the Fire; and *Poseidon*, in so far as its Power ex-
 tends over the Waters.

Pliny speaking of the Divinity, says, that Men had
 divided it into several Parts, in order to worship these
 Parts separately, according to their various Exigences:
Fragilis & laboriosa Mortalitas in partes ita digessit,
infirmittatis suæ memor, ut portionibus coleret quisque quo
maxime indigeret (1).

What I have now said, gave rise to those divisions of
 the Gods into different Classes, as we shall see afterwards;
 especially into that of Natural Gods, who were the
 Stars and other Parts of the Universe; and of Animated
 Gods, that is, Men who had the honour of Deifica-
 tion conferred upon them. 'Tis therefore certain, that
 the Pagan World adored other Gods besides deify'd
 Men, who, as I have proved elsewhere, were only the
 last Objects of Idolatry, while the Stars were the first
 Deities of the Pagan World.

To come now to the second part of the Question,
 which I proposed to examine, I maintain that there
 were Men to whom divine Honours were really paid,
 and that the *Greeks* had hardly any other Gods but dei-
 fy'd Men. I begin with the Testimony of *Herodotus*,
 because he is the Author, on whom the Learned before
 mentioned rely for the proof of their Allegation:
 Let us hear what that famous Historian says, speaking
 of the *Persians* (2). “ They have neither Statues nor
 “ Temples, nor Altars, and those who have them,
 “ they tax with Folly. What I take to be their Rea-
 “ son, is, that they don't believe like the *Greeks*, that
 “ the Gods are of human Race.” *Αγαλμάτα μὲν καὶ νηὲς*
καὶ βωμὰς οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποι-
εῦσι μωροῖν ἐπιφέρειν· ὥς μιν ἐμοί δοκεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφύεας
ἐνόμισαν τὰς θεάς, κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι.

Herodotus therefore supposes, that the *Greeks* believ'd
 the

(1) L. 2. c. 7.

(2) L. 1. c. 131.

the Gods derived their Origin from Men, or, which comes to the same, that they had been Men. I shall not quote particular Passages from *Diodorus Siculus*, since, if I were to copy all the Places where he supposes that the Gods had been Men, I might transcribe the whole first Books of his History. It cannot be denied, that he has considered *Saturn*, *Atlas*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, and the rest, as the Gods, nay, as the primary Gods of Paganism, yet he speaks of them as of illustrious Men; he enters into the detail of their Actions and Conquests, and forgets not the History of their Birth and of their Death. In a word, all the Historians, Mythologists, and Poets, have delivered the same Sentiments with *Diodorus*, upon this Subject. No body will doubt but that *Jupiter* was the greatest Divinity of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and yet we are told the History of his Birth, and the Stratagem which *Rhea* his Mother made use of to rescue him from the Cruelty of *Saturn*. They tell us of his Education, his Conquests, his Amours, his Offspring; in fine, of his Death, and of the Place where his Tomb was erected. The same account is given of the other Gods.

It may be objected, that Poets, at least such as *Hesiod* and *Homer*, ought not to be taken into the number of those whom I cite for proof of this Truth; but as they did not invent what they say of the Gods, as I have proved elsewhere, but only followed the establish'd Notions of their Times, they are to be looked upon as the first and most ancient Witnesses to this Tradition, that the Gods had been Men.

Tho' the Philosophers invented different Systems about the Divinity, as we have seen in the preceding Chapter, there were, however, considerable Sects among them, who embraced the Opinion of deify'd Men; as that of the *Stoicks* and *Platonists*, those at least, in the later times. *Cicero*, who in his second Book of the Nature of the Gods displays so ingeniously the Opinions of the former, says, they allowed an universal Soul, a Fire active, vital, intelligent, which animated all Nature; and that every Being wherein any singular Virtue was to be
seen,

seen, or wherein this active Principle seem'd to manifest itself more conspicuously, deserv'd the name of Divinity : And by consequence, that this Title ought to be conferr'd upon great Men, in whose Soul that divine Fire shone forth with a brighter lustre.

Jamblicus, who labour'd so much to refine the prevailing System of Paganism, could not however but admit a Class of animated Gods, and deify'd Men, as we shall see in another Chapter. Here then are two Sects of Philosophers, who, conformably to the Poets and Historians, acknowledge the two Species of Gods I have mentioned, Gods Natural, and Gods Animated.

If from the Testimonies of *Greeks*, we pass to those of the *Latin* Authors, we shall find the Opinions I maintain, still more clearly established by their Authority. *Varro*, as *St. Augustin* has it (1), went a little too far, since he asserted, that one would be at a loss to find, in the Writings of the Ancients, Gods who had not been Men. *Cicero*, in like manner says, that in every period of time, it had been a Custom to rank among the Gods, those who had taught Men the use of proper Food, and other Necessaries for the preservation of human Life : *Non solum hæc ætas, sed tota Posteritas, reperti alimenti gratiâ, repertores ut Deos omnium clarissimos honoravit* (2) : A decisive Testimony, since it proves not only that Men were taken into the number of the Gods, but even of the Great Gods.

It would signify nothing to object to me, that *Cicero* is not there delivering his own Opinion, but only representing, in the first Book upon the Nature of the Gods, the Sentiments of the Philosophers, whom he afterwards refutes ; for besides that we don't find he has said any thing to the contrary, we may at least conclude from this Passage, that there were Philosophers who maintain'd that most of the Gods had been Men ; and this is all I am aiming to prove.

The Books of *Labeo*, which *Servius* speaks of (3), would be very proper, were they yet extant, to prove the

(1) *De Civ. Dei*, l. 8.
the third *Æneid*.

(2) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 1.

(3) Upon

the same Allegation: That Work was intitled, of the Animated Gods, *De Diis quibus Origo Animalis est*, and consequently supposed the distinction I have mention'd above, between natural Gods, such as the Stars, and Gods animated, such as Men, whom a kind of Consecration rais'd to the Order of Gods. *Servius*, who had read this Work, says so in express words: *Labeo in Libris qui appellantur, de Diis quibus Origo Animalis est, ait esse quædam sacra, quibus Animæ humanæ vertuntur in Deos, qui appellantur Animales, quod de Animis fiant.* *Servius* speaks for himself as well as *Labeo*, since, among the different Etymologies of the word *Indiges*, he gives this: *vel certè Indigetes sunt Dii ex hominibus facti.*

But it was not only the *Greeks* and *Romans* who had these Sentiments about the Gods; the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* had the same Idea of them. *Sanchoniathon*, of whom I have spoke in the second Book, had in his Work compos'd the History of the ancient Princes, whose Merit had rais'd them to divine Honours; and who are thought by very learned Men to have been the Patriarchs themselves. *Philo* of *Byblos* his Translator observes, that *Taautus* had in like manner written the History of the ancient Gods, which Authors in succeeding Ages had turned into Allegory. Then he lays down a distinction, which sufficiently proves what I am endeavouring to establish. “The Ancients, says he, “had two sorts of Gods; the one were immortal, as “the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and the Elements; “the other mortal, that is to say, the great Men, who “by the Merit of their glorious Actions, or by the Services they had done to Mankind, had been advanced “to divine Honours, and had, as well as they who “were by nature Immortal, Temples, Columns, a religious Worship, &c.”

The same Truth may be demonstrated from the sacred Books, which, by informing us that the Sacrifices of the Pagans were only Sacrifices to the Dead, suppose at the same time, that they to whom such Sacrifices were offered, had been Men. I might subjoin the Passage of the Book of Wisdom, wherein mention is

made of a Father, who causes a Figure to be made, representing the Son whom he has lost, whom he honours as a God, and who became afterwards a publick Divinity ; but this I have already quoted in speaking of the Origin and Progress of Idolatry (1). In fine, we may oppose to those who stand out against all these Proofs, the Authority of the primitive Fathers of the Church, and of the Apologists for the Christian Religion ; Persons of Learning who have combated the Pagan System with so much advantage, and, to be sure, were better informed in the nature of it than we, who are too remote from the time when it was the predominant Religion, to be able to judge of it so well as they.

The strongest Objection which the Philosophers made to them, was, that the accounts which their Poets had given of the Gods, were only to be looked upon as Fictions hatch'd from their own Brain ; and that in truth, the publick Worship was ultimately directed to the immortal Beings and superiour Intelligences, who presided over and governed the World : As a Proof whereof, said they, *Eubemerus* (a) was universally reputed an Atheist, for having alledged that the Gods had been mortal Men. But our Apologists did not allow themselves to be dazzled with this specious Reply : They proved to those Philosophers that Allegory had come too late ; that it was a thing of their own Invention, which they employed only to refine a System equally monstrous and absurd. They shew'd them by an uninterrupted and generally receiv'd Tradition, that the first Race of Men who were rude and illiterate, were far from having made such Refinements in Religion, but had, in the sincerity of their Hearts, paid divine Homage to those, who had either taught them the necessary Arts of Life, or done them some other important Service. And to prove it with more success, they had recourse to the Testimonies of *Varro*, *Cicero*, and several other Ancients whom I have not quoted ; for this Article of the Pagan System is what they have most enlarged

(1) L. 3.

(a) See the following Chapter, where we speak of this Author.

enlarged upon, and proved with most Solidity. 'Tis then evident, according to these different Authors, that among the Pagan Gods, there were some who had been Men: But as Objections are raised against this Opinion, I shall propose and answer them in the following Chapter.

C H A P. III.

Wherein Answers are given to the Objections that may be raised against the Opinion, that several of the Pagan Gods had been Men; with new Proofs to confirm it.

THE first and perhaps the strongest of these Objections, is, that had it been generally believ'd that there were Gods who had been Men, *Eubemerus* would not have been looked upon as an Atheist, for maintaining that Opinion in the History which he publish'd upon that Subject, under the Title of *Sacred History*. Before we answer this Difficulty, 'tis proper to let the Reader know something of this Author and his Work.

The Ancients are not agreed as to the Place where *Eubemerus* was born; but without entering into critical Questions which would carry me too far from my Subject, and upon which, you may consult the Dissertation of Abbé *Sevin* (a), I hold to the Opinion of *Polybius*, who says, he was a *Messenian* by Birth. *Cassander*, King of *Macedonia* (b), whose Interest he espoused, heap'd Favours upon him, and gave him considerable Posts. It was by that Prince's Orders he undertook long Voyages, and in the relation he gives of one of these Voyages, he publish'd this History of the Gods, for which he was so much reproached. This Work, and the *Latin* Translation of it which was done by *Ennius*, are not now extant; and 'tis highly probable that

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(a) See the Mem. of the Acad. Bel. Let. Vol. 8.

(b) This is the second of *Alexander's* Successors; so that 'tis easy to know when *Eubemerus* lived.

the Copies of it were suppress'd as much as possible. *Diodorus Siculus*, who had read this Relation, spoke of it in the sixth Book of his History; but this Book, as we know, is lost. *Eusebius* (1) by good luck has preserv'd us a Fragment of it, and from him we quote the following Account of it.

“ *Eubemerus* being admitted into *Cassander*’s intimate
 “ Friendship, and for that reason obliged to execute
 “ Commissions of Trust from him in remote Countries,
 “ came, as we are told, to the southern Parts of *Arabia*,
 “ called the Happy. From thence setting sail upon
 “ the same Ocean (a), he made a pretty long Voyage,
 “ and landed in several Islands of that Sea. Among
 “ others he lighted on one which was called the Island
 “ *Panchaia*. All the Inhabitants of that Island lived
 “ in the practice of an extraordinary Piety, continually
 “ offered great Sacrifices to the Gods, and frequently
 “ brought Offerings of Gold and Silver into their
 “ Temples: The whole Island seem’d to be but one
 “ Temple. *Eubemerus* admired what he was told as
 “ to the Antiquity, and what he himself saw of the
 “ Magnificence of their Edifices There is espe-
 “ cially on the top of a very high Hill, a Temple to
 “ *Jupiter*, called *Triphilian*: They alledge it was built
 “ by the God himself, when being as yet a mere Man,
 “ he reigned over the whole Earth.

“ In this Temple is a Column of Gold, upon which
 “ are engrav’d in the *Panchaick* Characters, the princi-
 “ pal Actions of *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and *Jupiter*. There
 “ we are informed, that *Uranus*, the most ancient King
 “ of the World, had been a just and beneficent Man,
 “ perfectly well versed in the knowledge of the Stars,
 “ and the first who had offered Sacrifice to the Gods of
 “ Heaven; which was the Reason of his getting the
 “ name *Uranus* or Heaven. His Sons by *Vesta* his
 “ Wife, were *Pan* and *Saturn*, and his Daughters,
 “ *Rhea* and *Ceres*. *Saturn* reigned after *Uranus*, and
 “ having

(1) Præp. Evan. l. 2. c. 3.

(a) That is, upon the eastern Ocean, which washes the east side of *Africa*.

“ having married *Rhea*, had by her *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and
 “ *Neptune*. *Jupiter* succeeded to the Throne of his
 “ Father, married *Juno*, *Ceres*, and *Themis*; the first
 “ bore to him the *Curetes*, the second *Proserpine*, and
 “ the third *Minerva*. Having afterwards gone to *Ba-*
 “ *bylon*, he was entertained there by *Belus*: Thence he
 “ pass'd into the Island *Panchaia*, and there erected an
 “ Altar in honour of his Grandfather *Uranus*. In
 “ his return from that Island, he came into *Syria*, to
 “ the Court of *Cæsius*, who reign'd there at that time.
 “ Thence he came into *Cilicia*, where in a pitch'd
 “ Battel he vanquish'd *Cilix*, who was Sovereign of that
 “ Country. He travers'd other Places besides, and
 “ every where was honour'd and revered as a God.”

This is all that the Fragment cited by *Eusebius* contains; but *Diodorus* had before made mention in another place (1), of the same Island of *Jupiter Triphilian*, and of the Names of the Inhabitants of the Country: I give you here what he says of the Temple, the rest not belonging to my Subject.

“ This Temple is very stately, and wholly built of
 “ white Stones: The Length of it is about 200 Perches,
 “ and of a proportional Breadth. It stands upon Columns
 “ very massy, and extremely embellish'd by the Sculp-
 “ tor. The Statues of the Gods, remarkable for their
 “ Largeness and immense Weight, are also Master-
 “ pieces of Art.”

After some other Particulars, *Diodorus* says, the *Panchaia*ns shew Characters, which *Jupiter*, say they, had drawn with his own Hand when he laid the first Foundations of their Temple. He adds, that this Temple, situated about sixty Furlongs from *Panara*, the Capital of the Island, in a delightful Spot of Ground, watered with noble Springs, was full of Offerings of Gold and Silver, which in process of time had been prodigiously accumulated; that the Gates were wrought with Ornaments of Gold and Silver, with Ivory, and Wood of the Frankincense-Tree; that the Bed of the God was six Cubits long, and four in breadth; that it was of

(1) L. 5.

massy Gold, and of finished Workmanship; that the Table was no less magnificent, and near as large as the Bed by which it stood; that at a little distance from the Bed was erected a high Column of Gold, with an Inscription upon it, in what the *Egyptians* call sacred Characters, containing the History of *Uranus*, of *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*; the whole written with *Mercury's* own Hand (a). He says in another place, that the *Panchaians* were originally from the Island of *Crete*, whence *Jupiter* had conducted them into *Panchaia*, and ordered them to maintain Commerce with the *Cretans* their Ancestors.

All the Ancients looked upon this Relation of *Eubemerus* as a Romance, forged out of his own Head, and the Author of it as an Atheist. The Island of *Panchaia*, according to *Plutarch* (1), is a Chimæra, and no Man, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*, ever saw it, any more than the pretended Temple of *Jupiter Triphilian*. *Cicero* examining this Question, is hardly more favourable to *Eubemerus* than *Plutarch*. “This Question, “says he, has been treated by *Eubemerus*, whom our “*Ennius* translated into *Latin*. He speaks of the “Death, and of the Tombs of the Gods: Was it his “Design to confirm Religion, or to subvert it?”

I take not upon me to defend either this Writer or his Relation, which carries all the Characters of a real Romance; but as to the Substance of the System, what was there then in it of so extraordinary or unheard of a nature, to deserve the Reproaches which were thrown upon its Author? Do not all the Poets, the more ancient ones especially, speak of the Gods as he does? Does not *Hesiod* give the same Genealogies of them? Does he not tell us that they were born and died one after

(a) *Diodorus* first said that the *Panchaian* Characters had been drawn by *Jupiter* himself, and this is likewise the Opinion of *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*, who probably had read either the Relation by *Eubemerus* himself, or *Ennius's* Translation: Then the same Author asserts, that they had been written by *Mercury*. We may reconcile these three Writers by saying, that as it was by *Jupiter's* Orders *Mercury* drew them upon the Column it is as if he had writ them himself.

(1) De Isid. & Osir.

after another? Has not *Eubemerus* shew'd more Discretion than *Homer* and the other Poets, since none of those shocking Stories of the Gods are related by him, which are to be found in their Works? In the preceding Chapter we have seen how many Authors, even of those whom we most regard, had debased the Gods to the rank of Men, or rather raised Men to the rank of Gods. Had not *Cicero* himself, from whom I have quoted a Passage directly to the purpose, the same Sentiments with *Eubemerus*? Does he not say, (which is an additional Proof of his Opinion) that Heaven is almost wholly peopled with Mankind, and that they who have the Name of Gods had been Men? *Quod totum prope Cælum, nonne genere humano completum est? Illi qui majorum gentium Dii habentur, hinc a nobis profecti reperiuntur* (1).

Diodorus Siculus is so far from taxing *Eubemerus* with Impiety, that on the contrary he makes use of his Authority to prove the Opinion which I maintain. “The
“Ancients, says he, have transmitted to Posterity a
“Distinction of Gods into two Classes. The one, ac-
“cording to them, are eternal and immortal, as the
“Sun, the Moon, and other Luminaries: They join
“with them the Winds, and all Beings which partake
“of their Nature. These they believe have been from
“Eternity, and that they are to continue to Eternity.
“The Gods of the second Class were born upon the
“Earth, and arrived at the Titles and Honours of Divi-
“nity, only for the Blessings they conferred upon Men:
“Such are *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Aristæus*, and the like.
“The Historians on the one hand, and the Mytholo-
“gists on the other, give us very different Accounts
“of these terrestrial Gods. The Historian *Eubemerus*,
“for example, &c.”

It cannot be objected that this was only *Diodorus's* own private Opinion, since he himself says, it was the Opinion of all the Ancients; and after having cited for proof of it, the Authority of *Eubemerus*, as we have now seen, he subjoins: “We might satisfy ourselves

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

“ with this Passage of *Eubemerus*, taken from his sacred History ; but to gratify those who are curious to know what Opinion the *Greek* Mythologists had of these Gods of theirs, I shall set before you what we find in *Hesiod*, *Homer*, and *Orpheus*.” The rest of the Book, wherein he had examined what these ancient Poets said of the Gods, is lost ; but as we have the Works of two of these Poets, ’tis easy to see what Accounts they there give of the Gods : To be sure they speak of them with less Decency than *Eubemerus*.

But why was he then reputed an Atheist ? We might answer, in the first place, that at the time when his sacred History appear’d, the face of Religion was quite changed. The *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, justly shocked with the gross Ideas which the first *Greek* Poets had given of the Gods, labour’d to turn them into such Allegories as might diminish their Absurdity, as has been said elsewhere. Not being able to hear the Birth of the Gods continually sounding in their ears, that pretended Birth, they said, was nothing but the Introduction of their Worship into the Country where the Poets asserted they were born. The extravagant and ridiculous Idea of a *Saturn* who devours his own Children, was nothing, according to them, but the Emblem of all-consuming Time. The other poetical Fictions, they explained much in the same way. In this Interval appears an Author, who says, he had seen in an Island an Inscription engrav’d in very ancient Characters, containing the History of the Gods ; which speaks of their Birth, their Conquests, and their Death ; consequently he seems design’d to renew, or rather to confirm by so authentick a Proof, the exploded Opinions of the ancient Poets : Is there then any wonder that they looked upon him as Impious and Atheistical ? Will not this be always the Fate of every Man who attempts to destroy an establish’d Religion ?

This Answer, however specious it is, not being entirely satisfactory, since in fact neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor the Authors whom I quoted in the preceding Chapter, incurred the same Censure as *Eubemerus*, tho’

they were posterior to him, and in the main have said the same thing with him in relation to the deify'd Men: So that I am persuaded there were some Doctrines of a pernicious tendency, artfully wrought into *Euhemerus's* Relation. Perhaps he had rejected the Gods of the first kind, the Stars, and those Intelligences, who, according to the Philosophers whom we just now mentioned, conducted them, and were reckoned to govern the World; and having reduced all the Gods to illustrious Men, whom it was easy to see at bottom not to be true Gods, since they were born and died like other Men, whereas the Gods ought to be eternal and immortal in their Nature, he thereby sap'd the whole Foundations of Religion. And this undoubtedly was what made him pass for an Atheist: For had he admitted these Deities of the first Class, and barely recited the History of those of the second, that is to say, of the animated Gods, such as it is in the Fragment we have now remaining, he had said nothing but what may be found in the Poets and Historians who have given the Genealogy of these same Deities, and have spoke of their Birth, their Actions, their Death, and their sepulchral Monuments.

It may be objected to me in the second place, that *Herodotus* (1) makes a Distinction between the Worship which was paid to the Gods, and that which was paid to the Heroes, that is, to deify'd Men. *Sacrifices*, says that Author, *were offered to Hercules the Son of Alcmena, as to a Hero; but to Olympian Hercules, who was one of the great Divinities of Egypt, as to a Being of an immortal Nature.* To this Authority might be join'd that of *Pausanias*, who says (2), Honours, such as belong'd to Heroes, were paid to *Alexanor*, but divine Honours to *Evamerion*, whom the *Pergemenians*, authorized by an Oracle, surnamed *Telephorus*.

I might answer first, that the *Egyptian Hercules* had been a Man, as well as the Son of *Alcmena*: And the same thing might be said of *Alexanor* and *Evamerion*; that Distinction in their Worship being only owing either to their greater Antiquity, or to the one having

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been

(1) L. 2. (2) In Cor. p. 105.

been more illustrious and in higher Reputation than the other : But I go farther, and contend that the Heroes rose insensibly, and as it were by steps, till they came to the Rank of Gods and received divine Honours ; and this was the very Case as to the *Greek Hercules*, since, after he had been worshipp'd for some time as an Hero, he came at length to have perfect Sacrifices offered to him ; that is, Sacrifices where a part of the Victim was burnt in honour of the God, and the rest was eaten at the Feast which always accompany'd the Ceremony of Sacrifice. Of this, the Fact which *Pausanias* relates, leaves no room to doubt. *Phestus*, according to that Author (1), upon his arrival at *Sicyon*, being inform'd that *Hercules* had hitherto been worshipped not as a God, but only as a Hero, thought this was very unbecoming, and therefore ordered divine Honours to be paid to him : However, that this Innovation might not appear shocking to the *Sicyonians*, he allowed them still to reserve a small part of the Victim, to be offered to the same *Hercules* as to a Hero. From that time, adds this Author, they kill a Lamb, and having roasted the Thighs upon the Altar, they eat one part of the Victim, and offer the other to *Hercules*, as to a Hero ; infomuch that at this day he is revered both as a God, and as a Hero. The two Holidays which were afterwards kept in his honour, were greatly distinguish'd ; the first was called *Onomata*, and the other *Herculia*. This Fact undeniably proves, both that the Heroes arose to the rank of Gods, and that in the time of *Phestus's* arrival in *Sicyon*, *Hercules* was already worshipp'd as a God thro' the rest of *Greece*. For had it not been so, what ground would he have had for his Surprise and Indignation ? The same thing may be advanced as to *Esculapius*, *Thalassius* the God of Marriage, and several others, who, as *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, were taken into the number of the Gods, and worshipped as such.

We must not imagine that those great Men owed their Divinity to the Poets alone ; it was the People, the Pontifs, nay whole Cities that perform'd their Apotheosis. Would ever the Authority of the Poets have

(1) Cor. l. 2. p. 102.

been sufficient to cause a Worship to be establish'd, Temples and Altars to be erected to Men, deify'd only by them? This is an Error forged by those who look upon *Homer* and *Hesiod* as the Fathers of the Pagan Theology; whereas in their Poems, they only celebrated those whose Worship was established, and spoke of them in the same way as the Priests and People did. Undoubtedly, remarks St. *Augustin* (1), the Apotheoses were publick Acts, ratify'd by the Authority of Senate and People: Those of *Julius Cæsar*, of *Augustus*, and other Emperors, are an incontestable Proof of it. Thus the Poets are not the Authors of the Theology, of which their Works are full; all they have done is only to transmit to us the Tradition thereof.

But if I am now ask'd, who those were whom they put into the number of the Gods; I answer, 1. They were the ancient Kings: And as, according to *Lactantius* (2), they had no knowledge of any, before *Uranus* and *Saturn*, this is the Reason why they were looked upon as the most ancient Divinities. 2. They who had done considerable Services to the World, either by the Invention of some Art necessary to human Life, or by their Conquests and Victories. 3. The ancient Founders of Cities. 4. They who had discover'd some Country, or had conducted Colonies thither. 5. Those whom Flattery promoted to that Rank, and of this number are the *Roman* Emperors, whose Apotheosis was order'd by the Senate. In fine, all who became the Objects of publick Gratitude.

But altho' I contend, and hope to prove it in the Sequel, that the Gods, not only of the *Greeks*, but of the Nations from whom they receiv'd them, I mean the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, were all of them Men, except the Stars, and other parts of the Universe which were deify'd; yet I am far from giving into the Notion of a learned *Italian* Prelate, who, in his universal History, whereof we have but the first Volume (3), says, that by the several Gods, of *Homer* for example, we are to understand the Kings of each particular Country,

or

458 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES - Book V.
or the Country itself where they reign'd : That *Jupiter*
is *Sesostris* and his Successors ; *Juno*, *Syria* ; *Neptune*,
Asia minor ; *Apollo*, *Babylon* ; *Diana*, the *Amazons* ;
Mars, *Armenia* ; *Mercury*, *Phenicia* ; *Venus*, the Island
of *Cyprus* ; *Minerva*, *Egypt*, &c. Upon this *Perizonius*
may be consulted, who finds it no hard matter to
refute that learned Author.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Progeny of the Gods.

AS there is nothing more obscure in fabulous Hi-
story, than what concerns the Children of the
Gods, 'tis proper that this Point be well clear'd up.
Herodotus distinguishes the Gods, as we have said, into
three Classes. There were eight in the first ; twelve in
the second ; and those of the third were the Offspring
of the others, as *Bacchus*, &c. According to this Di-
stinction, 'tis plain, that all those are to be looked upon
as the Progeny of the Gods, who were neither of the
first nor second Class ; but 'tis likewise certain that they
called by that Name ;

1. Several Poetical Personages, as when 'tis said that *Achæron*
was the Son of *Ceres* ; the Nymphs, the Daughters
of *Achelous* ; *Love*, the Son of *Poverty* ; and an infinity
of others.

2. Most of the Princes, who were rank'd among
the Gods, claim'd some one or other of them for their
Fathers or Ancestors, as shall be said immediately.

3. They who were the Offspring of the stolen Em-
braces of Priests with the Women whom they seduced
in the Temples. The Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*,
which *Herodotus* mentions, was not the only one where
it was a Custom to introduce every Night, one of the
finest Women of the City. The same Game was play'd,
according to the same Historian, at *Thebes* in *Egypt*,
at *Patara* in *Lycia*, and no doubt in several other
Places. Thus wicked Priests imposed upon the Creden-
tiality of the ignorant People, making the Children which
sprung

sprung from that incestuous Commerce; to pass for the Offspring of the Gods.

4. They who were Imitators of the glorious Actions of the Gods, and who excell'd in the same Arts, passed for their Sons, as *Esculapius*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and some others.

5. They who were found exposed in the Temples or sacred Groves: Thus *Erichonius* passed for the Son of *Minerva* and *Vulcan*, as *St. Augustin* has remark'd.

6. Such as signaliz'd themselves at Sea, were reckon'd Sons of *Neptune*.

7. They whose Character resembled that of some God, passed for their Sons. Was one eloquent? he had *Apollo* for his Father: Was he subtle or designing? he passed for a Son of *Mercury*. Thus it was fabled that *Chione*, the Daughter of *Dedalion*, had been Mistress to *Apollo* and *Mercury*, because she had two Sons, the one of whom, *Philammon*, excell'd in Eloquence; and the other, who was called *Autolycus*, was a dextrous Thief. In like manner they who were brave, claim'd *Mars* for their Father, as *Oenomaus*, *Tereus*, *Romulus*, &c. Much the same account may be given of those who were said by the Poets to be the Progeny either of the Rivers, or of the Mountains, as *Daphne* the Daughter of the River *Peneus*; *Oenone*, of *Cebrenus*; *Aventinus*, *Tyberinus*, *Inachus*, and numbers of others: By whom we are to understand, as *Lactantius* explains it, the Children of those who bore the Names of those Rivers or Mountains.

8. They whose Original was obscure, were reputed Sons of the Earth, as *Tages*, that celebrated *Etrurian*, who was look'd upon as the Inventor of the *Tuscan* Divination, and of the religious Ceremonies used in the Auguries. The Giants in fabulous History, were likewise, for the same reason, reckon'd Sons of the Earth.

9. When any Prince was concerned to conceal a scandalous Intrigue, they were sure to father the Offspring upon some God. Thus *Prætus* having got into the Tower, where *Acrisius* King of *Argos*, affrighted with the Prediction of an Oracle, had shut up his Daughter *Danaë*;

Danaë; they fabled that *Jupiter* had transformed himself into a Shower of Gold, to seduce that Princess, and *Perseus* passed for the Son of that God. Just so, *Amulius* having found a way to convey himself secretly into the Prison where *Numitor* had confin'd his Daughter *Rhea Sylvia*, *Romulus* and *Remus* sprung from the Embraces of that Prince with his Niece, were passed upon the World for Sons of *Mars*. The secret Gallant of *Alcmena* was taken for *Jupiter*, and *Hercules* was always look'd upon as the Son of that God. *Æneas* owed his Title of Son of *Venus*, upon which the *Romans* so much valued themselves, to the Report which his Father *Anchises* industriously spread abroad, of his having had a Son by that Goddess in the Forests of Mount *Ida*. The same Sentiments we are to have of *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Leda's* Twins; as well as of a world of others, whom it would be tedious to name. *Olympias* exerted all her efforts to make the World believe, that *Jupiter* was the Father of *Alexander* her Son; but so long as that Princess was alive, People were not so credulous, nor did that sham Story stop the mouth of evil Speakers.

10. In fine, almost all the Heroes of Antiquity had Gods at least for their Ancestors, and they passed either for their Sons or Grand-Sons; for you need but trace their Genealogies a little, 'till you find them commonly terminating in some God.

This is what I had to say upon the Nature of the Gods whom Paganism introduc'd; they not having been all upon an equal level, were distributed into several Classes, which shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. V.

Distribution of the Pagan Gods into several Classes.

AS the Number of the Gods whom the Pagans worship'd was almost infinite, if we would speak of them with any Order, we must range them into several Classes; this is what has been done by Mythologists

gifts both ancient and modern, whenever the Question was about reducing into a kind of System, a Theology so monstrous as was that of the Pagan World.

Herodotus (1), after the *Egyptians*, classës the Gods into three sorts; thus it is he expresses himself with relation to *Hercules*: “Among the *Greeks*, says he, “*Hercules* and *Pan* are the last of the Gods; νεώτατοι τῶν Θεῶν; but among the *Egyptians*, *Pan* is a very “ancient God, and of the number of the eight who are “the first of all: *Hercules* is in the second Class, who “are twelve in number; and *Bacchus* in the third, “consisting of those who are the Offspring of the “twelve Great Gods.”

’Tis a pity but this Author had given us the Names of the Gods who compos’d these three Classes; we should then have had an exact insight into the *Egyptian* Mythology. The Learned, to supply this defect, have distributed the Gods into several Classes.

They were divided into Great Gods, *Dii majorum gentium*, or Gods of Counsel, *Dii Consuentes* or *Consulentes*; and into the Gods of lesser Nations, *minorum gentium*. The former were the great Gods acknowledged especially in *Greece* and *Italy*. The latter were those who had been added and associated with the ancient ones, and they were peculiar to certain People. Such was the *Quirinus* of the *Romans*, the *Semo-Sancus* of the *Etrurians*, &c. The *Greeks* acknowledged twelve of these Great Gods, whose Names *Ennius* has preserv’d to us; *Juno*, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*.

Juno, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercurius*, *Jovis*, *Neptunus*, *Vulcanus*, *Apollo*. Each of these Gods presid’d over one Month of the Year; *Juno* over the Month of *January*; *Neptune*, over *February*, and so of the rest: Or else over each of the Signs of the Zodiack, as we learn from *Manilius* (2); which comes to the same thing. One of the Whimfies of *Alexander* was, as *Arrian* has it, that he would needs be

be admitted into the number of these great Gods, and so make the thirteenth in this first Class.

2. The *Romans* added eight more to the number; these were the select Gods, *Selecti*; *Janus*, *Saturn*, the *Genius*, *Sol* the Sun, *Luna* the Moon, *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, and the ancient *Vesta*, or *Terra*, the Earth. These Gods had a privilege exclusive of others, to be represented in Gold, in Silver, and in Ivory; which is to be understood only of the later times; for in the beginning, as has been already remark'd, they used nothing in the Figures of the Gods but Timber, or some shapeless Stone. *Potius Lignea*, says *Pliny* (1), *aut fictilia Deorum simulachra, in Delubris dedicata, usque ad devictam Asiam, unde irrepsit Luxuria.*

3. Then came the Gods called *Semones*, or *Semi-homines*, or *Semi-Dii*, who were believ'd not of Dignity enough to be Inhabitants of Heaven, tho' they deserv'd a better place than the Earth; as *Priapus*, *Hippona*, *Vertumnus*, and all the Heroes in particular.

4. There were common Gods, who were those who favour'd all Parties; as *Mars*, *Bellona*, *Victory*, *Fortune*: Or who were adored in every Place, and among all Nations; as *Vesta*, or the great Mother of the Gods: and thus it is that these were distinct from the Gods called *Topical*, who were worshipped only in certain Places (a), as *Astarte* in *Syria*; *Derceto* and *Semiramis* among the *Assyrians*; *Quirinus*, at *Rome*; *Faunus*, among the *Latins*; *Tages* by the *Tuscans*, and *Sancus* among the *Sabins*. Thus again, the *Egyptians* adored *Isis* and *Osiris*; the *Mauritanians*, *Juba*; the *Carthaginians*, *Uranus*; the *Sicilians*, *Adramus*; the *Athenians*, *Minerva*; the People of *Delphos*, *Apollo*; those of *Naxos*, *Bacchus*; those of *Cos*, *Aristæus*; those of *Lemnos*, *Vulcan*; those of *Paphos*, *Venus*. Such again was *Theutat* among the *Gauls*, *Endovellicus* among the *Iberians*, *Mars* among the *Thracians*, *Adad* among the *Assyrians*, *Taraxippus* among the *Eleans*, *Coronis* among the *Sicyonians*, *Zamolxis*

(1) L. 34.

(a) This Word comes from the Greek τόπος, a Place.

molx among the *Thracians*, not to mention a vast many more whose Names are less known (a).

5. Farther, there were in every Country the Gods *Indigetes*, so called, either because they had an Attachment to certain Places, *quasi in loco degentes*; or because they were ready to listen to those who needed their Aid, *quia faciles invocari*; or to denote that they were of the Country where they were invoked, *quasi Indigenæ*; or because it was not allowable to call them by their proper Name, *quia indigetari nefas*; for the Learned give all these Etymologies to the Name of these Gods *Indigetes* (b).

6. There were, besides, the Gods denominated *Cabiri*, as you would say associated, such were *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, &c. And in the same rank were placed, the *Corybantes*, the *Curetes*, and the *Idæi Dactyli*.

7. The *Dii Palici*, whose Worship was famous especially in *Sicily*; and the *Patæci*, whose Figures serv'd for Ornaments to the Prows of Ships, whereof they were the Patrons.

8. They ador'd likewise the *Dii Penates* and the *Dii Lares*; the Houses of private Persons serv'd them for Temples and Sanctuaries, as the Cross-Streets were the Places where they worshipp'd the Gods *Compitales*.

9. They acknowledg'd Gods of the Woods, of the Fountains, of the Rivers, and of the Sea; such as the *Satyrs*, the *Nymphs*, the *Naiads*, the *Sirens*, the *Nereids*, &c.

10. There are Authors who divide the Gods only into three Classes: Those whom the Poets have invented, are in the first; those of the Philosophers take up the second; and those of the Legislators and Politicians, the third (c).

II.

(a) See *Lilio Gyraidi*, Synt. 10.

(b) *Servius* upon the twelfth Book of the *Æneid*, thus speaks of the Name of these Gods: *Indigetes duplici ratione dicuntur; vel secundum Lucretium quod nullius rei egeant.*

Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nil indiga nostri.

Vel quod nos eorum indigeamus, unde quidam Deos omnes Indigetes appellari volunt. Alii Patrios Deos dici debere tradunt, alii ab invocatione dictos volunt, quod indegit est precor & invoco, vel certe Indigetes sunt Dii ex hominibus facti, & Dii Indigites, quasi in Diis agentes.

(c) *Varro & Scævola*, apud *Aug. de Civitate Dei*, l. 4.

11. Others divided Heaven into sixteen Mansions, and placed Gods in each (*a*), calling those *αξωνοι* who were not included in any of these Spheres.

12. *Cicero* (1) distributes all the Gods into three Classes; the first is that of the celestial Gods, who may likewise be called *Majorum gentium Dii*: The second is that of those who had been raised to that Dignity by their Merit, who may be called the Demi-Gods and *Indigetes*; the third is that of the Virtues, which exalt us to Heaven, and have themselves been deify'd.

13. *Varro* maintained that there were Gods known, and Gods unknown, and to these two Classes he reduced all the Gods of the *Gentiles*. In the first were those whose Names, Functions, &c. were known; as the Sun, the Moon, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the rest. In the second were placed those, about whom nothing certain was known, and to whom, nevertheless, Altars were raised, and Sacrifices offer'd. The Philosopher *Albricus* (2) look'd upon the seven Planets, as the seven primary Gods of the Pagan World, whom he ranged in this Order, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Luna*, the Moon. *Pausanias* (b), *Cicero*, *Hesychius*, and several other Authors, speak of Altars raised to unknown Gods; and we see in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that St. Paul says to the *Athenians*: *As I passed by and beheld your Devotions, I found an Altar with this Inscription, To the unknown God, αγνωστῷ Θεῷ. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you* (3). *Epimenides*, that great Prophet of the *Cretans*, was he who founded this Superstition. Being consulted by the *Athenians* how they might appease the Gods, and put a stop to the Plague which was laying their Country waste, he answer'd, that they were to let go into the Fields, black Sheep, and cause the Priests to go behind them and mark where they stopp'd, and there offer them up in Sacrifice; and from that time,

23

(a) *Martianus*, see *Lysio Gyraldi*, Synt. 10.

(1) *De Leg.* 1. 2. (2) *De Imag. Deor.*

(b) *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, αγνωστῷ Θεῷ βομῆς, *Deorum ignotorum Aras*.

(3) *Acts* xvii. 23.

as *Diogenes Laertius* remarks, several Altars were to be seen in the Fields, erected to unknown Gods (*a*) ; that is to say, from the twenty-seventh Olympiad, according to that Author, or if we take *Suidas's* Authority, from the forty-second.

14. *Clemens of Alexandria* (1) thought all the Pagan Gods might be reduced to seven Classes. In the first he reckons the Stars ; in the second the Fruits of the Earth, and the Gods who preside over them, *Ceres*, *Pomona*, *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, &c. The third includes the Gods of Punishment and Correction, as the *Furies*, and others. In the fourth he placed the Gods of Passions and Affections, such as *Love*, *Shame*, &c. The Gods of Virtues, as *Concord*, *Peace*, &c. according to him, form'd the fifth Class. The Great Gods, whom they term'd *Dii majorum gentium*, had but the sixth. Lastly, the salutary Gods, as *Æsculapius*, *Hygieia*, *Telesphorus*, and some others, were those of the seventh.

15. *Jamblichus* the *Platonick* Philosopher, divided the Gods into eight Classes (2). In the first he reckon'd the Great Gods, who, tho' invisible in their Nature, are present in all the parts of the Universe, meaning, no doubt, that universal Spirit of whom we have already spoke. Superior Spirits, whom he named Archangels, possess'd the second. Other Spirits of an inferior Order, the Angels, made up the third ; In the fourth were the Demons. They whom he calls greater Archons, that is, the *Genii* who presided over the sublunary World, and over the Elements, were in the fifth ; and the lesser Archons, whose Power extended only to gross terrestrial Matter, in the sixth. The Heroes form'd the seventh ; and lastly, the Souls of Men rank'd among the Gods, were in the eighth. See for this, the following Chapter.

16. Other Philosophers of the same Sect comprehended all the Gods of the Pagan World, or if you will,

(*a*) Ex eo tempore per agros Atticæ aræ sine nomine Dei visabantur. *Diog. Laert.*

(1) In *Protrep.* (2) De *Myst. Sect.* 2. c. 1.

will, all the *Genii*, under two Classes. Those whom they design'd ἀῖλοι Immaterial, and ὑλαιοι or Material, occupy'd the first; and those whom they called *Mundane*, or *Supramundane*, the second.

17. Some will have it that *Mercury* called *Trismegistus*, allowed three Classes of Gods. In the first were those whom he named Celestial; in the second the Empyreal, and in the third the Etherial. That celebrated Author, 'tis said, had composed a thousand Volumes upon the Gods of the first Class, and an hundred upon each of the other two.

18. Again, the Gods were divided into publick and private ones. The first were those whose Worship was established and authorized by the Laws. The second, they whom every one chose to be the Objects of his own private Worship. Such were the Gods *Lares*, the *Penates*, and the Souls of their Ancestors, whom every private Man was allowed to worship, in what way he had a mind.

19. The most general Distribution of the Gods, is into Natural, and Animated ones. By the former are understood, the Stars and other Physical Beings; by the latter, Men who by their Heroism, won divine Honours. But this, however, does not comprehend all the Gods, since the *Genii* of different Orders, of whom we shall speak in the next Chapter, are not included in it.

20. In fine, the last, which is what I am to follow in treating of the Deities of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is the Division of the Gods into Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Nature of the Genii or Demons.

I N the first Chapter of this Book we have given the Sentiments of the Philosophers about the Nature of the Gods; in the second and third, the Opinions of the Poets and Historians. We have told you in the fourth, who

who they were who passed for Children of the Gods. In the fifth, we have seen the Distribution of the Gods into various Classes. We are now to examine what some Philosophers understood by the *Genii* or Demons.

The *Platonick* Philosophers, in the later Ages of Paganism, being attach'd to *Theurgick* Magick, which, according to them, rais'd the Soul to the most sublime Speculation, and enabled it to contemplate the Deity himself, with whom it brought Man into a most intimate Union, as has been said in the preceding Book ; they, I say, propagated the Doctrine of *Genii* or Demons, whose Power extended over this lower World, and in particular over Man. *Porphry*, the most celebrated of these Philosophers, wrote a long Letter to *Anebo*, an *Egyptian* Priest, requiring he would give him light into the most important Subjects of Religion, and particularly as to that of those *Genii*. *Jamblichus* his Disciple, under the name of *Abamon*, another *Egyptian* Priest, and *Anebo's* Master, answer'd this Letter ; and this Answer is the Subject of that Author's Book of Mysteries.

As *Porphry's* Letter is nothing but a Consultation, that Philosopher does not always discover in it what are his own Sentiments ; for having a mind to deal tenderly with the scrupulous Conscience of *Anebo*, who looked upon all the Questions which he proposes to him, as so many Mysteries of Religion, he seems to lay them before him, only as Doubts in which he wanted to be resolv'd. At present, I have only occasion for what relates to the *Genii* ; thus leaving the other Subjects treated in that Letter, I say, *Porphry*, tho' he has deliver'd himself with reserve, has yet inform'd us in many Particularities about the Nature of those Spirits. and the Effects that are attributed to them. First, says he, we are not to settle their residence in the *Æther*, or that pure Air which the Gods inhabit, but in an Air more gross, or even in our earthly Globe. He dares not even ascribe to the Demons, all the Impostures and bad Actions which are laid to their charge, and with which that Philosopher is justly shock'd ; but

being unwilling to speak his mind openly against a receiv'd Opinion, he owns that there are good *Genii*, tho' at the same time he is persuaded, that in general, all the Demons have a share of Imprudence and Folly.

After having made this Distinction between the Demons and the Gods, that those have Bodies, whereas these have none, he interrogates *Ancho*, whether the Men who predict future Events, or who produce some other wonderful and extraordinary Effect, ought to ascribe the Cause thereof to their own Souls, or to those Intelligences : But he himself decides the Question, and seems persuaded that such Effects are to be attributed to the *Genii* ; which makes him say, that some Persons believe there are a certain Order of them who hear our Prayers, but who after all, are capable only of carrying on Imposture and Delusion ; that these Spirits assume all sorts of Forms, transform themselves into various Shapes, and imitate the Gods themselves, the Demons, and Souls departed : That these Spirits are they who work all manner of Wickedness, without producing any Good ; that they give bad Counsels, set themselves in opposition with all their might to good Actions, and bear a remarkable hatred to virtuous Persons ; that they love the scent of Flesh, and of the Blood of Animals, and that they delight in being flatter'd. He comes at last to mention all the Impostures of these malignant Spirits who delude Mankind, whether they sleep or wake.

This Letter is artfully written, and there can be no doubt, but *Porphyry* therein declares himself against the Existence and Power of these *Genii* he speaks of. And yet it would seem in some places, that he admits them, and that he is not always representing the Sentiment of others, but his own, as *St. Augustin* observes, who has examin'd the Contents of this Letter (1). “ That Men
 “ should menace the Gods, and that these Menaces
 “ should terrify them into a Compliance with their De-
 “ fires, these are things, says that Father of the Church,
 “ which rais'd *Porphyry's* just Admiration ; but under
 “ pretext

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 10. c. 2.

“ pretext of wondering at them, and of enquiring into
 “ their Causes, he plainly enough insinuates, that they
 “ are the Operations of those Spirits, whose Qualities
 “ he before represented according to the opinion of
 “ others; seducing Spirits, whose Vices have made
 “ them so, and not their Nature, as he himself says
 “ and thinks.”

Be that as it will, *Jamblichus* answers this Letter Article by Article, and speaking in the ninth Section, of what regards the *Genii*, he seems equally persuaded of their Existence and Power. He introduces himself with an acknowledgment, that this Subject is very perplexed, and lies under great Difficulties. For, says he, 'tis believ'd that every Man may have his Demon, either by the Influence and Aspect of the Stars which preside over his Birth, or that is associated to him by *Theurgick* Magick. He adds, that the first of those Means has nothing in it but what is natural, but that the second depends upon Causes supernatural; and he severely censures the Author of the Letter, tho' he does not name him, for having mention'd only the first of those Means, on which he makes all his Difficulties to turn, without ever touching upon that which is the only true one. Then having prov'd the uncertainty of what is called *Horoscope*, and all the other Arts of Astrology, he shews that *Theurgy*, and nothing else, can lead to any certain Knowledge. “ 'Tis not then, concludes he,
 “ from the position of the Stars at the time of our Birth,
 “ that we have the *Genius* sent to us, who is to preside
 “ over our Life: He had an Existence before us, and
 “ he it is who at the moment of Conception, makes
 “ himself master of the Soul, and unites it to the Body.
 “ All our Thoughts proceed from him, and we only
 “ act conformably to the Ideas which he gives us (a).
 “ In fine, he governs us intirely, till the Soul train'd
 “ up to Perfection by the Speculations of *Theurgy*, or
 “ of that divine Magick which unites us with God, is
 “ releas'd from the bondage of this *Genius*, who then
 “ either abandons, or becomes a Slave to the Soul in

(a) See the VI and VIIth Chapters of the ninth Section.

“ its turn. This Demon, continues *Jamblichus* (1),
 “ is not ourselves, it is a Being independent upon us,
 “ of an Order superiour to our Soul, and not a part of
 “ it, as *Porphyry* seem’d to think. As he is not sent
 “ to us from any particular part of the Universe, such
 “ as the Stars, &c. but by the Universality of Nature,
 “ he presides over all our Thoughts, over all our Ac-
 “ tions, and over all our Affections: Thus, there is no
 “ occasion, as the Author of the Letter insinuates, for
 “ our having severál of them, the one for Health,
 “ the other for Beauty, &c. one alone suffices, and ’tis
 “ ridiculous to admit one for the Body, and another
 “ for the Soul: In vain therefore it is, that some Per-
 “ sons have instituted different Forms of Prayers for
 “ their *Genii*; there is no need of any more than one,
 “ since God who sends to each of us our *Genius*, is one
 “ in his Nature.”

Thus reasoned *Jamblichus* against his Master *Porphyry*,
 who did not seem so fully persuaded as he, of the Ex-
 istence of those *Genii*. As this mysterious Philosophy
 drawn from *Plato*’s School, and supported by some
 Doctrines of the Christian Religion ill understood, made
 considerable progress in the two first Ages of the Church,
 the primitive Fathers apply’d themselves to combat it,
 and found it no hard matter to triumph over the vain
 Reasonings of the *Sophists* who maintain’d it.

Apuleius, in the Work which he composed upon the
 Demon of *Socrates*, which was, according to him, one
 of those *Genii* we have been now speaking of, after
 having told us that they were Spirits who had never
 been united to any Body, thus lays open to us the O-
 pinion of *Plato* upon this Subject. “ Of those De-
 “ mons, says he, *Plato* reckons that every Man has his
 “ own, who is his Guardian, and the Witness not only
 “ of his Actions, but of his very Thoughts; that at
 “ Death, the *Genius* delivers up to Judgment the Per-
 “ son who had been committed to his Charge; and if,
 “ when the Person is interrogated by the Judge, his
 “ Answer is found not agreeable to Truth, the *Genius*
 “ censures and reprimands him very severely, as on
 (1) Ch. 8. “ the

“ the other hand, he pronounces an Encomium upon
 “ him when what he says is true; and 'tis upon
 “ the Approbation of the *Genius* that the Doom is pro-
 “ nounc'd; for this Demon knows whatever passes in
 “ the Man, even his most secret Thoughts.”

Tho' *Plato* and *Jamblichus* were of opinion that every Individual had but one of those *Genii* to conduct him, and preside over all his Actions, other Philosophers, however, of the same School, were persuaded that we had two, the one good, and the other bad; this is what we learn from *Servius*. That learned Commentator, upon this Passage in *Virgil*: *Quisque suos patimur Manes* (1), says: *Volunt unicuique Genium appositum, Dæmonem bonum & malum; hoc est, rationem quæ ad meliora semper hortatur, & Libidinem quæ ad pejora; hic est Larva & Genius malus; ille bonus Genius & Lar.*
 “ They will have it that every one has two *Genii*, the
 “ one good, and the other bad; that is, Reason which
 “ always excites Men to Good, and Lust which
 “ prompts them to Ill: The latter is what they call
 “ *Larva*, or evil *Genius*; the other good *Genius*, or
 “ *Lar*.”

The Opinion of the Existence of these *Genii* is antienter than *Plato*, and it would be difficult to trace out its Original. Perhaps it was brought from the same Source whence the Author of the Book of *Enoch*, of which we have treated (2), had taken what he relates of the Angels; that is, from the Tradition, tho' corrupted and altered, of the Rebellion of these Angels. Be that as it will, it was an Opinion generally received, that there were multitudes of these Spirits, inferiour indeed to the Supreme Being, to whom they were a kind of Ministers and Mediators, but superior to Man, whose Guardians they were.

The Gods, said some Philosophers, are removed at too great a distance from Men, to be capable of holding any correspondence or union with them; and it is only thro' the Intervention of those Powers of a middle Nature, between God and Man, that this Cor-

(1) *Æn.* 1. 6. v. 743. (2) *L.* 2. c. 5.

respondence and Union can be establish'd. It is they who present our Prayers to the Gods, who lay our Vows before them, and who at the same time communicate to Men the Blessings which these same Gods vouchsafe to dispense unto them; false Divinity in its Principle, since however perfect a Creature is conceived to be, there will always remain an infinite Distance between God and him; sad Divinity in its Consequences, since it supposed recluse Deities, who being shut up in the Heavens, were not every where present themselves by their Immensity, but had need of the Ministration of other Powers, to know and relieve our Exigencies; Divinity, in short, which strangely perverted what the Scripture says of the Angels whom God has established as his Ministers: *Qui facit Angelos suos Spiritus, &c.*

It must however be allowed, that for any thing that appears, those Philosophers did not believe the *Genii* or Demons to have been Gods; but as Idolatry set no bounds to Superstition, those same *Genii* were afterwards looked upon as Divinities, and had their share in the Worship which was paid to the Gods. Hence the Temples, Chapels, and Altars, which Antiquity informs us to have been consecrated to them: Hence again those Inscriptions so common: *Genio Loci, Genio Augusti, Junonibus, &c.* 'Tis true, those *Genii* were reckon'd in the lowest Class, and among what *Ovid* calls, the *Plebeian Gods* *; but nevertheless they had their Altars and Sacrifices: For the very Reason which was given for worshipping them, was founded upon the Refinements of some Philosophers, who gave out, as shall be said in the Reflections upon Idolatry, that God supremely happy, was incapable of any degree of Resentment; but that those intermediate Beings between God and Man, were often peevish and out of humour, wherefore it was necessary to offer Incense and Victims to appease them.

Every Man therefore, according to the Principles of this Theology, had his particular *Genius*, or even two, accord-

* *Plebs Deorum.*

according to some Ancients; and this is what makes *Pliny* say, as we have already observed in speaking of the Progress of Idolatry (1), that the number of the Gods, for he expressly takes into the number the *Genii*, and *Junones*, who were the *Genii* of the Women, was so great, that they were more numerous than Men.

Of this number was the *Genius* of *Socrates*, upon which *Plutarch* and *Apuleius* have each of them composed a particular Treatise; a *Genius*, who, as he himself said, forewarn'd him when his Friends were going to engage in any bad Enterprize, who stopp'd him, hinder'd him from Action, but never put him upon it. *Divinum quoddam*, says *Cicero*, speaking of this Demon, *quod Dæmonem appellat, cui semper paruerit, nunquam impellenti, sæpe revocanti*. But after all the Reasonings have been about this pretended Demon, I adopt the Opinion of the late Abbé *Fraguier*, who, in a Dissertation printed in the fourth Volume of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (2), ascribes all that has been said about it, to the Wisdom and Prudence of that Philosopher, which made him foresee many Things, which a Man of less Discernment than he would never have thought of; for Prudence, says *Cicero*, is a kind of Divination. “Tis very probable then, concludes that
 “learned Academick whom I just now named (3), that
 “the Demon of *Socrates*, a Demon, of which so many
 “various Accounts have been given, so as even to
 “make it a question whether it was a good or bad An-
 “gel, meant nothing, after all, but the Prudence and
 “Wisdom of *Socrates*, in piercing into Futurity; which
 “*Socrates*, according to his ironical turn of Mind, re-
 “duced to pure Instinct, which, in the Poets and Rhapsodists is poetical Fury, in the Diviners prophetick
 “Fury; and which, filling both the one and the other
 “with an Illumination, which is the Mean between
 “Knowledge and Ignorance, sometimes enables them
 “to hit right.”

(1) L. III. (2) P. 360. (3) P. 371.

C H A P. VII.

General Reflexions upon Idolatry.

WE have seen what sort of Gods they were whom the blinded World adored. What a mortifying Spectacle to human Nature! to see, for more than two thousand Years, the whole Earth filled with Temples raised to vain Idols, where innocent Victims were offer'd up to criminal Deities; the richest Perfumes shed for Idols who had no sensation of them. Prayers were put up to Gods who were incapable of hearing their Votaries (*a*). Vain Endeavours were used to appease them, who knew not whether they had received any Provocation; and their Assistance was implored, who all the while knew nothing of our wants. Sure Man, left to his own guidance, is a strange fantastical Being!

Such was the forlorn State of the World, when God compassionating our Miseries, sent his own Son to this Earth. No sooner did this new Sun arise, than the Darknefs of Idolatry began gradually to disappear. The spotless Lamb was soon seen in possession of the Rights which the Devil had usurp'd; and Jesus Christ crucify'd, appear'd in the Center of the Capitol, instead of the infamous *Jupiter*.

But is it to be thought that Men of Parts gave credit to so gross a Theology? Did they not ridicule the popular Fables? And had not the Philosophers more consistent Notions of the Deity? 'Tis a Question very difficult to determine, what Idea the Philosophers and Poets had of God. 'Tis certain that most of them were Atheists, and acknowledg'd no other God but Nature: They believ'd, all of them, that Matter was uncreated, and they allowed God to have no other part in the Formation of the World, but to have disentangled the Chaos. Nor durst they even decide, whether it was God who had presided over that Operation, or Nature herself:

Hanc

(*a*) *Aures habent & non audiunt, nares habent & non odorabunt.*
Pj. cxv. 6.

*Hanc Deus, * vel melior litem Natura diremit,*
As it is in *Ovid* (1).

For in short, let the Opinions of the Philosophers be examin'd, we shall find they are reducible to three Classes, as has been said in the first Chapter of this Book. In the first I reckon those who allow'd only a Nature, infinite indeed and eternal, but inanimate ; as *Epicurus*, *Strato*, and others. In the second, those who acknowledged an intelligent but material Principle ; such as *Zeno*, and the Stoicks his Disciples. In fine, in the third, I include those who maintain'd, like *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, that there was an Intelligence immaterial and infinite. Those of the two former Classes were undeniably Atheists ; those of the third, more enlightened, and more rational to be sure, erred at least in not believing a Creation, and were obliged to allow Matter to be independent and eternal, as well as the Intelligence, who thereof formed the World.

A Passage of *Seneca*, quoted by *St. Augustin* (2), explains all these Opinions in two Words: *Ego feram*, said that Philosopher, *aut Platonem, aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter fecit Deum sine Corpore ; alter sine Animo* : since here is the incorporeal God of *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, *sine Corpore* ; the God of *Strato*, inanimate Matter, *sine Animo* ; and consequently the God of the Stoicks, who was that of *Seneca* himself, the Mean between the other two, Matter and Intelligence both together, or which comes to the same, material Intelligence.

As for the Poets, I have shewn at the end of the second Book, what we are to think of their Theology. We may also add, with the celebrated *M. Bossuet*, that nothing is more indecent, nor at the same time more shocking, than the manner in which they speak of the Gods. They make Monsters of them ; some they represent round, square, triangular, lame, blind ; they speak in a scurrilous manner of the Amours of *Anubis* with

* I see 'tis in some very good Editions, *Et melior Natura* ; which is capable of being explain'd in a very just Sense.

(1) Met. l. 1. (2) De Civ. Dei.

with the Moon ; they tell us that *Diana* had been drubb'd ; they bring in *Jupiter* making his Testament at the point of Death ; they represent the Gods fighting and receiving Wounds from Mortals ; they make them fly into *Egypt*, where, to conceal their Flight, they are fain to transform themselves into Crocodiles and Lizards : *Apollo* mourns the Death of *Æsculapius*, *Cybele* of her beloved *Atys* : One banish'd Heaven, is obliged to keep Flocks ; another reduced to the hard shift of labouring in Mason-work, has not Influence enough to procure his Wages : One is a Musician, another a Blacksmith, a third a Midwife. In a word, they have Offices assign'd them which are quite indecent ; which suits better with the Buffoonery of the Stage, than with the Majesty of the Gods.

In short, what shall we think of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in general ; of these two People, who look'd upon all the World besides as Barbarians, they who had adopted the Worship of all the Gods of the Nations whom they conquer'd ? What a monstrous System is their Theology ! What sort of Divines are *Hesiod* and *Homer* ! *Ogyges*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, *Cecrops*, and in general all the Leaders of Colonies who came from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, introduced into *Greece* the Gods of their Country, and the Ceremonies of their Worship. What a strange Medley is their Theology ! For, in fine, what kind of Religion could that be which was introduced by Sea-faring People, who came in quest of Settlements ?

Perhaps it will be said, as has been already remark'd, that none but the Vulgar were Idolaters. The Corruption, on the contrary, was spread universally, and they who contemned the established Religion, were commonly Atheists, and the Remedy was worse than the Disease. After all, if we judge from the Conduct of the wise Men of Antiquity, we can't but allow that they gave into the very grossest Errors. What would we really say of a Man of Parts, whom we should see with a Censer in his Hand, prostrating himself before an Idol, or with his Eyes intent upon the Entrails of

a Victim, where he is exploring his Destiny? Would we take such an one for an Hypocrite, who laughs in his heart at the Gods, whom, from a political View, he invokes? But if this be the Case, what Rule shall we have whereby to judge of the Sentiments of others? 'Tis possible that the same Persons, at going out of the Temple, might make a jest of the Ceremonies in which they had been joining. Does not *Cicero* rally the Augurs? Do not *Lucian* and some others make merry with their Gods? *Juvenal* says in one of his Satires, that there were none but Children who believ'd all that was said of the infernal Regions, and of *Charon*.

*Esse aliquos Manes, & subterranea regna,
Et Contum, & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia Cymbâ,*

Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur (1).

Callimachus and *Catullus* say much the same thing: *Seneca* laughs at *Jupiter's* Gallantries, as we shall shew in the History of that God. Did not *Dionysius* the Tyrant order *Apollo* to be stripped of his golden Robe, and *Æsculapius* of his Beard, adding even a smart piece of Raillery (a)? All this is very true, but what Idea did others conceive of such; were they not looked upon as Persons impious and profane?

In a word, the System, of which we have been speaking, was the predominant Religion, and few People examined it so as to discover its Faults. There uses not to be a great deal of Reasoning upon the Subject of Religion; the common way is for the Children to follow that of their Fathers, and but few People are converted by Reasonings. Besides, the Pagan Religion was not very inconvenient: However incumber'd it was with Ceremonies, it allowed an entire Liberty in Morals. When a Religion is thus indulgent to People's Inclinations, they hardly think of examining into it: Would it have been agreeable to them to exchange Gods who

were

(1) Juv. Sat. 6.

(a) He said, this Habit of *Apollo* was too warm in Summer, and too cold in Winter; and of *Æsculapius*, that it was ridiculous for the Son to have a Beard, while the Father had none.

were themselves the Models of Vices, for others who would have punish'd them with severity? We may conclude then, that all, Philosophers and People, followed a Religion whose System was so grossly contriv'd.

The Learned may now rack their invention, says M. *Bossuet* (a) with great Elegance, to find out the rise of Idolatry, and when, and by whom it first began. 'Tis however certain, that Lust and Ignorance introduced it; and that Interest, the Passions, and Voluptuousness maintained it. Thus, we are not to be surprized at its having prevail'd so long in the World, where even yet it is not destroy'd, since there are People at this day who groan under the Tyranny of the Devil; nor is that happy Period yet arrived, when all the World is to acknowledge but one God, by Jesus Christ. But what may give us surprize, is, how Idolatry has been propagated to the most remote Nations, and there continued till now, since it is certain that the modern Idolatry of the *Indies*, of *Persia*, and the *North*, is precisely the same with the ancient *Egyptian* Idolatry. The monstrous Errors into which Men have been carry'd out, will always be the disgrace of human Nature. Who would not indeed be surprized, to see the World, which God had made for the Manifestation of his Power, become a Temple of Idols (1); to see Man so blind as to adore the Work of his own Hands, and offer Incense to Beasts and Reptiles: And after having set up these Idols of his, to believe there was a necessity of shedding his own Blood, in order to appease them? For in fact, among every Nation of the World, Men have sacrificed Victims of their own Species, nor is there a Country upon Earth where this barbarous Custom has not been practised.

But if Idolatry be so great a Perversion of the human Mind, ought we not to be less astonished at its being destroy'd, than at its having continued so long? Its Extravagance, on the contrary, says the eloquent Prelate whom I do little more than copy, shews the difficulty
there

(a) Discourse upon Universal History.

(1) Id. Ibid.

there was to subdue it. The World had grown old in this Error ; enchanted by its own Idols, it had become deaf to the Voice of Nature, which cried aloud against them. Besides, every thing was engaged in its behalf, the Senses, the Passions, Lust, Ignorance, a false Veneration for Antiquity, the Interest of Particulars, and that of the State. On one hand, nothing was so monstrous as the System of Idolatry ; and at the same time, nothing so delusive. And indeed, how were the Passions soothed, by adoring Gods who had themselves been subject to them, and to find examples in them to authorize and justify the greatest Irregularities ? Religion, instead of curbing, serv'd to deify Vice : The Conduct of the Gods, their History renewed in the Festivals and Sacrifices, was wholly calculated for inspiring Men with a fond regard to their Passions. Gods revengeful, impure, and debauch'd, were made for a corrupt Nature, which wants to be gratify'd without Remorse, and with Impunity. We may add, with the same Author, that Idolatry was entirely calculated for Pleasure : Diversions, Shows, and in short Licentiousness itself, were consecrated by it to be a part of divine Worship. The Festivals were nothing but Games, and from no Action in human Life, was Modesty more effectually banished than from the Mysteries of Religion. What Power was requisite to restore the Impressions of the true God, which were so entirely defaced on the Minds of Men ? How shall such depraved Hearts be habituated to the strict Rules of the true Religion, which is chaste, an enemy to Sensuality, and solely attach'd to the good Things of an invisible World ?

But if Idolatry was so capable of supporting itself by its own Character, how was it to be overthrown when the whole World was combined in its Interest ? 'Tis well known what the Emperors did to crush Christianity in the bud ; those bloody Edicts, those unheard-of Persecutions, that Fury exerted against the primitive Christians, that Hatred of Mankind with which they were loaded ; all these are noted Facts. But these were not the most dangerous Weapons with which Hell had sup-
ply'd

ply'd Idolatry, since the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of new Christians, as *Tertullian* says; *Sanguis Martyrum, Semen Christianorum*. Here are Enemies more formidable than the Emperors; I mean the Philosophers, who employed all the shrewd Arts of a refined and delusive Wit, to give some Credit to so bad a Cause. What various means did they use to take off the Absurdities of their Religion? In how many different shapes did they represent Idolatry? Some, from an affected Reverence towards the Deity, maintained that every thing Divine was unknown; that it was not for Man to reason upon things so sublime; that it was his Duty to believe the Ancients, and to follow the established Religion without Reasoning(1). And when it was remonstrated to them that there could be but one God, they reply'd, that the divine Nature was so immense, that it could neither be expressed by one single Name, nor under one single Form; but that after all, *Jupiter* and *Mars*, *Apollo* and *Juno*, and the other Gods, were all at bottom, but one and the same God, whose infinite Perfections were represented by so many different Words: That as to the Stories of their Gods, and of their Amours, all these were but so many Allegories, whose design was to teach us the Formation of the Worlds: And that this was the Reason why *Love*, the most powerful of Gods, was said to have formed the Universe, because he had united the Elements, of which all things were composed.

But as this Resource of the *Stoick* Philosophy pay'd the way to Atheism, since after all, it was found that this God of theirs was nothing but the Universe, other Philosophers (2), still more subtle, took another way to reconcile the Unity of the supreme Being with the Multiplicity of the vulgar Gods. There was, said they, only one God Supreme; but such was his Greatness, that he did not meddle with Things minute; and having contented himself with making the Heavens and the heavenly Bodies, he had left to Subalterns the Care of framing and governing the lower World: And as
they

(1) M. Bossuet loc. cit.

(2) Jamblichus, Porphyry, Celsus.

they were the Mediators between God and Men, it was necessary to offer Sacrifices unto them, and pay them Adoration. And when it was shew'd them that this Worship was due to none but the supreme God, and that it was Idolatry to confer it upon other Gods, the more ingenious among them (1) went the length of saying, that Sacrifice was not an Act of supreme Worship; that every thing material was impure, and therefore ought not to be offered to the Deity; that not so much as Language was to be employed in his Worship, because the Organs of Speech were material, but that God was only to be adored in silent Meditation; all other Worship being unworthy so exalted a Majesty. He added, that Victims and Incense were to be offered to those malignant Spirits who would needs pass for Gods, and whom it was necessary to appease, for fear they should do us harm.

I don't attempt a refutation of these vain Subtilties, which destroy themselves; but all this proves, that it was not easy to overthrow an Error so universal and so delusive. For in fine, tho' Idolatry, consider'd in itself, appears only to have been the effect of brutal Ignorance; yet when traced to its Original, it will be found to be a Work of deep Contrivance, carry'd to the utmost excesses by malicious Spirits, and whose Security lay in the countenance it gave to criminal Passions. But what render'd it still more difficult to be extirpated, is, its having been founded in that extravagant fondness which we have for our selves. To this undoubtedly was owing the invention of Gods like ourselves; Gods who were nothing but Men, subject to our Passions and Weaknesses; insomuch that under the name of false Divinities, it was upon the matter their own Ideas and Pleasures which Men adored; venerable and sovereign Deities whom Lust had formed. Thus the Heart of Man became the first Idol-Temple; and for the sake of those internal Deities, were Altars raised to the external ones. For as the ingenious Prelate whom I have already quoted several times says, *Venus* was ador'd because Men suffer'd

I i

them;

(1) Porphyry.

themselves to be enslaved by the Passion of Love, and were pleased with their Chains: *Bacchus*, the most jovial of all the Gods, had his Altars, because they resign'd themselves, and sacrificed, as I may say, to sensual Delights, sweeter and more intoxicating than Wine. Thus before Idols could be overthrown, it was necessary to controul the Dominion of Lust, and throw down the Altar which it had raised to them in the Heart, a Work reserv'd for him whose province it was to enlighten the Nations; to prove by his Doctrine that solid Joy is that which springs from a good Conscience; for him who by his Death was to discipline the Soul of Man, depraved by so many Vices, dissipated by so many Passions, to Humility, Patience, and every enduring Virtue. Accordingly it appeared by an effect equally admirable and astonishing, that while the Philosopher, with all his fine methodical Reasonings, was unable to overthrow one Idol, simple Fishermen, the Outcasts of the World, who preach'd nothing but Crosses and Mortifications, saw them sink down to the Dust, tho' supported by the Power of Emperors, obstinately bent upon the Preservation of their Worship.

It cannot be doubted, after the Testimony of the Fathers of the Church (*a*), but that the Poets, under the Name of *Jupiter*, frequently meant the supreme God, gave him always a Superiority over the other Gods, and looked upon him as their Lord: *Deum Sator atque Hominum Rex*, says *Virgil*: They add, that all things are full of *Jupiter*, the Highways, and Places of publick Resort, the immense Ocean, no less than the narrow Pools; his Presence every where surrounds us and penetrates into our Souls. *Plenæ autem Jovis sunt omnes equidem viæ, plena quoque hominum fora, plenumque mare & stagna; ubique omnes Jove repleti sumus*, as it is in the Poet *Aratus*; and 'tis to the Words of this Poet that *St. Paul* alludes (1), when he says, *In ipso vivimus,*

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Athenag. S. August. Eusebius, Origen. Theod. Tertull. Minuc. See Father Thomassin, *Lecture des Poetes*, tom. 1. l. 2. ch. 1, and 12.

(1) Acts xvii. 28.

vinus, movemur & sumus, ut quidam vestrorum Poetarum dixit: But it must likewise be owned, that for the most part, they understood by *Jupiter* no other than that ancient King of *Crete*, the Son of *Saturn*, a Prince guilty of Parricide, and defiled with a thousand other Crimes: That they took pleasure in recounting his Adventures upon all occasions; and make this sovereign Deity who govern'd all the rest, a Slave to the most infamous Passions, and in all things necessarily subjected to the irrevocable Decrees of Destiny *. Thus they can by no means be vindicated from an Idolatry, equally gross and ridiculous. Accordingly, when *Celsus* the Philosopher would needs insinuate that it was of small Consequence whether they gave God the Name of *Jupiter*, *Adonis*, or *Ammon*, provided they affixed to it that Idea of Sovereignty and Independency which belongs to the true God; *Origen* refutes him solidly (1), and lets him know, that the Christians abhorred that detestable Maxim, of giving the Name of *Jupiter* to the true God, or the Name of God to *Jupiter*; that this was the Badge whereby a Christian was distinguish'd from an Idolater. *Lactantius* and the other Fathers are of the same mind, and refute the vain Sophisms of those Apologists for Idolatry, with relation to this Subject.

But however obstinately prejudiced the Philosophers were, it must still have been more difficult to change
I i 2
their

* Mr. Pope, in his Note upon the *Iliad*, B. 16. v. 535. observes, that *Homer* assigns three Causes of all the Good and Evil that happens in this World, which he takes a particular care to distinguish: First, the Will of God, superior to all.—*Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.* Il. 1. Secondly, Destiny or Fate, meaning the Laws and Order of Nature, affecting the Constitutions of Men, and disposing them to Good or Evil, Prosperity or Misfortune; which the supreme Being, if it be his Pleasure, may over-rule, but which he generally suffers to take effect. Thirdly, our own Free-will, which either by Prudence overcomes those natural Influences and Passions, or by Folly suffers us to fall under them. *Odyss.* 1. v. 32. *Ἄνθρωποι, &c.*

Why charge Mankind on Heav'n their own Offence,
 And call their Woes the Crime of Providence?
 Blind! who themselves their Miseries create,
 And perish by their Folly, not their Fate.

(1) Contra Celsum, l. 2, and l. 5.

484 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES. Book V,
 their Hearts than to enlighten their Understandings;
 or, to speak more properly, their Hearts were as oppo-
 site to the Severity of the Christian Morals, as their
 Understandings were to the Truth of its Doctrines. A
 very glaring Instance of this is to be seen in the Con-
 duct of *Felix* the Governour of *Judea*. *St. Paul* had
 no sooner pronounc'd the word Resurrection (1), *Quo-*
niam de resurrectione mortuorum ego hodie judicor a vobis,
 than *Felix* dismisses his Accusers, saying, I will hear
 you when *Lysias* the chief Captain shall arrive. In an-
 other Discourse before the same Governour, as *Paul rea-*
soned of Righteousness, Chastity, and Judgment to come,
Felix falls a trembling, and says to him; Go thy way for
this time, I shall call for thee at a convenient Season.
Quod nunc attinet, vade: Tempore autem opportuno ac-
cersam te (2).



B O O K VI.

Of the Gods worshipped in the Eastern Countries.

A Preliminary.

AS the Countries that lay nearest the Plain of *Shinar*, where happen'd the first Dispersion of Mankind after the Deluge, were the first peopled, and Idolatry having begun in those Countries, that we may observe some Order in the History of the Gods which I am now to enter upon, 'tis necessary to speak of the Deities of the eastern Nations, before we come to those of *Greece*, *Italy*, and other western Parts.

'Tis our misfortune that we have no continued Hi-
 story

(1) Acts xxiv. 21. (2) Ib. ver. 25.

story of the Religion of those ancient Nations. Some Fragments of their Historians, scatter'd up and down in different Authors, and some Passages of Scripture, where mention is made of the Gods whom the People in the Neighbourhood of *Palestine* worshipped, are the only helps we have for coming at the knowledge of it. 'Tis true, several learned Men of the last Age and of this, have attempted to reduce the confused Accounts of the ancient Deities of the East into some Order; among whom, *Selden*, *Bochart*, *Vossius*, and in the last place, Mr. *Fourmont*, may be consulted with advantage: But notwithstanding their Conjectures, which are often extremely ingenious, especially with respect to the Names of these Gods, this Subject will always remain impenetrably obscure. We shall make the best use we can of the Labours of those learned Men, and endeavour to give as accurate an account as possible of the Divinities we are to treat of in this Book.

The oriental Nations, generally speaking, had hardly any other Gods but the Sun, Moon, and Planets: It was by the Worship of the Stars that Idolatry began, as has been already said. This Religion long continued among these People, and, except *Egypt*, you shall scarcely find a Country where they worshipped any Gods besides the Sun and Moon. Accordingly, we shall see, from the whole thread of this History I am now to give, that all the Worship of the eastern Nations was directed to these two Luminaries, which were adored under different Names. The Sun was the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Hammon* of the *Libyans*, the *Saturn* of the *Carthaginians* (1), the *Adonis* of the *Phenicians*, the *Baal* or *Belus* of the *Assyrians*, the *Moloch* of the *Ammonites*, the *Dionysius* or the *Urotal* of the *Arabians*, the *Mithras* of the *Persians*, the *Belenus* of the *Gauls*. 'Tis well known, that among the *Greeks*, *Apollo*, *Bacchus*, *Liber* or *Dionysius*, were the same as the Sun; *Macrobius* (2) makes it evident to a Demonstration. What shall I say more? This Luminary was the Divinity

486 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book VI.
vinity of almost every Nation, both in the old World and in the new.

Just so, the Moon was *Isis* in *Egypt*, *Astarte* in *Phenicia*, *Alilat* among the *Arabians*, *Mylitta* among the *Persians*; *Artemis*, *Diana*, *Dietyana*, &c. in *Greece*, in the Island of *Crete*, in *Delos*, and elsewhere. *Macrobius* goes yet farther (1), since he contends, as we have already said, that all the Gods whom Paganism adored, owed their Origin to the Sun and Moon.

When *Alexander* made the Conquest of *Asia*, these were the principal Gods who were there adored, and as yet they had no knowledge of those of *Greece*; but the *Greeks*, who were fond of being thought a very ancient People, after having introduced thither the Worship of their Gods, pretended that most of them were the same with those of the Nations they had conquered. Two Examples, among many which might be given, will make this evident. Having observed some Conformity between what was said of *Beal* of the *Phenicians*, and what they themselves fabled of their *Saturn*, they did not scruple to say, that the great *Phenician* Divinity was *Saturn*. Having in like manner remark'd what infamous Debauchery was practised in the Worship of some female Deity of that People, they concluded, that this could be no other than their *Venus*.

After these Preliminaries, we come to the particular Subject, beginning with the Gods of *Egypt*.

C H A P. I.

Of the Gods of the Egyptians.

THE *Hebrews* having dwelt a long time in *Egypt*, where they sometimes suffered themselves to be drawn away by the Superstitions of that idolatrous People, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* upbraids them, and as appears from the Golden Calf which they worshipped in the Wilderness, we might expect to have the History of the *Egyptian* Religion delivered in the Books of *Moses*; but tho' the *Pentateuch* seems principally writ-
ten

(1) Loc. cit.

ten for the Extirpation of Idolatry, and tho' the Author of this Book is every now and then using Exhortations, Prayers, and Threatnings; tho' he therein names with Indignation, the Gods of the Nations whom the *Israelites* were to conquer, yet he enters not into any particular Account of the *Egyptian* Divinities, contenting himself in the Precepts which he prescribed to the *Jews*, to point at them in general, to inspire them with all the abhorrence of those false Divinities, which they deserv'd, and to wrap up the whole History of the Idolatry of that ancient People, under the general Name of the *Abominations of Egypt*. Perhaps he declined to revive so unhappy a Remembrance, knowing how dangerous it might have been with respect to the fickle and inconstant Nation he had to do with. He speaks however of those Gods, tho' in a general way; and from what he says of them, *Selden* has been able to trace an Affinity between the Words of *Moses*, and what Antiquity informs us of the *Egyptian* Gods. Accordingly, when that sacred Legislator (1) tells the *Jews*, that they had seen no Figure, and no Image, when God spake to them in *Horeb*, lest being corrupted thereby, they should make to themselves Representations of Man or Woman; *Non vidistis aliquam Similitudinem in die qua locutus est vobis Dominus in Horeb, de medio ignis, ne forte decepti, faciatis vobis sculptam Similitudinem aut Imaginem masculi vel feminae*; it would seem that this respects the Figures of the Gods represented by the *Egyptians*, under a human Form. When he subjoins, Nor the Similitude of any Animal that is upon the Earth: *Similitudinem omnium jumentorum quæ sunt super terram*, he seems to allude to the Oxen *Apis* & *Mnevis*, to the Goat worshipped at *Mendes*; to the Cats and Dogs, that is, to the Goddess *Bubastis*, and to the God *Anubis*, represented under the Figures of those Animals. By these Words, *Vel avium sub cælo volantium, Or of Birds which fly in the airy Regions*; 'tis obvious that he is alluding to the Birds worshipped in the same Country, such as the *Ibis*, the *Ichneumon*, and some others: And

(1) Deut. iv. 16, & seq.

by these, *Or of Reptiles which crawl upon the Earth, or of Fishes which are in the Waters; atque Reptilium qui moventur in terra; sive Piscium qui sub terrâ moventur in aquis*; he means the Oxyrinchus, the Crocodile, in a word, the Fishes and the Insects which were the Objects of Worship to that superstitious People. In fine, when he says to his People, “Lest thou lift up thine
 “Eyes unto Heaven, and when thou seest the Sun and
 “the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, thou shouldst be enticed to worship them, and
 “serve Creatures which God hath created to be beneficial
 “to all the Nations under Heaven;” *Ne forte elevetis oculos ad cælum, videas Solem & Lunam, & omnia Astra cæli, & errore deceptus adores ea, & colas quæ creavit Dominus tuus in Ministerium cunctis gentibus quæ sub cælo sunt*; it would seem that he had a mind to point out *Sabîsm*, and guard the *Jews* against that sort of Idolatry, which he mentions last, tho’ probably it was the first Religion of the *Egyptians*, who, as I have remark’d with respect to them, and all the idolatrous Nations, offered Adoration to the heavenly Bodies, before they came to worship other parts of Nature, and at last to deify’d Men, which I take to have been the last Excess to which Idolatry was carry’d.

Be that as it will, the ancientest of the prophane Historians, and he who speaks in the most knowing manner of the Religion of the *Egyptians*, is *Herodotus*; so that before we enter into the particular History of the Divinities of that ancient People, it is proper to quote all that he says of them. The *Egyptians*, according to him (1), are the first People in the World who knew the Names of the twelve great Gods, and from them the *Greeks* had learned them. They too are the first who erected Altars to the Gods, made Representations of them, raised Temples to them, and had Priests for their Service, excluding wholly the other Sex from the Priesthood. Never was any People, continues he, more religious. There are in *Egypt* two sorts of Writing, the one common, and the other sacred, and this last

(1) Herod. l. 2.

last is solely set apart for the Mysteries of Religion. The Priests of this Country shave their whole Body every third day. Cloathed in Linnen, with Sandals made of the Plant named *Papyrus*, they are not allowed to wear other Apparel, nor other covering for their Feet. They are obliged to bathe themselves in cold Water twice a day, and as often by night. So scrupulously exact must they be in the choice of the Victims which they are to offer to their Gods, that they are punished with Death if they offer up any which have not the qualities requisite. The Victim being led to the Altar, they kindle a Pile, and after having offered a Libation of Wine, they kill the Sacrifice, cut off its Head, and flea the rest of the Body : As for the Head, after having loaded it with Curses, they carry it to Market, and sell it to the *Greek* Merchants ; and if none of that Nation are to be found there, they throw it into the River. The Curse which they pour out upon this part of the Victim, is to this purpose : *If there be any Evil to come upon any part of Egypt, may it light upon this Head.* Thus it is, continues our Author, that they sacrifice thro' the whole Kingdom, and hold the Heads of Victims in such detestation, that they even abstain from eating that of any Animal. The Victim being flea'd, and the Priests having put up some Prayers, they take out the Guts, and leave the rest of the Entrails and the Fat, cut off the Legs of the Beast, the Kidney and the Shoulders ; and stuff its Body with pure Loaves, of Honey, Raisins, Figs, Incense, Myrrh, and other Odours ; and after having poured Oil thereon, they distribute the rest of the Victim for the Feast. The Priests always offer Sacrifice fasting, and all the Victims must be Males, the Females being consecrated to *Isis*.

Farther, says he, all the *Egyptians* don't adore the same Gods, except *Isis* and *Osiris*, their great Divinities. They take *Osiris* to be the same with *Bacchus* or *Dionysius*. They who inhabit *Thebais*, have a great veneration for the Sheep, and offer only Goats in Sacrifice ; while those of *Mendes* revere the Goats, and offer

offer to their God none but Sheep. The former give this Reason for their having a veneration for Sheep: *Hercules*, say they, being passionately desirous to see *Jupiter*, this God cloath'd himself with the Skin of a Ram, and appeared to him under that Disguise. This, according to the Historian, is the Reason why those of *Thebais* represent *Jupiter* with a Ram's Head, look upon that Animal as sacred, and abstain from offering any of them in Sacrifice, except once a year, on the day of *Jupiter's* Festival; when, to eternize the Memory of his Appearance to *Hercules*, they sacrifice one of them, cover with its Skin the Statue of the God, and place by it that of his Son, as if he was appearing to him anew.

I am informed, says *Herodotus*, that the *Egyptians* took their *Hercules* into the number of their twelve great Gods; For, as to the *Greek Hercules*, adds he, I have been able to learn nothing of him in the Country. Whence we may conclude, that it was not from the *Greeks* the *Egyptians* received the Name of that God; but that, on the contrary, the *Greeks* had learned it from the *Egyptians*. And what persuades me of it, *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, whom the *Greeks* give out to be the Father and Mother of *Hercules*, were Natives of *Egypt*. Add to this, that the *Egyptians* have no knowledge of *Neptune*, nor of the *Dioscuri*; how then should they have learned from the *Greeks* the Name of *Hercules*, without so much as having ever heard of their other Gods?

Herodotus, who appears to have been particularly inquisitive about what concerns this God, tells us, that in order to his better Information, he had gone to *Tyre*, a *Phœnician* City, because he had heard that *Hercules* had a famous Temple in that City; that accordingly he found that Temple adorn'd with magnificent Presents, and that there were two Statues of that God, the one of Gold, and the other of a precious Stone, which cast a great Lustre during the Night; that he had ask'd the Priests, if this Temple was ancient, to which they answer'd, that it was as old as the City, which had stood two thousand three hundred Years; a Date an-

cienter than the *Greeks*. He adds, that there was in the same City another Temple, dedicated to *Hercules Thasius*, and that having gone over to *Thasos*, he had there seen a Temple built in honour of that God, by those who carried off *Europa*; an Event prior to the Birth of the *Greek Hercules* by five Generations. Whence he concludes, that *Hercules* is an ancient Divinity, and that the *Greeks* do well to honour two of them; the one as an immortal God (*a*), the other as an Hero (*b*).

The same Historian adds several things besides concerning the Religion of the *Egyptians*, their Festivals, and their Sacrifices, which I shall quote afterwards.

I am fully persuaded, as I said elsewhere, that Idolatry was not so gross, nor so encumber'd with Ceremonies in its beginnings, as it was afterwards; and that the People I speak of, admitted at first but a small number of Gods, that is the Stars and the Elements. If we even credit *Plutarch*, we must not confound with the rest of *Egypt*, those of *Thebais*, whose Religion was much purer than that of the other *Egyptians*. The Inhabitants of *Thebais*, says this Author, according to the Correction of *Vossius*, are exempt from those Superstitions, since they acknowledge not any mortal God, admitting for the first Principle only the God *Cneph*, who has no beginning, and is not subject to death (*c*). 'Tis even certain, that so many monstrous Figures, under which the *Egyptians* represented their Gods, were either the effect of Priestcraft, or owing to the Reveries of those of their Philosophers, who believed the Transmigration of Souls. or the Product of the Imagination of Painters and Sculptors. *Cicero* gives this account of the *Roman Gods*: *The Gods exhibit such Figures as Painters and Sculptors have been pleased to give them. Nos Deos omnes ea facie novimus, qua Pictores Fictoresque voluerunt* (1). This Licence does not respect the earlier times, when perhaps the *Egyptians* them-

(*a*) Surnam'd *Olympian*. (*b*) See Vol. III. The Article of the Heroes.

(*c*) See what is said of this God afterwards.

(1) De Nat. Deor.

themselves had not so much as dreamed of representing the Gods under the Figures of Men or Animals. I add, that this last sort of Representation owes its Origin to the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, which taught that the Soul passed after Death into the Body of Animals. Hence those monstrous Figures of so many *Egyptian* Divinities, whereof some appeared with the Head of a Cat; others with that of an Ape, a Hawk, an Ibis, a Dog, &c. such as those to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. But I shall explain this Part of the *Egyptian* Mythology in another Chapter of this Book.

Herodotus speaks in several places, sometimes of eight great Gods, then of twelve others worshipped by the *Egyptians*: but he does not name them exactly.

Tho' *Isis* and *Osiris*, according to this Author, and all the Ancients, were the most revered Gods of *Egypt*, and were honour'd in all the Country, whereas the others were only so in particular *Nomes* (a); yet I am of opinion, that they were neither the chief, nor the most ancient ones. Here is the Order in which they are put by Mythologists. At the head of their List, they put *Vulcan* and *Vesta*, that is the Fire; then come *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Ceres*, *Neith*, or *Minerva*, the *Nile*, or rather the Ocean; for that River was so called of old; *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mars*, *Hammou*, confounded afterwards with *Jupiter*; and lastly, a third *Jupiter* surnam'd *Uranius*, or the Celestial. After these twelve great Gods came *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, whom they named likewise *Seth*, *Bebon*, or *Smyt*, according to *Plutarch*, *Neptbe* his Wife, *Venus*, *Orus*, the Son of *Isis*, *Arueris* more ancient than *Orus*, and the Model of the *Apollo* of the Greeks: *Canopus*, *Bubastis* or *Diana*, *Harpocrates*, *Anubis*, whence came the Greek *Mercury*: *Macedo*, the Son of *Osiris*, *Pan*, or *Mendes*, *Maro*, *Triptolemus*, *Hercules*, *Mercury Trismegistus*, *Anteus*, *Busiris* and *Prometheus*: Lastly, *Scrapis*, whom some Authors confound with *Osiris*.

I should have set at the head of this Catalogue,
Cneph,

(a) This word signifies the different Prefectures of *Egypt*.

Cneph, the God of *Thebais*, a Being eternal and immortal, whom they look'd upon as the Author of all things. It was this first Principle whom they represented at *Diospolis*, under the Figure of a Man, who had a Plume of Feathers upon his Head, and held in his Hand a Scepter and a Girdle. Out of his Mouth came an Egg, whence sprung forth *Phta*, or the World, as we have explain'd at more length in the Article of the *Egyptian* Theogony. The great Chronicle, cited by M. *Fourmont* (1), gives a different List, and seems to confine the number of the *Egyptian* Gods to eight, and their Demi-Gods to nine. The former are *Memnon*, *Vulcan*, the *Sun*, *Agathodæmon*, *Chronos*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, another whom it does not name, lastly *Typhon*. The Demi Gods are *Orus*, *Mars*, *Anubis*, *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Ammon*, *Tithois*, *Sofus*, *Jupiter*; whereupon I shall make three Remarks. First, that this Chronicle cannot be of primitive Antiquity; for *Herodotus* speaking of the Gods adored in *Egypt*, makes no mention of their Demi-Gods. He even positively says, that the *Egyptians* were not acquainted with any Hero, that is, with any Demi-Gods. Secondly, that this Chronicle contradicts soundest Antiquity, since it ranks among the Demi-Gods, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, &c. who certainly were of the number of the Great Gods among the *Egyptians*. But thirdly, 'tis necessary in order to understand the History of all the Religions which were the Offspring of Paganism, to observe that they underwent many Changes; that new Gods were added to them; and that the Worship of the Ancients was sometimes even entirely abolish'd. Thus it is not surprizing to find the Lists which are given of the Gods of some Nations, and the Rank which they hold therein, to be so different.

There would be no end were we to add to these two Lists an infinite number of other Gods, whom every one chose according to his own humour, to be the Objects of his Worship; or those whom the Opinion of the Metempsychosis had hatched, by teaching that the
Souls

(1) Rech. Crit.

Souls of great Men passed into the Stars, and sometimes into Animals, or into simple Plants. It was upon this Foundation they fabled, that the Soul of *Isis* dwelt in the Dog-Star, which they named *Sothis*; that of *Orus*, in *Orion*; that of *Osiris*, in the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*; that of *Typhon*, in the Constellation of the Bear; those of *Mercury*, *Diana*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Saturn* or *Chronos*, in the Planets of their Name.

After having thus represented the Substance of the ancient Religion of the *Egyptians*, we must come to some more particular Account of the Gods, whom we have now named, and then explain the Nature of that Worship which was paid to them. But I would premise, that in this Book, I am only to speak of those whose Worship was always confined to *Egypt*, or which was not admitted till very late into *Greece* and *Italy*. The History of the rest, of whom the Knowledge was introduced among the *Greeks* by the ancient Colonies, and who formed the Religion of that People, shall be the Subject of the third and fourth Volumes, where I shall take care to mark the time of their Transportation.

ARTICLE I.

The History of Osiris and Isis.

According to *Herodotus* and all the Ancients, *Osiris* and *Isis* were the two great Divinities of the *Egyptians*, and the most generally worshipped in all the Country; and almost the whole Mythology of that ancient People is included in what their Priests fabled about them. What throws a great Obscurity over their History, is, that sometimes they considered them as Persons who had formerly govern'd *Egypt* with a great deal of Wisdom and Prudence; at other times as Beings of an immortal Nature, who had framed the World, and ranged Matter into the Form which it retains at this very day.

They who make *Osiris* and *Isis* to have been human Persons, are all agreed, that they were Brother and Sister; but they differ about their Parents. The most common Opinion is that which *Diodorus Siculus* reports (1). The Sun, according to this Historian, was

the first who reigned in *Egypt*; *Vulcan* succeeded him, then *Saturn*, who having married *Rhea* his Sister, had by her *Isis* and *Osiris*.

To give some light to a Subject so perplex'd, I am first to recite the *Egyptian* Mythology concerning *Isis*, *Osiris*, and *Typhon*: 2. Explain the Fables which the *Greeks* have intermix'd with it: 3. Enquire what there may be historical in this Subject: 4. In the last place, speak of the Worship which was paid to those Divinities.

The *Egyptians* seeing Good and Evil equally prevalent in the World, and not being able to conceive a Being essentially good, to be capable of permitting Evil, far less to be the Author thereof, were the first who invented two Principles, the one good, the other bad, and introduced this Error, which has since made such progress (*a*). They represented the good Principle under the Name of *Osiris*, and the bad one under that of *Typhon*: Hence the Wars and Persecutions of the latter against his Brother, whom he afterwards cut off. As they attributed all the Evil that reign'd in the World to *Typhon*, so they considered *Osiris* as the Author of all the Good. The Creation of the World, a long time disputed and retarded by the Machinations of the evil Principle, the Order and Harmony which there prevail'd, were the Work of *Osiris*: All the Troubles, the Horror, the Wars, and, in a word, all the Evils that ravage the Universe, proceeded from *Typhon*.

Egyptian Mythology, in relation to Isis and Osiris.

Plutarch, who, in his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, has preserv'd to us ancient Traditions which are no where else to be found, says, three Qualities were acknowledged in the good Principle, of whom, the one performed the Office of Father, and this was *Osiris*; the other that of Mother, who was *Isis*; lastly, that of Son, and here is their *Orus*, the first Production of the Father and Mother. The *Egyptians*, according to the same Author, vented a thousand other Fables upon the same Subject, which may be seen in the Treatise now quoted;

(*a*) See what has been said of it in the Treatise of Idolatry.

quoted; but the most extravagant of all, in my Opinion, is that notion concerning *Isis* and *Osiris* having been conceived in the same Womb, and married in their Mother's Belly, by which Marriage, *Isis*, at her very Birth, was with child of *Arueris*. Their Priests related in a thousand different ways, the Wars and Persecutions of *Typhon* against *Osiris* his Brother, and *Isis* his Sister-in-law: And my suppressing the particular Account thereof, is only to save the Reader the trouble of surveying either things contradictory, or an extremely gross System of Physicks.

All the *Egyptian* Theology was therefore concealed under the Symbols of these two Divinities. *Osiris* among them was the Sun, the first Object of their Idolatry, and *Isis*, the Moon; and their very Names have a reference to those two Planets, since in their Language, *Osiris* denotes, *One who sees clear*; and *Isis*, the *Ancient*, an Expression which among them signify'd the Moon. All the Learned agree, that the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, consecrated to *Osiris* after his Apotheosis, were the Symbols of the Sun. Thus, whether it was that the *Egyptian* Priests, to cover the History of this Prince from the eyes of the People, gave out that he was really the Sun, or whether, acknowledging *Osiris* to have been a mortal Man who had governed *Egypt*, and conferred many Blessings upon it, they were willing to pass it upon the World, that his Soul was gone to reside in that Orb, still they agreed that he was now become that radiant Luminary, who by the benign Influences of his Beams, diffuses Fertility and Plenty over all, and that to him, Vows, Prayers, and Sacrifices were to be address'd. Thus was the Worship of *Osiris* confounded with that of the Sun, and that of *Isis*, with what was paid to the Moon. Thus, the Priests had found the art of making Idolatry not so gross, by saying, it was not a mortal Man, but an eternal Star, which was the Object of publick Adoration.

The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors extended still farther this *Egyptian* Mythology concerning *Isis* and *Osiris*, since, according to them, they comprehended all Nature,

ture, and all the Gods of that ancient People: There is in the hands of the Antiquaries, a Monument which had been raised by *Arrius Balbinus*, where this Inscription is to be seen. *Goddeſs Iſis, who art one and all things.* *Plutarch* (1) ſays; that at *Sais*, in the Temple of *Minerva*, whom he takes to be the ſame with *Iſis*, there was one to this effect: *I am whatever has been, is, and ſhall be; and none among Mortals has ever taken off my Veil.* *Apuleius* (2) puts theſe Words in the mouth of that Goddeſs: *I am Nature, the Mother of all things; the Miſtreſs of the Elements, the Beginning of Ages, the Sovereign of the Gods, the Queen of the Manes My Divinity, uniform in itſelf, is worſhipped under different Names, and by different Ceremonies: The Phrygians name me Peſſinuntian, Mother of the Gods; the Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; thoſe of Cyprus, Venus; thoſe of Crete, Diana Dictynna; the Sicilians, Proſerpine; the Eleuſinians, the ancient Ceres; others, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, Rhamnusia; laſtly, the Egyptians and their Neighbours, Iſis, which is my true Name.*

According to *Herodotus*; the Egyptians took *Iſis* for *Ceres*, and believ'd that *Apollo* and *Diana* were her Children, and that *Latona* had only been their Nurſe; contrary to the Opinion of the Greeks, who looked upon her as their Mother. According to the ſame Author; *Apollo* and *Orus*, *Diana* and *Bubastis*, *Ceres* and *Iſis* are the ſame: Hence it is, continues he, that *Æſchylus* makes *Diana* the Daughter of *Ceres*.

In fine, the Mythologiſts aſſert that *Iſis* and *Osiris* included under different Names almoſt all the Gods of Paganism; ſince, according to them, *Iſis* is *Terra*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, the Moon, *Minerva*, *Cybele*, *Venus*, *Diana*; and in one word, all Nature; and this they give for the Reaſon why that Goddeſs was called *Myrionyma*; that is, who has a thouſand Names. Juſt ſo, in their Opinion, *Osiris* is *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſius*, the Sun, *Serapis*, *Pluto*, *Ammon*, *Pan*, *Apis*, *Adonis*, &c. But 'tis time to come to the hiſtorical Part of this ancient Mythology.

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498 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book VI.
thology. Let us begin with what we learn thereof from
the *Greeks*.

History of Isis and Osiris.

What the Greeks thought of Isis. As they would needs reduce all Antiquity to their History, they have not been wanting to give out, that the Fable of *Isis* was originally from *Greece*; and therefore have confounded that Goddess with *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus* King of *Argos*. *Ovid*, who had collected in his *Metamorphoses*, most of the ancient Traditions of the *Greeks*, thus recites this Fable (1).

Jupiter fell in love with *Io*, and to escape the Fury of *Juno* who was jealous of this Intrigue, he changed her into a Heifer. *Juno*, who appear'd to be touch'd with the Beauty of this fair Heifer, ask'd her of him, and *Jupiter* not daring to refuse her, for fear of increasing her Suspicions, she gave her to the Custody of *Argus* who had an hundred Eyes, enjoining him to use all his endeavours that she might not be stolen from him. But *Jupiter* sent *Mercury*, who having laid the vigilant Keeper fast asleep by the soft Musick of his Flute, cut off his Head, and set *Io* at liberty. *Juno* incensed, sent a Fury to persecute that unhappy Princess, who was so tormented with her Stings, that no where could she be at rest, she wandered from Place to Place, cross'd over the Sea, came first to *Ilyrium*, passed Mount *Hæmus*, arrived in *Scythia*, and in the Country of the *Cimmerians*; and after having wandered thro' several other Countries, she stopp'd at last on the Banks of the *Nile*, where *Jupiter* having appeas'd *Juno*, restored her former Figure. Here it was she brought forth *Epaphus*; and having died some time after, the *Egyptians* worshipped her under the Name of *Isis*.

It is easy to see that this is a true History, disguised by Fictions intermixed with it; but to come to a full discovery of its Truth is exceeding difficult. There are three Opinions about the famous *Io*.

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(1) Met. l. 5. Fable of *Io*.

The first is that of almost all the *Greeks* (a), who to get the honour to themselves of so renowned a Goddess, gave out that she was the Daughter of *Inachus* the first King of *Argos*; that *Jupiter* ravish'd her, and carried her into the Island of *Crete*; that he had a Son by her named *Epaphus*, King of *Egypt*, Father of *Libya* (1); that she passed from thence into *Egypt*, where she married *Osiris*. The same Authors say, that this *Osiris* (2) was the same with *Apis* the Son of *Phoroneus*, second King of *Argos*, who having left the Kingdom to *Egeleus* his Brother, came and settled in *Egypt*, where he so signaliz'd himself during his Reign, that he was deify'd after his Death, under the Name of *Serapis*.

According to this Account, the Fable of *Ovid* is capable of a good enough Explication, by saying that *Ia*, the Priestess of *Juno*, was beloved by *Jupiter Apis*, King of *Argos* (3); that *Niobe* his Wife, who was likewise called *Juno*, having conceived a jealousy of her, put her under the guard of her Uncle *Argus*, a Man extremely vigilant, which made the Poets give him so many Eyes; that *Apis* put him to death to recover his Mistress, who to shun the Resentment of *Niobe*, embark'd in a Ship which bore the figure of a Cow upon its Forecastle, which gave rise to the Story of her Transformation; and that she was afterwards deliver'd of *Epaphus*: But we must not imagine, as some Authors have done, that she passed into *Egypt*; and that after having changed her Name, the *Egyptians* honour'd her as a Goddess, that in a word, she is the same with *Isis*. As little are we to think, that *Serapis* is the same with *Osiris*. I know that *St. Augustin*, after *Varro*, derives the Name of *Serapis*, from that of *Apis* King of *Argos*, and the word *Soros*, which imports a Coffin, because that before they had built a Temple to him, they paid him divine Honours in the Tomb where he was put after his Death (b); for

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(a) Apollodorus, l. i. c. 6. Pausanias, Strabo, Diodorus, &c.

(1) See the second Volume. (2) See *Diodorus*. (3) Voss. de Idol. L. i.

(b) Vossius de Idol. l. 6. derives the Name of *Serapis* from *Sara Nepos*, and reckons *Serapis* is the same with *Joseph*. M. le Clerc brings it from *Sur Abbir*, which imports Prince.

'tis pretty probable that St. *Augustin* is mistaken, by following, as to this Article, the Traditions of the *Greeks*, adopted long before his time by the *Romans*. Never did *Apis* King of *Argos* come and settle in *Egypt*, nor was there among that People another *Apis*, but the Ox which bore that Name, as the learned *Marsham* (1) undeniably proves. It was the similitude of the Names, and the double Meaning of the word *Soros*, that led the *Greeks* to say he was the same with *Osiris*, because in fact, the Ox was consecrated to him.

The second Opinion, with relation to *Io*, is that of *Pausanias*, who reckons that this Princess was really a Native of *Greece*, but that she was less ancient than the other, of whom we have been now speaking. She was not the Daughter of *Inachus*, but of *Iasus*, Son to *Triopas*, seventh King of *Argos*; and to be sure, if *Danaus* and *Egyptus* his Grandsons lived only about the 1420th Year before Jesus Christ, which is the time when the first of these Princes passed into *Greece*, *Io* must needs have lived long after *Inachus*. We may add, in confirmation of this Opinion, what *Herodotus* says (2), that *Io* was stolen away by *Phenician* Merchants to the flourishing City *Argos*; for besides, that this City got its Name only from *Argus* its fourth King, is it likely that it was a flourishing City in the time of *Inachus* its Founder?

We grant there was in *Greece* a Princess named *Io*, whether she was the Daughter of *Inachus* or of *Iasus*; that she was beloved by a Prince who bore the Name of *Jupiter*, and that he is the very same whom ancient Mythology has called the *Jupiter* of *Argos* (a)! We even allow what *Herodotus* says in the beginning of his History, that this Princess was carry'd off by *Phenician* Merchants, in reprisal for the Rape of *Europa* the Daughter of *Argos*, King of *Phenicia*; but she never passed into *Egypt*, and cannot be confounded with *Isis*, who is more ancient than she by several Ages, without overthrowing all the Traditions of the *Egyptians*. *Io*

was

(1) In Chronic.

(2) L. 1.

(a) See the History of *Jupiter*, Vol. 2.

was persecuted by *Juno*, who made her wander over the whole face of the Earth; *Isis*, who met with the same Treatment from her Brother-in-law *Typhon*, never came out of *Egypt*. The one, after having been Mistress to a King of *Argos*, was carry'd off by Strangers; the other was married to her Brother *Osiris*, and lived with him in great Concord and Harmony. *Isis* taught the *Egyptians* several useful Arts of Life; we have no such Account given of *Io*. What then could give the *Greeks* a handle to confound these two Persons? I answer, it was the introduction of the Worship of *Isis* into *Greece*, especially into the City *Argos*. For, as *Herodotus* judiciously remarks, the introduction of the Worship of some God into a foreign Country, was considered as the Birth of that same God in the Place where that Worship was established. *Inachus* taught the *Greeks* to pay honour to *Isis*, the *Greeks* looked upon her as his Daughter. *Cecrops* afterwards brought into *Attica* the Worship of *Minerva*, who was the Goddess of *Sais* his Country; and this, in like manner, gave rise to the Fable, that this Goddess, whom the *Greeks* named *Athene*, was that Prince's Daughter. Hence we see, how just the Reflection of *Herodotus* is, and at the same time, that we need seek for no other Origin of this Fable.

As for the Persecutions of *Juno*, which *Ovid* so particularly describes, we may say with a great deal of probability, that the Poet alludes to the Jealousy of the King of *Argos*'s Wife, who perhaps caused her Rival to suffer many Severities; and if the Husband was called *Jupiter*, the Wife might very well pass under the Name of *Juno*. But 'tis time to relate the History of *Isis* and *Osiris*.

The *Egyptians*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), and *Plutarch* (2), assert that this Princess was born in their Country; that she match'd with *Osiris*; that he liv'd with her in perfect Harmony, and that both of them made it their business to polish and civilize their Subjects, to teach them Agriculture, and several

(1) L. 1.

(2) Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*.

other necessary Arts of Life. *Diodorus* adds, that *Osiris* having form'd a design of making an Expedition to the *Indies*, to conquer them, not so much by force of Arms as by gentle Means, rais'd an Army made up of Men and Women; and after having settled *Isis* Regent of his Kingdom, and left about her *Mercury* and *Hercules*, the former to be her chief Counsellor, and the other the Lieutenant of his Provinces, he set out upon his Expedition, where he was so successful, that all the Countries whither he came subjected themselves to his Empire. His Journey was a perpetual Triumph. The same Author says, he first over-run *Æthiopia*, where he rais'd Dykes against the Inundations of the *Nile*; that from thence he travers'd *Arabia*, the *Indies*, and came next into *Europe*, invaded *Thrace* and the neighbouring Countries, left every where Marks of his Beneficence, reduced Men, then intirely savage, to the sweets of civil Society, taught them Agriculture, to build Cities and Towns, and returned crown'd with Glory, after having caus'd Columns and other Monuments to be erected in the Places where he had pass'd, upon which his Exploits were engraved. Here, by the by, are the Conquests, so much celebrated by the Poets, of the famous *Dionysus* or *Bacchus*, as we shall prove elsewhere.

This Prince being returned to *Egypt*, found that his Brother *Typhon* had formed a Party against the Government, and made himself formidable; *Julius Firmicus* (1) adds, that he had even debauched his Sister-in-law *Isis*. *Osiris*, who was a pacifick Prince, attempted to calm the ambitious Spirit of *Typhon*; but he instead of submitting himself to his Brother, thought on nothing but persecuting him, and laying Ambuscades for him. *Plutarch* (2) informs us in what manner he at last took away his Life. *Typhon*, says he, having invited him to a sumptuous Entertainment, propos'd to the Guests after the Repast, that they would measure themselves in a Chest of an exquisite Workmanship, promising to give it to him who was of the same size. *Osiris* having enter'd into it in his turn, the Conspirators rose up from

(1) De Error. fal. Rel.

(2) De Isid. & Osir.

he Table, shut the Chest, and threw it into the *Nile*.

Isis inform'd of her Husband's tragical End, went about in search of his Corpse; and being informed that it was in *Phenicia*, hid under a Tamarind-Tree, where the Waves had thrown it out, she went to the Court of *Byblos*, where she enter'd into the service of *Astarte*, to have the better Opportunity of discovering it. At length, after infinite pains, she found it, and made such heavy Lamentations, that the King of *Byblos*'s Son died thro' grief for her; which affected the King his Father to such a degree, that he allowed *Isis* to carry off the Body, and repair to *Egypt*. *Typhon* inform'd of the mourning of his Sister-in-law, opened the Chest, divided the Body of *Osiris* in pieces, and caused the several Members to be carried into different Places of *Egypt*. *Isis* carefully recollected his dissipated Members, inclosed them in Coffins, and consecrated a Representation of the Privities which she could not find: Hence the use of the *Phallus*, so celebrated in all the religious Ceremonies of the *Egyptians*. In fine, after having shed a flood of Tears, she caused him to be interr'd at *Abydos*, a Town situated to the west of the *Nile*. The Ancients, however, place the Tomb of *Osiris* in other Places, which is owing to *Isis*'s having caused one to be erected for every part of her Husband's Body, in the very Place where she had found it.

In the mean time, *Typhon* was contriving how to secure his new Empire; but *Isis* being recovered somewhat from her distress, drew her Troops together in haste, and putting them under the Conduct of *Orus* her Son, this young Prince pursued the Tyrant, and vanquished him in two pitch'd Battels.

ARTICLE II.

History of Typhon.

The Fable of *Typhon* is one of the darkest Mysteries of Mythology. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, who knew not the Origin of it, have only darken'd it more, by endeavouring, according to their Custom, to bring it over to their History. Founding upon the Traditions

which they had learned by their commerce with the *Egyptians*, they made of *Typhon* a Monster equally horrid and fantastical, whom the jealous *Juno*, said they, had produced from the Earth, to be avenged of *Latona* her Rival. That Goddess, according to a Hymn which is commonly ascribed to *Homer*, provok'd that *Jupiter* should have become Father of *Minerva* without her, would needs on her side be a Mother, without the Assistance of her Husband. To bring which about, she went to the Assembly of the Gods, and complain'd that while she alone was deem'd worthy to share *Jupiter's* Bed, this God had slighted her so far, as to bring into the World, without her Concurrence, the fairest and wisest Goddess of *Olympus*, while, during the whole time of their conjugal State, they had only had a God so ugly, that they were obliged to banish him from Heaven. After this Speech, she came down to Earth, whence she caused Vapours to arise, which formed the tremendous *Typhon*. *Hesiod*, without having recourse to *Juno's* Resentment, says (1) only that this Giant was the Son of *Tartarus* and *Terra*. Most of the *Latin* Poets have copied the *Greek* ones. *Manilius* expresses himself thus :

. *merito Typhonis habentur*
Horrendæ sedes, quem Tellus sæva profudit,
Cum bellum Cælo peperit (2).

Ovid does not recede much from this Opinion, when he makes the Serpent *Python*, who is the same with *Typhon*, as we shall prove in the Sequel, spring from the Steams of the Mud which the Deluge had left upon the Earth. “ The slimy Earth being warm'd by the
 “ heat of the Sun, formed not only Animals which
 “ were known before, but Monsters too, till then un-
 “ known. She form'd in spight of herself, the mon-
 “ strous *Python*, a Serpent of a new Species, who by
 “ the enormous size of his Body, became the Terrour
 “ of Men.”

Ergo ubi Diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti
Solibus æthereis, atque recanduit æstu,

Edidit

*Edidit innumeras Species, partimque figuras
Rettulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit;
Illa quidem nollet, sed te quoque, maxime Python,
Tum genuit (1).*

Apollodorus makes *Typhon* the most terrible of all Monsters (2). He had, says he, an hundred Heads, and from his hundred Mouths issued devouring Flames, and Howlings so dreadful that he equally terrified Gods and Men. His Body, whose upper part was cover'd with Feathers, and the Extremity entwin'd with Serpents, was so vast that he touched the Skies with his Head. He had to Wife, says this Author, *Echidna*, and his Offspring were, the *Gorgon*, *Geryon*, *Cerberus*, the *Hydra of Lerna*, the *Sphinx*, and the Eagle which prey'd upon the unfortunate *Prometheus*; in a word, all the Monsters that were hatch'd in the Country of Fables (a). *Typhon*, adds *Hyginus* (3), no sooner sprung from the Earth than he resolved to declare War against the Gods, and to revenge the Overthrow of the Giants: For we must take care to distinguish the War of the Giants from that of *Typhon*, which some Authors confound, against the Opinion of *Apollodorus*, who makes *Typhon* only born after their Defeat (4). Wherefore he advanced against Heaven, and so affrighted the Gods by his dreadful Figure, that they all fled. *Egypt* appear'd a proper Place to skreen them from the Attacks of this formidable Enemy; but as he gave them no respite, they were obliged to assume the Figure of different Animals. *Jupiter* transformed himself into a Ram, *Apollo* into a Raven, *Bacchus* into a Goat, *Diana* into a Cat, *Juno* into a Cow, *Venus* into a Fish, and *Mercury* into a Swan*.

Duxque

(1) Met. l. 1. v. 434. (2) L. 2.

(a) *Hesiod*, who in his *Theogony* distinguishes *Typhoeë* from *Typhon*, paints the former much in the same way, and says, that from him came the boisterous Winds. Then speaking of *Typhon*, he says, that he was married to *Echidna* in the Dens of *Syria*, and had by her the Children I have now named.

(3) Fab. 152. (4) *Apol.* *Hesiod.* *Ovid.* &c.

* Probably it should be read *Cigogne* a Stork, which the *Ibis* is thought to be.

. *Duxque Gregis fit Jupiter, &c.*

Delius in Corvo, Proles Semeleia Capro,

Fele soror Phæbi, niveâ Saturnia Vaccâ,

Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis (1).

Manilius confirms the same thing, when speaking of *Venus* and *Adonis* :

Scilicet in piscem sese Cytherea novavit,

Anguipedem alatis humeris Typhona furentem,

Cum Babylonias submersa profugit in undas,

Inseruitque suos squamosis piscibus ignes. (2).

Jupiter, continues *Apollodorus*, having resum'd his Courage, darted a Thunderbolt against *Typhon*, and terrify'd him so with an adamantine Scythe which he had in his Hand, that he obliged him to give way. The God pursued him as far as Mount *Casius*, in the Extremities of *Syria* ; but *Typhon* having seized him by the middle of the Body, wrested from him his Scythe ; and having therewith cut off his Legs and Arms, carry'd him into *Cilicia*, shut him up in a Cave, and put him under the Custody of a Monster, half Woman half Serpent. *Mercury* and *Pan* having found a way to surprize the vigilance of this Keeper, restored to *Jupiter* his Legs and Arms, who mounting a Chariot drawn by winged Horses, pursued *Typhon* with Thunderbolts to the very inmost recesses of *Arabia*. Thence he brought him back to *Thrace*, where that Giant having pluck'd up a Mountain by the roots, darted it against *Jupiter*, who drove it back upon him with a Thunderbolt : The Blood with which it was cover'd, was the occasion of its being called Mount *Ilemus*. *Typhon* having at last retired into *Sicily*, was there buried, under Mount *Ætna*.

Such are the Fables which the Poets and Historians have published, vying with one another, in relation to *Typhon*. What *Plutarch* (3) and *Diodorus* (4) inform us about this Fact, is no doubt more historical ; but these two Authors have not fail'd, according to the Genius of their Nation, to intermix likewise several ridiculous Fictions with their Narration ; and besides, not
being

(1) Met. l. 5.

(2) L. 4.

(3) In Isid.

(4) L. 1.

being very exact in Chronology, and having but a confused Knowledge of the primitive Histories of the World renew'd after the Deluge, amongst which this which I am now explaining is undoubtedly one, we must be very cautious how we follow their Direction.

Modern Authors have offer'd Conjectures upon this Subject, which don't appear to agree with the true Tradition. Some, among whom is *Gerard Vossius* (1), are of opinion that *Typhon* was the same with *Og*, King of *Basban*, a Country which the Scripture calls the Land of Giants (2). *Og* their King, of whom it is said (3), that he alone remain'd of the Race of the Giants, *Solus quippe Og rex Basan remansit, ex reliquis Gigantibus*; was so bulky that his Bed was nine Cubits in length, and four in breadth. The *Rabbins* have given such extravagant Accounts of the Stature of this Prince, that I am ashamed to repeat them.

Vossius founds his Opinion, 1. Upon the resemblance between the Names of those two Giants; for, says he, *Typhon* comes from *τῦφω*, *uro, accendo*, and *Og* signifies, *ussit, ustulavit*. 2. Upon what the Poets say of *Typhon's* Bed, which looks as if they had been acquainted with that of the King of *Basban*, to which, *Virgil*, he thinks, is particularly alluding in the ninth Book of the *Æneid*, in these Words, *durumque* cubile*; but 'tis evident that the Poet in this place is only speaking of the manner how this unfortunate Giant was buried under a Mountain, conformably to the Ideas of the other Poets. *Ovid* expresses himself thus (4):

*Vasta Giganteis ingesta est Insula membris
Trinacris, & magnis subjectum molibus urget
Æthereas ausum sperare Typhoëa sedes.*

His third Reason is fetch'd from the Place where these two Giants were overthrown, since *Homer* says, that it was εἰς Ἀσίαν, which is undoubtedly to be understood of *Syria*, where the King of *Basban* reign'd. But this Reason proves nothing, as we shall see afterwards.

Bochart

(1) De Idol. l. 1. 26.

(2) Deut. iii. 13.

(3) Deut. iii. 14.

* Æn. l. 9. v. 715.

(4) Met. l. 5.

Bochart (1) imagines that *Typhon* was the same with *Enceladus*, relying upon this, that the Poets name the one indifferently for the other, and make them both perish in the same manner in the Island of *Sicily*; but it will still remain a question, who this *Enceladus* was. There are Authors who will have it that *Typhon* was King of *Sicily*; for which you may consult *Boccace* (2), who quotes for this *Theodontius*, whose Writings are lost. There are likewise some who take him to be the same as *Esau*, and they have been at pains to find out a Conformity between them.

Huetius, who cannot help thinking that *Moses* was the sole Object of all the poetical Fables, insists at very great length, in proving (3), that *Typhon* was the Legislator of the *Hebrews*, grown extremely odious to the *Egyptians*, by the destruction of their First-born; but without entering into the consideration of a Parallel, in which most of the heads seem not very natural, I shall only make one Remark, namely, that *Typhon* and *Osiris* are much more ancient than *Moses*; and that the idolatrous Worship of the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, consecrated to *Osiris*, was spread thro' *Egypt* before the *Israelites* enter'd there, since it was upon this Model, according to *Selden*, that *Aaron* made the Golden Calf, which the *Jews* worshipped in the Wilderness.

To establish now my own Opinion with relation to *Typhon*, in the first place 'tis certain, from the most uncontroverted Testimonies we have now remaining of prophane Authors, especially from *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, that the Fable we are now upon is *Egyptian*, and I am much of *Abbé Sevin's* mind, as to *Osiris*, that he is the same with *Menes* or *Mesraim*. As the solid Reasons he uses in proof of this Article, are known to all those who have read his Dissertation, I need not repeat them here: I shall only add one which has escaped him. The Ox *Mnevis*, consecrated to the Sun, whereof *Osiris* was the Symbol, seems to carry an Allusion to the Name of that ancient King, called either *Menes*, or
Menas,

Menas, or *Mneus*; *Ælian* even (1) names this Ox, *μενὲς*, which leaves no room to doubt of its having been called after the name of the King to whom it was consecrated; and this King being *Osiris*, as all are agreed, it is evident that *Osiris* and *Menes* are but one and the same Person.

But I am not of his opinion as to *Typhon*, whom he would have to be the same with *Chus*; I am rather inclin'd to think that he was the Brother of *Osiris*, whom *Plutarch*, upon the Authority of *Manetho*, calls *Sebon*. This Prince dissatisfied with *Osiris*, who had confined him in the lower *Egypt*, in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*, towards the Extremities of *Delta*, conceived a Hatred against him, which wrought in his Breast till he had taken away his Life, in the manner as *Plutarch* relates.

We are not very certain, as to the Circumstances of *Typhon's* death; but whether he was drown'd in the Marshes of the Lake *Serbonis*, where *Herodotus* says the *Egyptians* had a Story amongst them, that he lay conceal'd (2); or whether he died in the Battle which he fought with his Nephew *Orus*, as has been said, the *Egyptian* Priests made the People in after-times believe, that the Gods had interested themselves remarkably in avenging *Osiris*, having destroyed with a Thunder-bolt his cruel Persecutor. *Stephanus*, whose Words I quote below, gives this for the reason, why the City *Hieropolis*, near the Lake *Serbonis*, was called *The City of Blood*, because there it was that the Tyrant had been thunder-struck: Hence the mysterious Fable of *Typhon's* having been swallow'd up in a Whirl of Fire. 'Tis very probable that *Typhon* was only the Surname of the Prince I speak of, and that it was given him afterwards, only in allusion to the Tradition of his having been consumed by Fire; as I shall shew, when I come to consider the most natural Etymology of the Word.

Thus perished the cruel Tyrant of *Egypt*; by his Death he left the Kingdom to young *Orus*, under the Regency of *Isis* his Mother. Without entring here
into

(1) De Animal.

(2) L. 3.

into the grounds of the irreconcilable Enmity between the two Brothers, whereof the *Egyptians* relate so many Circumstances, as may be seen in *F. Kircher* (1); 'tis probable enough, that the Ambition of a turbulent and haughty Prince had a considerable share in it; but Love we must know was likewise in the play. 'Tis alledged, that *Osiris* lived in too much familiarity with *Neptbé*, *Typhon's* Wife, which inflamed his Jealousy to a high degree; but *Julius Firmicus* asserts, that it was *Typhon*, on the contrary, who was enamour'd of *Isis*: And if the Authority of *Plutarch*, who represents to us this Queen as the Model of conjugal Love, which she carried even to the most extravagant and unbounded Idolatry; ought to weigh more than that of *Julius Firmicus*, who, without doubt, has not the same Credit in affairs of Antiquity; I find, on the other hand, that the *Greek* Historian will supply *Firmicus* with two pretty strong Arguments for his Opinion. The first is, his asserting, that during the absence of *Osiris*, which was very long, *Typhon* raised no Commotions in the State. Considering how ambitious he was, would he not have improv'd a Circumstance so favourable, if Love had not hinder'd? The second is, what we find also in *Plutarch*; that *Typhon*, having been made Prisoner upon the loss of the Battle (2), was put in chains by *Orus*, who deliver'd him up to his Mother *Isis*, and that she gave him his Liberty; which so highly exasperated the young Prince, that he snatch'd her Diadem from her, instead of which *Mercury* her Confident crown'd her with another: Circumstances which prove two things; first, that *Isis* certainly had an inclination to *Typhon*. Is it to be conceiv'd, that she would have set the Murderer of her Husband at liberty, had she not entertain'd a violent Love to him? The second is, that the title of Confident, to say no worse, which the Poets in later times gave to *Mercury* the Son of *Maia*, agrees to this *Egyptian Mercury*, who was that Queen's Confident, as we learn from *Diodorus*.

But

(1) Oed. Ægypt.

(2) Loc. cit.

But whatever be in that, there is no great difficulty to discover the principal Grounds of the Fables that are superadded to this History. As *Typhon* had persecuted *Osiris*, whose Reign had made the fine Arts flourish, and been a Model of Justice and mild Administration, whereas that of *Typhon* had been nothing but a Series of Crimes and Cruelties; the *Egyptians* took a great deal of pains to bring an odium upon the Memory of the latter, whom they represented only as a Monster. But in vain have they darken'd their ancient Tradition; Truth finds its way through the Fables which they have intermixed with it. In fact, by the hundred Heads of *Typhon*, we learn in what manner he had carried on his pernicious Designs, and how many Persons of Power and Interest he had artfully drawn into his Party, that is, the chief and best Heads of all *Egypt*. The number of his Hands denoted, no doubt, his Strength, and that of his Troops: The Serpents that were wreathed about his Fingers and Thighs, represented his Cunning and Address. His Body cover'd with Feathers and Scales, equally denoted the Rapidity of his Conquests, and his invincible Force. By the Enormity of his Stature, and the Length of his Arms, which were said to reach from one end of the world to the other, Posterity were given to understand, that he had push'd his Conquests to the Extremities of *Egypt*, and that his Power had no bounds: By the Clouds which encompassed his Head, that the whole Business of his Life had been to embroil the State: And by the Fire which issued from his Mouth, that he had carried Devastation wherever he pass'd. For this reason he was represented at *Cynopolis*, sometimes under the figure of a Wolf; and though *Strabo*, who takes notice of the Worship which that City paid to that Animal, does not assign the reason, 'tis however pretty probable, that it was in order to appease *Typhon*, who is said by *Plutarch* (1) to have been transformed into a Wolf; but he was more frequently represented under the figure of a Crocodile, because of his

(1) In *Isis*.

his resemblance to that Animal, equally formidable for its Wiles and Cruelty : or under that of a Hippopotamus ; which makes *Plutarch* say (1), that the *Egyptians* consecrated to *Typhon* the most stupid of Animals, namely the As ; and the two of the greatest fierceness, the Crocodile and the Hippopotamus (a).

This Tradition of the *Egyptians* was not unknown to the *Greeks*, and I insist that all the Fables they have deliver'd about their *Typhon* and *Pythou*, are to be refer'd to it. For first, what did *Ovid* mean by the Serpent *Pythou*, sprung from the Slime of the Deluge, and slain by *Apollo*, who drain'd almost his Quiver upon this Monster ?

Hunc Deus arcitenens, &c.

*Mille gravem telis, exhaustâ pene pharetrâ,
Perdidit effuso per vulnera nigra veneno* (2).

Is he not plainly making an allusion to *Typhon*, whose Name is the same by a simple Transposition ? If he makes him a monstrous Serpent, was not *Typhon* represented under that figure ? without having recourse, with *Bochart*, to the Word *Petben*, which in the *Hebrew* Language imports a Serpent. If the same Poet makes him spring from the Slime of the Deluge, does he not point out thereby the bad Steams which rise in *Egypt*, after the Waters of the *Nile* are withdrawn ? In fine, if he says that *Apollo* slew him with his arrows, does he not conceal under this Emblem the Victory of *Orus* over *Typhon*, or at least the Triumph of the Sun-beams over the bad Steams of *Egypt* ?

Secondly, if the *Greek* Poets set *Typhon* at the head of the Giants, in the War which they wage with the Gods, do they not manifestly allude to the Persecutions of that Prince against his Brother, who has always been look'd upon as the great Divinity of *Egypt* ? If they make all the Gods to fly into this Kingdom, where, to shelter themselves from the Pursuits of that monstrous

(1) In *Isid.*

(a) We learn from *Ælian*, that *Typhon* was transform'd to a Crocodile : And upon that Tradition was founded the Aversion, which the Inhabitants of *Heliopolis* had to that Animal. *De An.* l. 10. c. 21.

(2) *Met.* L. 1.

strous Giant, they are obliged to lie conceal'd under the figure of several Animals, is not this their meaning, that the Grandees and Satraps of *Egypt*, who were of *Osiris's* party, upon the death of this Prince, hid themselves in the most remote Caves, or perished most of them by the Arms of the Conspirators? The Figures which the Poets make them assume, perhaps denote that *Osiris* having divided his Army into different Corps, had given them for Ensigns the Figures of those Animals, as we learn from *Plutarch* (1).

Thirdly, what other Meaning has *Apollodorus* (2), when he relates so mysteriously that *Mercury* and *Pan* restored to *Jupiter* his Hands and Feet, which *Typhon* had cut off, but that these two Princes, whom *Diodorus* (3) acknowledges to have lived under the Reign of *Osiris*, and whom he speaks of as two Persons exceeding wise, by their prudent Management recover'd his Affairs, which were in a very bad situation, regain'd his Troops, which his Brother had debauched from him, and by supplying him with Money, which is the Sinews of War, fortified his declining Party.

Fourthly, although the *Greek* Poets and Historians make *Typhon* perish in different places, and out of *Egypt*, where it is certain he died, yet we see by the Circumstances which they join to his Fable, that they follow the Traditions of that People, which informs us that he was killed with Lightning, or which comes to the same, that he was swallow'd up in a fiery Whirlwind. *Homer* (4) says, that this Giant was destroy'd ἐν Ἀρίμοις : *The Ground*, says the Poet, rung under their Feet, as when *Jupiter* incensed, brandishes his Thunder upon the Mount which covers *Typhœus* in the Country of the *Arimæi*, where the Tomb of this Giant is said to be. *Madam Dacier* (5) alledges, that by this word ἐν Ἀρίμοις; *Homer* intended the Island *Ænaria*, or *Pithecusa*, in the Sea of *Tuscany*; and this, according to her, is what *Virgil* had in his eye in these Verses :

. . . *Dæ-*

(1) De Isid. & Osir. (2) Lib. 1. (3) Lib. 2. (4) Il. 6.

(5) Her Note upon this Passage.

. *Durumque cubile*

Inarime, Jovis imperiis imposta Typhæo (1).

But this Poet was certainly mistaken by aiming at too servile an Imitation of *Homer*, and by making but one word of *Inarime*. The Learned are divided about the Situation of the Country of the *Arimæans*; there are some who, as *Strabo* tells us (2), place them in *Phrygia*, others in *Cilicia*; but certain it is that this Country can only be meant of *Syria*; and *Strabo* who is of this opinion, quotes a Fragment of *Possidonius* (3), who says that it is neither *Cilicia* nor any other Country that *Homer* intends in this place, but *Syria* itself, peopled by the *Arimæans*, whom the *Greeks* call *Arimans* or *Arimians*, 'Αριμάνες, 'Αρίμης.

This same Author adds (4), that *Typhon* was thunderstruck near *Antioch*, and that his being buried in the Earth was the Cause of the River *Orontes* springing from thence, which in former times bore the Name of this Monster. In fine, *Josephus* leaves no room to doubt of what *Strabo* says, since he asserts, that *Aramus* was the Father of the *Aramæans*, whom the *Greeks*, says he, call *Syrians*.

The other Poets are not agreed as to the Place where *Typhon* perish'd, but all of them allude to his sad Catastrophe. Accordingly *Pindar* informs us, that *Jupiter* kept him imprison'd in the Caves of Mount *Ætna* (5), where, according to *Ovid*, he vomited those Torrents of Flames which rise from the Cavities of that Mountain.

Degravat Ætna caput, sub qua resupinus arenas

Ejectat, flammamque fero vomit ore Typhæus (6).

The same Poet says much the same thing in his *Fasts* (7):

Alta jacet vasti super ora Typhoëus Ætna,

Cujus anbelantis ignibus ardet humus.

Silius Italicus gives Mount *Ætna* the very Name of *Typhon*:

Tum Catare ardenti nimium vicina Typhæo (8).

What the other Poets, such as *Virgil* (9), *Statius* (10),
Claudian,

(1) *Æn.* l. 9.

(2) *Lib.* 12.

(3) *Lib.* 16.

(4) *Lib.* 5.

(5) *Pyth.*

(6) *Met.* l. 5.

(7) *Lib.* 4.

(8) *Lib.* 14.

(9) *Æn.* l. 3. v. 570, &c.

(10) *Theb.* 3.

Claudian, Cornelius Severus, &c. say of *Enceladus*, is to be understood of *Typhon*, since, according to *Philostrophus* (1) and the more knowing Mythologists, *Typhon* and *Enceladus* denote the same Person.

To the Poets we may join the Mythologists, as *Hyginus* (2), and several others, who unanimously agree, that under Mount *Ætna* *Typhon* was buried.

Those of the Ancients who have not looked upon *Sicily* and Mount *Ætna* as the Tomb of *Typhon*, depart not far at least from the same Tradition, since they have always chosen for that purpose, Places of a sulphureous quality, distinguished by subterraneous Fires and Earthquakes, as in *Campania*, or rather near Mount *Vesuvius*, as *Diodorus* alledges (3), or in the *Phlegræan* Plains, as *Strabo* relates (4), or in a place in *Asia*, whence there springs out of the Earth sometimes Water, and at other times Fire, as *Pausanias* has it (5). In a word, in all the Mountains, and in every other Place which was remarkable for Exhalations or Eruptions, as is well remark'd by the ancient Scholiast on *Pindar*, upon the first *Pythick*, after the Historian *Artemon*, who says, *Every Mountain that throws out Fire, buries under it the unhappy Typhon, who is there devoured by the Flames*; Circumstances, which carrying an Allusion to the Name of *Typhon*, to the account which the *Egyptians* gave of the manner of his Death, and to the Allegories which they draw from it, inform us, that the Poets and Historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, have, amidst their most absurd Fables, transmitted down to us the Traditions of that ancient People.

Fifthly, the Opinion of the ancient Poets, that Thunder was the most formidable Instrument of divine Vengeance, and that those were impious Persons who were struck with it, came likewise from *Egypt*, where we see it was given out, in order to make *Typhon* more odious, that in this manner he had been punished by the Gods; tho' it was well known, that he had lost his life in the last Battel which *Orus* his Nephew fought with him.

L 1 2

Virgil

(1) Vit. Apollon. (2) Fab. 151. (3) Lib. 4. (4) Lib. 5.
(5) In Arc.

Virgil has preserv'd to us this traditional Opinion about those who had been thunder-struck, in making *Anckises* say : “ Odious as I am to the Immortals, ever
“ since the Father of Gods and Men struck me with
“ his Thunder, I drag an useless load of Years (1).”

Jam pridem invisus Divis & inutilis annos

*Demoror, ex quo me Divûm Pater atque Hominum Rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis & contigit igni.*

Upon which it is proper to consult *Servius* and *La Cerda*.

Sixthly, we learn from *Plutarch*, that not only the Opinions of the *Greek* Philosophers, such as *Heracitus*, *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and others, about the Formation of the World, but also those of the Poets, are borrowed from the Traditions of the *Egyptians* with relation to *Typhon* and *Osiris* ; for what other foundation had *Hesiod* for speaking in the manner he does of the *Chaos*, *Terra*, *Erebus*, and *Love*, but those same Traditions, since by *Terra* he means *Isis* ; by *Love*, *Osiris* ; and by *Tartarus*, *Typhon* ; as *Plutarch* also informs us.

Seventhly, *Typhon* was become so odious to the *Egyptians*, that they even had an abhorrence to every thing that bore any resemblance to him ; for which reason, they had an annual Custom of throwing over a Rock, all the Asses that were of a red Colour, because they resembled that Tyrant, who had been red-hair'd. The Sea was likewise an Abomination to them, because they believ'd it was *Typhon*. But as much as they hated the Name of that Tyrant, so much did they honour the Memory of the beneficent *Isis* and *Osiris*.

ARTICLE III.

The History of the Worship paid to Isis and Osiris.

Isis having died some time after her Son's Victory over *Typhon*, the *Egyptians* paid Adoration to her with her Husband *Osiris*, as to Divinities ; and because they had apply'd themselves, during their Reign, to teach Agriculture, the Ox and the Cow became their Symbols.

Festivals

(1) *Æn* 1. 2. 647.

Festivals were instituted to their Honour, where several infamous Rites were afterwards introduced. There the infamous Image of the *Phallus* which *Isis* had consecrated, was carried in Procession, and it became the Symbol of Fruitfulness, tho' in its original Institution it had only been the mark of *Isis's* Passion for *Osiris* her Husband.

One of the chief Ceremonies in the Festivals of *Osiris*, was the Appearance of the Ox *Apis*, that was to succeed that which the Priests had drowned in the sacred Fountain, or which had died a natural Death. This Ox, whom the Priests nourish'd with so much care, and for whom all *Egypt* had such a veneration, was look'd upon as a God. To gain some credit to this Superstition, they said he represented the Soul of *Osiris*, which after that Prince's death had retired into that Animal, and chose to dwell there rather than any where else, because the Ox was the Symbol of Agriculture, which that Prince had taken so much care to improve.

Herodotus tells us, that this Ox was to be black over all the Body, with a square white Mark upon the Forehead : Upon the Back he was to have the figure of an Eagle, a Knot under the Tongue in the figure of a Beetle, the Hairs of the Tail double ; and, according to *Pliny*, a white Mark upon the right Side, which, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Ælian*, was to resemble the Crescent of the Moon. And then the last Qualification was an extraordinary Generation, his Mother having conceived him by a Clap of Thunder (*a*). *Porphyry* (1), whose Design was to turn the ancient Theology of the *Egyptians* and other Nations into Allegories, says, that all these Marks had a reference to the Sun and Moon, to whom the Ox *Apis* was consecrated : That the black Hair which was to be the Colour of his Body in general, represented the scorching Influence of the Sun upon Bodies ; and that the white Spot which he had in his Forehead, and the Crescent which he bore upon the Side, were Symbols of the

(a) See *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, &c.

(1) De Abf.

Moon. This Author might have added, that the Eagle and the Beetle were also the Symbols of the Sun.

Without examining into these Myſteries, I am of opinion, that the Priests imprinted the Marks I have been ſpeaking of, upon ſome young Calves which they brought up ſecretly : And to remove any ſuſpicion of the Impoſture (*a*), they took care that their God *Apis* ſhould ſometimes be long before he appear'd.

The Feſtival of *Apis* laſted ſeven days : They went in crouds to bring him from the place where he was found ; the Priests led the Proceſſion, and every one was very deſirous to receive him into his Houſe. They believed that the Children who had ſmell'd his Breath, acquired a prophetick Gift, as *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Lucian* relate.

We learn from *Pliny* (1), that this God had two Stalls, or rather two Temples, *Delubra* ; whereas *Herodotus* (2) only ſays, it was a Hall, the Work of *Pſammeticus*, which, inſtead of Columns, was ſupported by Coloſſal Statues, twelve or ſixteen Cubits high (*b*).

Be that as it will, on the Day of *Oſiris*'s Feſtival, the Priests conducted the Ox *Apis* to the Banks of the *Nile*, and drowned him with a great deal of Ceremony, and that preciſely on the Day, beyond which, according to their ſacred Books, he was not to be permitted to live (*c*). He was embalm'd and interr'd at *Memphis*, and after that, the Priests were permitted to enter into the Temple of *Serapis*, a Privilege which they were forbidden as long as the Feſtival laſted. After the Death of the Ox *Apis*, the People mourn'd and made lamentation, as if *Oſiris* had been now dead : The Priests cut off their Hair ; which in *Egypt* was a ſign of the deepeſt Mourning ; and this Mourning laſted till they got another Ox to appear, reſembling the former in the ſame Marks.

(*a*) *St. Auguſtin* was of opinion, that the Devils ſetting the Mark which we have here mentioned, before the Cows at the time of Conception, they communicated the Impreſſion to their Calves.

(1) *Lib.* 8. (2) *L.* 2. *c.* 46.

(*b*) See *Strabo*, *lib.* 7.

(*c*) *Stato die, ultra quem vivere fas non erat, aquis mergebant Plin.* *lib.* 8.

Marks. Then they began to make merry, as if the Prince himself had arisen from the dead. This Festival was still in continuance at the time of *Cambyfes*, who, arriving at *Memphis* upon his return from *Ethiopia*, an Expedition which proved so unhappy to him, found the People taken up in celebrating the Festival of *Osiris* (1), and imagining they were rejoicing at his Disgrace, sent for the Priests to demand the occasion of their Joy. They having made answer that they were celebrating the Appearance of *Apis*, who had not been seen for a great while, *Cambyfes* dissatisfy'd with the Answer, ordered them to bring before him that pretended God of theirs, and gave him a Wound with his Sword, whereof he died, caused the Priests to be lash'd, and ordered his Soldiers to massacre all whom they found celebrating this Festival.

I forgot to take notice, that after having found a Bull proper to represent *Apis*, he was left, before they conducted him to *Memphis*, in the City of the *Nile*, where he was fed for forty Days. During which time, the Women only were allowed to see him, and they presented themselves before him in a very indecent manner. The forty days being expired, he was put into a Barge, where they had a gilded Niche for his Reception; and thus he was carried down the *Nile* as far as *Memphis*.

'Tis not amiss, before we go farther, to take notice, that besides the Ox *Apis* worshipped at *Memphis*, there was another at *Heliopolis*, named *Mnevis*, which was likewise the Symbol of *Osiris*, if we credit *Diodorus* (2); tho' several Authors will have it, that the first was consecrated to *Osiris*, and the second to *Isis*. This much is certain, that the Superstition of the *Egyptians* in relation to the Ox *Apis*, was carried to the greatest excess. They honour'd him as a God, and consulted him as an Oracle. When he took what Food was offered to him (3), it was a favourable Response, and his refusing it was looked upon as a bad Prefage. *Pliny* observes, that he had declined to eat what the unfortu-

L l 4 nate

(1) Herod. l. 2. (2) Lib. 2. (3) Plin. l. 8. c. 48.

nate *Germanicus* offer'd to him, and this Prince actually died very soon after, in the manner which every body knows. In like manner, as to the two Lodges that were built for him; when he enter'd one, it was an auspicious Omen for *Egypt*, and unlucky when Fancy led him into the other; to such Extremity did that People, so fam'd for Politeness, carry their Superstition.

Pausanias (1) says, that they who were to consult him, burnt Incense before-hand upon an Altar, filled with Oil the Lamps that were there lighted, and laid down upon that Altar a piece of Money, at the right side of *Apis's* Statue. Then having applied their Ear to the Mouth of the God, to interrogate him, they withdrew, stopp'd both their Ears till they got without the bounds of the Temple, and then whatever they first heard, they took for the Response of the God.

This Bull was almost always confined to one of his Lodges, and came but seldom abroad except into a Meadow, which was also inclosed, and where he was left for some time; and there it was that Strangers came to see him. When upon occasion, he was led thro' the Town, he had Officers to guard him, who kept off the Croud, and Children went before, singing Hymns in his praise.

We have seen in what manner the Priests drowned him in a sacred Fountain, when they judg'd he ought not to live any longer; but when he died a natural Death, they gave him magnificent Obsequies, where they were so lavish in their Expence, that they who were appointed for his Retinue, ruined their Fortunes by it. It once happen'd, in the time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, that fifty Talents were borrowed to defray the charges of his Funeral Rites.

Such, according to ancient Tradition, is the History of *Isis* and *Osiris*, and of the Ceremonies of those two Divinities, which the *Greeks* long after adopted into the History of their *Bacchus*, who was only a Copy of those ancient *Egyptian* Deities, as we shall shew upon another occasion.

To determine now who this *Osiris* was, and in what time he lived, is a matter of some difficulty. Some Authors alledge that he is *Joseph* (1), that ancient Patriarch, so famous in *Egypt* for having saved it from being destroyed by Famine, and govern'd it with so much Wisdom. Others will have him to be *Moses*: But how beautiful soever the Parallels are, which have been made between those two great Men and *Osiris*, it suffices to take notice, that this King of *Egypt* was antienter than they, and that his Worship was established in the irtime thro' all *Egypt*, since the *Israelites* imitated the Ceremonies thereof in the adoration of the Golden Calf.

Thus I am of opinion that *Osiris* is the same as *Mizraim* the Son of *Ham*, who peopled *Egypt* some time after the Deluge, and who, after his Death, was taken into the number of the Gods, according to the Custom of raising to that Dignity those who founded Empires: And the Reason why the Ancients call him the Son of *Jupiter*, is, that he was the Son of *Ham*, or *Hammon*, whom he himself had acknowledg'd as a God.

Marsham takes *Osiris* to be *Ham* himself, known under the name of *Menis* at the head of the *Dynasties*, who succeeded to the Gods and Demi-Gods; and he confirms his Opinion, by the Remark which *Africanus* had drawn from *Menetho*, concerning the first King of *Egypt*, whom a Crocodile had devoured; which agrees perfectly to *Osiris*, slain by *Typhon*, who was represented under the figure of that cruel Animal.

Notwithstanding the Obscurity which is in the History of *Osiris*, the Learned are obliged to allow, that he was one of the first of *Noah's* Descendants by *Ham*, and that he governed *Egypt*, whither his Father had repair'd, and there founded a small Kingdom, a few Years after the Dispersion which happen'd in the time of *Peleg*. 'Twas unquestionably from this Branch of *Noah's* Sons that *Egypt* got its first Inhabitants. This Country is frequently stiled in the sacred Books, the Land of *Mizraim*, or *Mestraim*, and there mention is made

(1) Voss. de Idol. l. 2.

made of the City of *Ammon*. Now there is no doubt but *Ammon* is the same with *Ham*, whose Name has been soften'd by suppressing the first Consonant.

The *Egyptians*, who believed that first the Gods, and then the Demi-Gods had reign'd among them for several Ages, are all agreed that Men succeeded the Demi-Gods in the Kingdom, and that he whom they put at the head of the *Dynasties* of Men was called *Menes*, or *Mnevis*. The Name of *Osiris*, however, is not to be found in those *Dynasties*; but *Diodorus Siculus*, who has transmitted down to us with great Care, the most ancient Traditions of the *Egyptians*, asserts that this Prince is the same with *Menes*, the first King of *Egypt*, and to this we must hold. Perhaps at his Apotheosis his Name was changed to that of *Osiris*: For we are well enough assured, that the *Greeks* observed this Custom towards those whom they deify'd, as appears from the Examples thereof which I quoted at the beginning of this Work.

In fine, I shall close the Article of *Osiris* and *Isis* with some Inscriptions, found upon ancient Monuments, which shew, in a few words, what Sentiments concerning these two Divinities were entertained by the People who had adopted their Worship.

For Osiris.

SATVRN, THE YOUNGEST OF ALL THE GODS, WAS MY FATHER. I AM OSIRIS.

Then is this other Legend.

THIS KING CONDVCTED AN ARMY AS FAR AS THE DESARTS OF INDIA, AND FROM THENCE TOWARDS THE NORTH, TO THE SOVRCES OF THE ISTER, AND THEN AS FAR AS THE OCEAN.

I AM THE FIRST BORN SON OF SATVRN, SPRVNG FROM AN ILLVSTRIOUS PEDIGREE, AND FROM NOBLE BLOOD; COVSIN TO THE DAY: THERE IS NO PLACE WHERE I HAVE NOT BEEN, AND I DIF-
FVSED

FVSFD MY BLESSINGS WITH MVNIFICENCE OVER ALL THE HVMAN RACE.

Tho' there is a great number of these Inscriptions for *Isis*, I shali fatisfy myself with quoting three of them ; the first which we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (1), is conceived in these terms.

I ISIS AM THE QVEEN OF THIS COVNTRY, AND I HAD MERCVRY FOR MY PRIME MINISTER. NONE HAD POWER TO HINDER THE EXECVTION OF MY ORDERS, I AM THE ELDEST DAVGHTER OF SATVRN, THE YOUNGEST OF THE GODS.

I AM THE SISTER AND THE WIFE OF KING OSIRIS.

I AM THE MOTHER OF KING ORVS.
I AM SHE WHO RISES IN THE DOG-STAR.
THE CITY OF BVBASTIS WAS BVILT IN HONOV R TO ME.

REIOICE O EGYPT, THOV THAT HAST BEEN TO ME INSTEAD OF A NV RSE, AND MOTHER.

The second, which was upon a Marble found at *Capua*, bore these Words, as we said before :

TO THEE, O GODDESS ISIS, WHO ART ONE AND ALL THINGS,
ARRIVS BABINVS MAKES THIS VOW.

The third, according to *Plutarch* (2), was at *Saïs*, engraved upon the Pavement of *Minerva's* Temple.

I AM ALL THAT HAS BEEN, THAT IS, AND THAT SHALL BE, AND NONE AMONG MORTALS HAS HITHERTO TAKEN OFF MY VEIL.

Tho' we put these Inscriptions in Capital Letters, as Monuments of that sort are ordinarily written, it will easily be understood, that we are far from insinuating that

(1) L. 1.

(2) De Is. & Osir.

that these Legends are actually in the Form which we have here given them, with the same Characters and in our own Language, but we have only given a literal Translation of them. 'Tis very probable that those which we read in *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, were in like manner but Translations which they had made, instead of quoting them in the proper Idiom of the Originals. As to the Marble found at *Capue*, 'tis easy to see that the original Inscription is *Latin*.

C H A P. II.

Of the other Gods of Egypt.

TIS not my design to treat in this Chapter of all the Gods whom *Egypt* worshipped, because most of them having been known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who have intermix'd with their History several Fables to which the *Egyptians* were intire Strangers, I reserve what I have to say of them for the following Volumes. Thus, tho' *Pluto*, *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, and several others, have in reality an *Egyptian* Original, yet they shall have no place in this Chapter.

ARTICLE I.

Serapis, or Sarapis.

The Learned are much divided with respect to *Serapis* or *Sarapis*, for his Name is written either way. Some take him for a foreign God, whose Worship was not known in *Egypt* till the time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*; others, among whom is *M. Cuper* (*a*), will have it, that he had been known and worshipped there from the earliest periods of time; that the *Egyptians* looked upon him as one of their greatest Gods, and that he was the same with *Osiris*. A short display of the Reasons of both, will enable the Reader to determine himself.

Those of the former appear very plausible. *Herodotus* (1), who is so full upon the *Egyptian* Gods, makes

no

(*a*) In his *Harpocrates*, p. 83, &c.

(1) L. 2.

no mention of *Serapis*: Would he have forgot him, had he been, as some learned Men pretend, one of the great Divinities of that People? The *Isiac* Table (*a*), upon which so many *Egyptian* Deities appear, presents us with nothing that resembles *Serapis*. There is preserv'd in the Cabinets of the Curious, and in Books of the Antiquaries, several Figures of *Osiris* and *Serapis*; and 'tis easy to see that those of the former, with whom they would confound him, are as different as their Names. In fine, what *Tacitus* relates (*1*), ought entirely to decide the question. *Serapis*, says that Historian, appeared in a Dream to *Ptolemy* (*b*), under the figure of a young Man exquisitely beautiful, and order'd him to send two of his most faithful Friends to *Sinope*, a City of *Pontus*, where he was worshipped, and to bring his Statue from thence. *Ptolemy* having communicated this Vision, deputed a select Embassy to *Sinope*, and from thence was the Statue of that God brought: Whence 'tis easy to conclude, that he was unknown in *Egypt* before this Event.

The illustrious M. *Cuper* does not yield to these Arguments, but maintains that *Serapis* was one of the great Gods of *Egypt*, where he had been worshipped long before the *Ptolemys*. The Proofs of his Antagonists have not shook him, and that which they bring from *Tacitus*, he thinks weak; for before it can have any force, it must be proved that *Serapis* was he whom they worshipped at *Sinope*, which can never be made out; for the God to whom that City paid adoration, was *Pluto*, nor was the name *Serapis* given him till his Statue was brought into *Egypt*. “When that God
“came into *Egypt*, says the Historian now named, *Timotheus*, Master of the Ceremonies, and *Manethon* the
“*Sebennite*, seeing his Statue, and observing there the
“*Cerberus* and a Dragon, judg'd it to be *Dis* or *Pluto*,
“and persuaded *Ptolemy* that it was the same with *Serapis*.”

(*a*) See Chap. VI. of this Book.

(*1*) Hist. l. 4. c. 83.

(*b*) *Tacitus* does not tell us who that *Ptolemy* was, who had this Vision; but *Macrobius* says, it was the Son of *Lagus*.

“*pis.*” *Plutarch* gives the same Account (1): “He had not that Name when he came into *Egypt*; but upon his arrival at *Alexandria*, he took the Name the *Egyptians* gave to *Pluto*, which was *Serapis*.”

When *Pausanias* (2) relates that the *Alexandrians* received from *Ptolemy* the Worship of *Serapis*, he says at the same time, that there was already at *Alexandria* a very magnificent Temple of that God; and another not so grand, but of very great antiquity, in the City of *Memphis*. *Tacitus* himself, when he says that *Ptolemy*, after *Serapis* was brought into *Egypt*, built a stately Temple to him in the place named *Racotis*, asserts also, that there was another lesser one, consecrated to the same God, and to *Isis*; which proves, not that *Serapis* was not worshipped in *Egypt* till the time of the Embassy to *Sinope*, but only that the Worship of that God, perhaps neglected a long time, was re-established there with Solemnity.

As *M. Cuiper* takes no notice of those two Objections, the one of them drawn from the Silence of *Herodotus*, the other from the *Isiack* Table, I shall answer them for him, 1. Tho’ ’tis true that that Historian set apart his second Book for the History of the *Egyptian* Religion, yet we cannot be sure that he has omitted none of their Gods. Besides, having spoke fully of *Osiris*, who was perhaps the same with *Serapis*, he reckon’d it was not necessary to say any thing particularly of the latter. 2. The same thing may be said as to the *Isiack* Table: Tho’ a great number of the *Egyptian* Gods are there to be found, yet I reckon it cannot be affirm’d that they are all there, far less that they can all be distinguished by their particular Symbols.

The Proof which is drawn from the diversity of Representations, is yet less conclusive. The *Egyptians* vary’d exceedingly with respect to the Figures of their Gods, and the Symbols which they joined to them. The Figures frequently bore even a vast number of Attributes, which could not agree to a single Divinity: These were what we call the *Panthean* Figures, which
re-

represented several Deities, as one may be convinc'd by viewing some of those of *Isis*, of *Harpocrates*, and others.

M. *Cuper* next refutes the Opinion of *Macrobius*, who says, that the *Egyptians* were forced by the *Ptolemys* to embrace the Worship of *Serapis*, come from *Sinope*; for he ought to have proved that this was the Name of *Serapis* in that City of *Pontus*; which was not so, as has been made out.

'Tis then very probable, whatever several learned Antiquaries say to the contrary, that *Serapis* was an *Egyptian* God, known and worshipped by that People long before the *Ptolemys*. I add, he was the same with *Pluto*; and tho' the Testimonies of *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, which we have quoted, were less conclusive than they are, yet one of the finest Statues of that God, given by *Fabretti* to M. *Cuper*, at whose feet we see the three-headed *Cerberus*, would leave no room to doubt of it (*a*).

We have in the Antiquaries several other Figures, always known to be those of *Serapis* by the *Calathus*, or a kind of Bonnet which he wore upon his head. Sometimes he is join'd with *Isis*, and represented like a young Man, and then he is taken for *Osiris* or the Sun; frequently like a bearded old Man, very much resembling *Jupiter*, whose Name he also bore; at least, from the time that the *Greeks* were Masters of *Egypt*.

ARTICLE II.

Orus.

Orus, according to *Herodotus* (1), was the Son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and the last of the Gods who reigned in *Egypt*. After he had put *Typhon* to death, he mounted the Throne. *Diodorus*, who so far follows *Herodotus* (2), subjoins, that the *Titans* having put him to death, his Mother who possessed the most rare Secrets of Medicine, even that of making immortal, having found his Body
in

(*a*) There is a Print of this Figure in *Montfaucon's Antiquity*, Tom. II. p. 185.

(1) Lib. 2. c. 144. (2) Lib. 22.

in the *Nile*, whither it had been thrown by the *Titans*; restored Life to it, and procured to him Immortality. After this, she taught him Medicine, and the Art of Divination. With these Talents, continues *Diodorus*, *Orus* render'd himself famous, and multiply'd his Blessings upon the World.

We have already given an account in the History of *Typhon*, in what manner *Orus*, by the Advice of *Isis*, reveng'd the Death of his Father, by taking away that Tyrant's Life, whom he destroy'd in the lower *Egypt*; this is all that we know of this last *Egyptian* God, after whom, the Demi-Gods began to reign. We are not here to enlarge upon that prodigious number of Years the *Egyptians* ascribe to the Reigns of their Gods, which in *Diodorus's* reckoning (1) comprehended a space of three and twenty thousand Years, from the Reign of the Sun to the time of *Alexander's* conquering the *Indies*. For, whether those Years be taken for lunar Years, or only for the Seasons, each Year including four, the number of three and twenty thousand Years is still manifestly fabulous, and *Diodorus* vainly uses his efforts to justify the *Egyptians* in this.

The *Greeks*, as the Author has it whom I just now cited, pretended that their *Apollo* was the same as the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*. *Apollo* was in reality like *Orus*, expert in Medicine, and in the Art of Prediction, and this God among them was the Sun, as *Orus* was in *Egypt*. Accordingly, we find him often called by the Ancients, *Orus Apollo*. It would be to no purpose to object, that it was *Osiris*, who in *Egypt* represented the Sun, since the Answer is easy, that this Luminary; the first and greatest of the Gods, had several Names, not only in the different Countries where he was worshipped, but frequently even in the same. It would also be in vain to object, that the Symbols of *Osiris* were different from those of *Orus*; for 'tis known that the *Egyptian* Mythology confounds Gods who are very different from one another, and that sometimes it distinguishes them by particular Attributes. 'Tis certain, for instance, as
the

(1) Loc. cit.

the most learned Antiquaries hold, that *Harpocrates*, of whom we shall speak in the following Article, represented the Sun among the *Egyptians*, as well as *Osiris* and *Orus*, tho' the Figures under which these Gods were represented, had no manner of resemblance to one another.

Let that be as it will, *Orus* occurs in the *Isiac Table*, under the figure of an Infant swath'd about, and covered from head to foot in an odd kind of Habit in form of Lozenges. He holds with both hands a Staff, terminating in a Bird's Head, and a Whip (*a*) resembling that which is to be seen on some figures of *Osiris*. In a Manuscript of *M. de Peiresc*, preserved in the Library of *S. Victor*, the same *Orus* is seen in a Group, between *Isis* and *Osiris*: There he is represented as a young Child, habited in a Tunick. Tho' the Head of *Osiris* is wanting, that of *Isis* is there, discernible by her Head-dress, upon which is the Lotus-Leaf in form of a Crescent. We may observe, before we finish this Article, that in all the Figures of *Orus* we have now remaining, he is always represented as a Child; doubtless, to point out to us that he was but very young when *Typhon* put his Father to death, and that *Isis* his Mother was obliged to defer the Punishment of the Tyrant, till her Son was in a capacity to be the Instrument of her Revenge.

ARTICLE III.

Harpocrates.

By surveying the Figures of *Harpocrates*, whereof we have a sufficient quantity remaining, 'tis easy to judge that he was the God of Silence; since in all of them he is represented in an Attitude; holding a Finger upon his Lips; the *Egyptians*; whose Mythology was exceedingly mysterious, intending thereby to denote, that the Gods were to be adored with respectful Silence; or, as *Plutarch* has it (1), that they who knew those Gods

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were

(a) This Whip, which is frequently to be seen in the figures which represent *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Harpocrates*, was the Symbol of the God of the Sun.

(1) De Is. & Os.

were not to speak of them rashly. There was even a Law, according to *Varro* (1), which forbid under pain of death, to say that *Serapis* had been a mortal Man: And, as in the Temples of *Isis* there was an Idol, that is, an *Harpocrates* putting the Finger to his Mouth, the same *Varro* was of opinion, that he was there to recommend Silence as to that Article.

The Ancients agree that *Harpocrates* was the Son of *Isis* (2), and that his Mother having lost him when he was very young, she formed a resolution to search for him over Sea and Land, until she should find him. They tell us that it was upon this occasion she invented Sails for Ships, instead of the Oars that were used before; this is what we learn from *Hyginus* (a). *Cassiodorus* says the same thing (3), and seems to have copied *Hyginus*; with this difference, that in place of *Harpocrates* he puts *Harpocras*: And this, to mention it by the by, is what gave that Goddess the Epithet of *Pelagia*, which is to be seen in an ancient Inscription quoted by *Gruterus*.

This Circumstance of searching for *Harpocrates* bears too great a resemblance to what we have reported of *Orus*, from *Diodorus Siculus*, not to make us believe that *Orus* and *Harpocrates* were the same Person; and this is the Opinion of the most knowing Mythologists. In *Diodorus*, 'tis true, *Orus* is slain by the *Titans*, and *Isis* restored him to life; whereas, according to *Hyginus*, *Harpocrates* had only wander'd; but considering what surprising Diversity there is among Authors, in relation to those ancient pieces of History, there is nothing strange in *Diodorus's* saying that *Orus* had been slain, and that his Mother finding his dead Body, had restored him to life, tho' in reality he had only wander'd.

The illustrious M. *Cuper*, who has composed a Treatise upon *Harpocrates*, full of learned Researches, doubts not but this was the same Adventure, differently re-

(1) Apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 5. (2) See Plut. de Isid. & Osir.

(a) Velificia primum invenit Isis; nam dum quærit Harpocratem filium suum, rate velificavit. *Fab. æt.*

(3) Var l. 5. c. 17.

lated by the Ancients, and makes but one Person of *Orus* and *Harpocrates*: And as the first was among the *Egyptians* the Symbol of the Sun, he concludes, that the second represented the same Luminary too. Accordingly you see him upon some Antiques, under the figure of a Child, rising out of the Flower of Lotus, his Head encompassed with Rays, and a Whip in his Hand, to denote the rising Sun. And tho' this Proof were not sufficiently convincing, yet this Luminary and the Moon which are drawn in the same Antique, would leave no room to doubt of it. The Attitude of the Finger upon the Mouth, evidently proves that it is a *Harpocrates*. This God is represented much the same way in the Flower of Lotus, upon a Medal of *Antoninus*. Tho' those two Monuments, whereof the one is an *Abraxas* of the *Basilidians*, the other a Medal of the Emperor now mentioned, are not of sufficient antiquity to prove, that they were an Expression of the Sentiments of the *Egyptians*. *Plutarch*, in the learned Treatise which we have so often quoted, asserts, that he was thus represented in *Egypt*; not that they believed he had been born of the Flower of *Lotus*, as *Tristan* thought (1); but to inform us that the Sun was nourished by Vapours. The Finger which this God holds to his Mouth, in both those Figures, was always an indication that the Mysteries of Religion and Philosophy were to be conceal'd from the People.

The learned Author from whom I have borrowed this Article, adds a world of other Reasons to prove, that *Harpocrates* was the Sun, which the learned Reader may see in the Work itself. I would only observe, before I have done, that there are Figures of this God truly *Egyptian*, where he appears to have his Head covered with Rays or with Horns: Some, where he has Wings; others, where he holds a Whip in his hand; others, in short, where he carries a *Cornucopia*; Symbols, which all denote that he was taken for the Sun, and that he was the same as *Orus* or *Apollo*. The Owl too which accompanies him in some of those Attributes, and which

(1) Tom. i. p. 604.

is behind the Figure, signifies, according to *M. Cuper*, that the Sun turns his back upon Night, represented by that Fowl. The Poppy which sometimes accompanies him, was, according to *Porphyry* (1), the Symbol of Fertility, which the Sun produces. The *Cornucopia* has the same Signification: His Quiver and Arrows represent the Rays of the Sun; and the Serpent, which winds his crooked Folds around a Pillar, that is at the foot of some of those Figures, images the Obliquity of the Ecliptick. All the Monuments that we have remaining of this God, may be seen in the Work of *M. Cuper*, and in the second Volume of *Montfaucon's* Antiquity explain'd.

ARTICLE IV.

. *Macedo, Anubis.*

Osiris, in his Expedition to the *Indies*, had taken with him Persons of the greatest distinction in *Egypt*, and left others to be *Isis's* Privy-Council during her Regency. *Diodorus Siculus* (2), who instructs us in this part of *Osiris's* History, says, that *Macedo, Anubis* and *Pan*, accompany'd him in his Expedition. The same Author adds, that he appointed *Busiris* Governour of the Provinces that were upon the side of *Phenicia*, and *Antæus* Governour of those that lay towards *Æthiopia* and *Libya*.

There are Authors who alledge that *Macedo* was Son to *Osiris*; but *Diodorus Siculus* says, that he was only one of his Generals, and that he wore for his warlike Attire, a Wolf's Skin, and *Anubis* that of a Dog; and this he gives for the Reason why the *Egyptians* had so great a veneration for those Animals. This is all that we know of *Macedo*; but Mythology informs us in several Particularities with regard to *Anubis*, which are not to be omitted.

This God, whose Worship was propagated to *Greece, Italy*, and even thro' the whole *Roman* Empire, was in those different Countries the same as *Mercury*, and accordingly you see him with his *Caduceus* in his hand, in one of the Figures of him which *Boissard* has preserved

(1) Apud Enf. Præp. lib. 3. c. 11.

(2) Lib. 1.

served to us. *Plutarch* (1) is of the same mind, when he says, he was called *Herm-Anubis*, that is to say, *Mercury-Anubis*. *Servius*, interpreting the Verses where *Virgil* terms this God *Latrator Anubis* (2), tells us, that Prince was so named, because he is represented with the Head of a Dog, and that he was taken for *Mercury*, because of all Animals the Dog has most Sagacity (a).

Apuleius calls *Anubis*, "the Interpreter of the Gods of Heaven, and of Hell. His Face, continues that Author, is sometimes swarthy, sometimes of a golden Complexion. He lifts on high his large Dog's Head, carrying in his left hand a *Caduceus*, and in the right brandishing a green Branch of the Palm-Tree."

Ille Superûm Commentor & Inferûm; nunc atrâ, nunc aureâ facie sublimis attollens canis facies arduas Anubis, leva Caducæum gerens, dextrâ palmam virentem quatens.

Thus it is that the Greek Mythology has often confounded every thing. Never was *Anubis* the Egyptian *Mercury*, the famous *Trismegistus*, so celebrated in the History of that Country for his glorious Discoveries, for the Invention of Characters, and for the prodigious number of Books which he composed upon all sorts of Science; which we shall have occasion to examine more fully in the History of *Mercury* (3). We ought not to lay much stress upon the Figures of this God which carry the *Caduceus*; they are incontestably Greek or Roman, as well as the Medals of *Gorlay*, where *Anubis* appears with the Symbol of *Mercury*; the other Representations which are Egyptian, give him no such thing. To be short, if *Anubis* is always imaged with a Dog's Head, 'tis either because he wore the Skin of that Animal in the Expedition to the *Indies*, or to represent by the Symbol of that Animal, that having been Captain of *Isis* and *Osiris*'s Guards, as *Diodorus*

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has

(1) De Is. & Osir. (2) *Æn.* l. 8. v. 698.

(a) *Latrator Anubis, quia canino capite pingitur. Hunc volunt esse Mercurium ideo, quia nihil est cane sagacius.*

(3) Vol. II.

has it (1), he had discharg'd that Office with remarkable Fidelity.

Plutarch (2), who has handed down to us ancient Traditions about the Family of *Osiris*, tells us, that *Anubis* was believ'd to be the Son of *Nephthe*, who was deliver'd of him before her time, by the Fright which she got from *Typhon* her Husband ; and that it was he, tho' yet very young, who first informed *Isis* his Aunt of the News of *Osiris's* Death.

But whatever be in that, *Anubis* was in the number of the great Gods of *Egypt* ; this is the Idea of him which *Isias* had, who dedicated to him the fine Statue which we have said is in *Boissard*. This *Isias*, it would seem, was not of *Plutarch's* opinion, since he took *Anubis* for *Osiris's* Brother. Accordingly we read in the Inscription which is over that Statue, Θεοί Ἀδελφοί, *the Brother Gods*, and you see on the left of *Anubis*, who has the Head of a Dog, that of *Osiris* ; and upon his right, that of the Bull *Apis* with its Horns, both of them with the *Calathus* of *Serapis* : These then are the three Brother-Gods, *Serapis* or *Osiris*, *Apis* and *Anubis*. The Inscription which is below his Figure, with the Name of the High-Priest *Isias*, calls these Gods, *the Synthronian Gods of Egypt* ; that is, who shared the same Throne, or the same Honours.

We may take notice by the by, that some Mythologists take for *Anubis's*, all the Figures *Cynocephali*, that is, with Dog's Heads ; wherein they are mistaken ; for the *Cynocephalus*, of which *Herodotus* (3) and some Naturalists make mention, was a kind of savage Animal, which was believ'd to have Eyes upon the Breast,

ARTICLE V.

Canopus.

Canopus had been the Pilot, or rather Admiral of *Osiris's* Fleet, in the time of his *Indian Expedition* ; and upon his Death having been rank'd among the Gods, they gave out, as *Plutarch* has it (4), that his Soul

(1) Loc. cit.
(4) De Is. & Osir.

(2) De Is. & Osir.

(3) Lib. 4. c. 194.

Soul was removed into the Star which bears his name (a). This is what frequently happen'd, as we have remarked before, that the same God was both an animated God, that is to say a deified Man, and a natural God, whether a Star, or some other part of the Universe. And this is what we are to think, especially of most of the *Egyptian* Gods. Mythologists are persuaded, that *Canopus* was in *Egypt* the God of the Waters, at least of the Waters of the *Nile*; the bare Figures of this God are enough to prove it. For he is always represented in the *Egyptian* Monuments that now remain, under the form of one of those Vases wherein the *Egyptians* kept the Water of that River till it refined. From these Vases, whose surface is full of hieroglyphical Figures, comes out the Head of a Man or Woman, sometimes with two Hands, and frequently with nothing to be seen but the Head. Such are the Representations which we have of *Canopus*, as may be seen in *Boissard*, and in the Cabinet of M. de la Chausse.

Rufinus, in his ecclesiastical History (1), relates a Story, which would be a good proof of what the Mythologists alledge, had he given us any Authority for it. The *Chaldeans*, says he, who ador'd the Fire, carried their God into several Countries, to try his Power over the Gods of other Nations. He baffled the Images of Brass, Gold, Silver, Wood, or whatever other Materials they were of, by reducing them to Dust; and thus his Worship was almost every where established: But the Priest of *Canopus* thought upon a Stratagem, which made the God whom he serv'd, superior to that of the *Chaldeans*. The Pitchers, in which the *Egyptians* used to refine the Water of the *Nile*, having been perforated on all sides with small imperceptible Holes, he took one of them, and stop'd all those small Holes with Wax, painted it of different Colours, and having filled it up with Water, he fitted to the Mouth of it the Head of an Idol. The *Chal-*

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deans

(a) This is the Star named *Canopus*.

(1) Lib. 2. c. 26.

deans having arrived in *Egypt*, kindled Fire near this Vase, whose Heat having melted the Wax, made way for the Water to run out, which extinguish'd the Fire. Thus *Canopus* vanquish'd the God of the *Chaldeans*. Among the *Abraxas*, which *Chifflet* gives account of, we find a Vase bored with several Holes; thro' which the Water that is pour'd into it runs out: This is a *Canopus* whose Head and Feet rise out of the two extremities of the Vase; which might confirm the story we have now related. That the *Egyptians* paid a religious Worship to Water in general, or at least to that of the *Nile*, is what appears to be out of doubt. In their Philosophy, Water was the Principle of all Beings, as they taught *Thales*, who made this the foundation of his System. But I shall examine this Subject more thoroughly in the History of the Sea-Gods.

We have seen in the preceding Articles, that among the *Egyptians*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Harpocrates*, were the *Sun*, *Isis* the *Moon*, and *Canopus* the Element of *Water*; we are now going to prove that they honour'd Universal Nature, and her fruitful Influence, under the name of *Pan*.

ARTICLE VI.

Pan.

If ever the *Greeks* corrupted ancient History, it was especially in the Fable of *Pan*: We shall be told by them, as *Herodotus* judiciously remarks (1), that *Hercules*, *Liber* or *Bacchus*, and *Pan*, were the last of all the Gods: But yet among the *Egyptians*, *Pan* was look'd upon as one of the eight great Gods, who in their Theology form'd the first Class, and were the most powerful, and most antient of all. *Hercules* was but in the second, which was made up of twelve Gods, who only came after the other eight whom we now mention'd, and generated those of the third, in which they placed *Bacchus*. From *Bacchus* to *Amasis*, continues *Herodotus*, the *Egyptians* computed fifteen thousand Years, and supported this Computation by a Se-

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(1) Lib. 2, c. 146.

ries of well-distinguish'd Years. Between *Hercules* and that Prince they reckon'd a far greater number of years; and consequently a considerably longer period between him and *Pan*, who was much ancients than the other two. Whereas according to the *Greek History*, there was from *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and the time when *Herodotus* lived, but about sixteen hundred Years; from *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, but nine hundred; and from *Pan*, the Son of *Penelope* and *Mercury*, but about eight hundred.

After so positive a Testimony, we are not to lay much stress upon what the *Greeks* related of the God *Pan*, but 'tis in *Egypt* we are to search into his original.

“ The *Egyptians*, says the Author, whom I have
 “ now quoted, sacrifice neither He-goats nor She-
 “ goats, because they represent the God *Pan*, and paint
 “ him with the Face and Legs of a Goat; wherein
 “ the *Greeks* have also imitated them: Not that it
 “ was believ'd in *Egypt* he bore any resemblance to
 “ them, but for reasons which it would not be agree-
 “ able to repeat. Those of *Mendes*, continues the
 “ same Historian, hold the He and She-goats, the for-
 “ mer especially, in singular Veneration, as likewise the
 “ Goat-herds who keep them; among whom there is
 “ one, who is more honour'd than the rest; and his
 “ Death causes great Mourning thro' all the Country.
 “ *Pan* and the He-Goat in the *Egyptian* Language are
 “ called *Mendes*.”

Diodorus Siculus (1) says that *Pan* was so much honour'd by the *Egyptians*, that his Statues were to be seen in all the Temples, and that to his honour they had built in *Thebais* the City of *Chemmis*, that is to say, the City of *Pan*. This Author, who takes no notice of *Mendes* in lower *Egypt*, where that God was in high veneration, adds, that he had accompanied *Osiris* in his Expedition to the *Indies*, together with *Anubis* and *Macedo*, which *Herodotus* says nothing of.

'Tis not to be doubted, whatever the *Greeks* may say,
 but

(1) L. i. p. 16.

but that the *Egyptian Pan* is the most ancient of all, and that it was by the Colonies they received the knowledge of him and his Worship. They fabled however that he was the Son of *Mercury* and *Penelope*, for whom that God transformed himself into a Goat upon Mount *Taygetus*, where she was keeping the Flocks of her Father *Icarus*; and of a God who originally represented Nature and Fertility, they made a God of the Woods and Fields, solely taken up about the Pleasures of a Country-Life, dancing continually with the Fauns and Satyrs, and running after the Nymphs, to whom he was a Terror.

It was he, according to them, who invented the Flute with the seven Pipes (a), and upon this occasion they deliver'd the Fable, which I am going to relate. That God one day pursuing a Nymph named *Syrinx*, the Daughter of the River *Ladon*, with whom he was in love, the Nymphs of that River transform'd her into a Reed. *Pan* fetch'd many a deep Sigh near those Reeds, and they gently moving by the Zephyrs, repeated his Complaints; which suggested to him the thought of pulling some of them, whereof he made the Flute with the seven Pipes, which was called after the name of that Nymph (1). But this is a meer Fable invented by the *Greeks*; which may import, that some one of those to whom they gave the name of *Pan*, had employed the Reeds of the River *Ladon*, to make that sort of Flute: I say, of those to whom they gave the name of *Pan*, for in reality there were several of them; *Nonnus* reckons up no less than twelve.

Herodotus durst not tell the reason why the *Egyptians* represented the God *Pan* under the figure of a Goat; ancient Mythologists however assure us, that what induc'd them to it, was, that *Pan* having found the Gods in *Egypt*, whither they had fled from the Giants, advis'd them, as a means to prevent their discovery,

(a) *Pan primus exlamor cerâ conjungere plures
Instituit.* *Virg. Eccl. 2.*
Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula. *Id. Ib.*

(1) *Met. L. 1. v. 689.*

covery, to clothe themselves with the figures of different Animals ; and as an example he himself assum'd that of a Goat. They tell us, that he even fought very resolutely in their behalf against *Typhon* ; and for his reward, these same Gods, whom he had so stoutly defended, gave him a place in Heaven, where he forms the Sign of *Capricorn* (1).

Be that as it will, there was no place in all *Greece*, where the Divinity of *Pan* was more honour'd than in *Arcadia*. This is even thought to have been the place where he deliver'd his Oracles. Sacrifices were offer'd to him of Honey and Goat's Milk, and the *Lupercalia* were celebrated to his honour. This Festival in later times became very famous in *Italy*, where *Evander* the *Arcadian* had introduced the Worship of *Pan*. The *Greeks*, besides the Fable of *Syrinx*, which I have mention'd, broach'd several others in relation to this God, as his having discover'd to *Jupiter* the place where *Ceres* had concealed herself, after the Rape of *Proserpine* ; upon which information they tell us, that *Jupiter* dispatch'd the Destinies to console her, and to prevail upon her by their Prayers to put an end to the Barrenness, which her Absence had brought upon the Earth (2).

'Tis the *Greeks* too, who have attributed to their God *Pan*, the original of that sort of sudden Consternation which seizes upon People, without knowing whence it proceeds ; 'twas by such an unaccountable Terrour, that the Army of *Brennus*, the Leader of the *Gauls*, was put to flight : But *Plutarch* and *Polyenus* refer the source of it to the God *Pan* of the *Egyptians*. The first of these Authors says, that the *Pans* and *Satyrs* affrighted with the Death of *Osiris*, whom *Typhon* had inhumanly murder'd, made the Banks of the *Nile* to resound with their Howlings and Lamentations ; and ever since, they have called that vain Fear which surprizes People unawares, by the name of *Panick Terrour*. *Polyenus* (3) ascribes the Origin of those

(1) Hygin. Coel. Poet. Astr.

(2) Paus. in Arcad.

(3) In his Strat.

those Terrors to the Stratagem which *Pan*, *Osiris's* Lieutenant-General, made use of to extricate the Army of that Prince, when it was surprized in the night-time by the *Barbarians* in a Valley; he order'd them to raise Shrieks and terrible Howlings, which put the Enemy into such a consternation that they fled. But *Bochart* (1) pretends that there is no other reason for making *Pan* the Author of those Terrors, but that the *Hebrew* word *Pan* or *Phan* denotes a Man under Consternation.

Here 'tis proper to remark by the by, that several learned Men confound *Pan* with *Faunus* or *Sylvanus*, and believe it was but one and the same Divinity worshipped under these different Names. Father *Thomasassin* proves it by several Authorities, fetch'd from the Ancients; to which he might have joined that of *Probus* in his Commentaries upon *Virgil*, of *Fenestella*, and several others. The *Lupercalia* too were equally celebrated in honour of those three Divinities, who were indeed different in their Original, tho' in time they came to be confounded.

It must be own'd however, that the Fable of *Pan* came at length to be greatly allegorized; and that this God was look'd upon as the Symbol of Nature. His very Name in *Greek* (1) signifies *All*; accordingly he was imaged with Horns on his Head, to represent, say Mythologists, the Rays of the Sun, as the Vivacity and Ruddiness of his Complexion mark the Brightness of the Heavens: the Star which he wears upon his Breast, is the Symbol of the Firmament; and his Feet and Legs overgrown with Hair denote the inferior part of the World, the Earth, the Trees, and Plants.

The *Egyptians*, after having ador'd the Sun under the name of *Osiris*, and the Moon under that of *Isis*, made all Nature the Object of their Adoration under the Symbol of *Pan*, who is to be considered as one of the most ancient Divinities of the Pagan World. We find him in *Egypt* at the time when the Gods, attack'd by the
Giants,

(1) Chan.

(a) Παν, *Omne*; according to *Plato*, *Verbum*, the word

Giants, fled thither for refuge ; and, according to *Plutarch* (1), the *Pans* and *Satyrs* were the first who deplored the Death of *Osiris*. *Diodorus* adds (2), that *Pan* accompanied *Bacchus* in his Conquest of the *Indies*, as has been said : now the *Bacchus* who made that Conquest was an *Egyptian*, since it was *Osiris* himself.

I have been obliged to repeat the *Greek Fables* relative to *Pan* ; but at bottom the whole amounts to this, that he was one of the greatest Gods of *Egypt* ; that he was honoured especially at *Mendes* ; that his Worship was brought into *Greece* by the *Egyptian Colonies* ; that he became more remarkably famous in *Arcadia* ; that *Evander* made him be known in *Italy*, where he came and settled with his Colony some Years before the *Trojan War* ; and that at last the Worship of this God was received at *Rome*, with the Festivals which were celebrated to his Honour.

I shall conclude, after I have briefly taken notice of that extraordinary Voice, which, according to *Plutarch*, was heard towards the *Echinades Isles*, in the *Ionian Sea*, and which pronounced these Words, *The great Pan is dead*. The Astrologers of that time, consulted by *Tiberius*, upon the Credit of a Pilot named *Thamus*, who aver'd that he had heard it, told that Prince, that it meant *Pan* the Son of *Penelope*. 'Tis probable, that *Thamus* had been suborned to terrify the Emperor ; unless we will rather chuse to say with *Eusebius*, that this Voice was supernatural, and that God was pleased by it to intimate to the World the Death of the *Messiah*, which happened under the Reign of that Emperor.

The Worship paid to the He-Goat, as representing the God *Pan*, leads us naturally to an important Article of the *Egyptian Religion* ; I mean, that of Animal Worship in general. Here we have two things to examine : 1. What were those Animals for which the *Egyptians* had a particular Veneration. 2. What was the

542 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book VI.
the Nature of that Worship which they ascribed unto
them.

CHAP. III.

Of the Worship given to Animals by the Egyptians.

THAT the *Egyptians* honour'd Animals with a publick Worship, such as was authorized by the Laws of the Country, is a Fact which cannot be called in question ; and they have been so reproached with it, that the Satire, which they have suffered upon that account from *Greeks* and *Romans*, is known to all the World.

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat (1) ?*

The same Poet rallies them for not daring to eat either Leeks or Onions :

*Porrum & cepe nefas violare, & frangere morsu (a) ;
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina (2) !*

Lucian, in his Dialogues, often ridicules this foolish Superstition. And yet were it only Poets and satirical Authors who rally them upon this account, it might be thought that they had not so much consulted Truth, as their own satyrical Humour ; but the gravest and most judicious Historians have loaded them with the same Reproaches. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and several others speak of the different Animals which the *Egyptians* worshipped, as shall be said afterwards. *Elian* (3) gives some particular Instances thereof, with no other view but to expose so foolish a Superstition. *Plutarch* (4), who has endeavour'd to excuse the *Egyptians*, allows however, that a Worship which has meer Animals for its Object, appears at first sight to be quite absurd and ridiculous. And indeed, what can we think of a People, whose Temples were filled with almost all the Animals which their Country produc'd ? What other

(1) Juv. Sat. 15. ab init.

(a) *Pliny* has the same Thought with *Juvenal*. *Allium cepasque*, says he, *inter Deos jure jurando habet Ægyptus*. Lib. 19.

(2) Id. ibid. v. 9. (3) *De Anim.* L. 12. c. 5. (4) *De Is. & Os.*

other Notion could one have but that those Animals were the Objects of a truly religious Worship, which he saw nourished and lodged with particular care, as were the Ox *Apis* at *Memphis*, the Crocodile at *Arsinoë*, the Cat at *Bubastis*, the Goat at *Mendes*, &c. Add to this, that the sacred Birds and Animals were embalm'd after their Death, in order to be deposited in the Catacombs, which were set apart for them; and we shall be constrained to say with *Cicero*, that the *Egyptians* had more Respect and Veneration for Animals, than the *Romans* for their Temples and the Statues of their Gods (a).

In fine, when we know that they punished with Death those who killed any of those sacred Animals, who can help believing that they carried this Superstition to the greatest Excess? That they did so, is certain matter of Fact; and tho' we had not the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus* to depend upon, who tells the Story of a *Roman* Soldier, who for slaying a Cat was torn in pieces by the furious Mob, in spite of all that *Ptolemy* could do to rescue him, as he inclined to have done, knowing how much it was his Interest to keep in good terms with the Senate; tho' we had not this, I say, yet the Testimony of *Moses* would be sufficient to prove it. That sacred Legislator, asking *Pharaoh's* permission to go and sacrifice in the Wilderness, tells him, that if they sacrificed in *Egypt* the Animals which were worshipped there, they would be stoned (b).

Thus *Josephus* disputing against *Apion* (1), had good reason to say to him, that if the World had embraced the *Egyptian* Religion, it would soon have become destitute of human Inhabitants, and wholly peopled by Animals. But in order to set this Article of the *Egyptian* Theology in a better light, 'tis necessary that we come to Particulars.

We

(a) Firmiores apud Ægyptios opiniones esse de bestiis quibusdam, quam apud Romanos de sanctissimis Templis & Simulachris Deorum. *De Nat. Deor.* L. 1.

(b) Quod si mactaverimus ea quæ colunt Ægyptii, coram eis, lapidibus nos obruent. *Ex.* viii. v. 26.

(1) L. 2.

344 MYTHOLOGY and FABLES Book VI.

We have already seen in what manner the *Egyptians* worshipped the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, Symbols of their *Osiris*; *Anubis* with a Dog's Head, and *Pan* under the Figure of a Goat. 'Tis likewise known, that at *Arsinoë*, a Town situated near the Lake *Mæris*, they had a great Veneration for the Crocodiles, nourished them with care, embalm'd them after their Death, and interr'd them in the subterraneous Cells of the Labyrinth; that at *Bubastis* in lower *Egypt*, the Cats were in such Veneration, that it was forbid, under pain of Death, to kill them. *Herodotus* (1) remarks upon this occasion, that when any Fire happens, the Cats are actuated by a divine Commotion, and that the *Egyptians*, who have the keeping of them, neglect the Fire to observe what those Animals are then a doing; and he subjoins, that in spite of all their Efforts to hold them, they get away, and throw themselves into the fire. Then, continues that Author, the *Egyptians* put on Mourning, and deplore the Loss which they have now sustained. The same Historian farther remarks, that when a Cat dies a natural Death, all the People of the House where this Accident happens, shave their Eye-brows in token of Grief; and if it is a Dog that dies, they shave their Head and whole Body. When the Days of Mourning are over, they embalm the Cats, and attend them to their Place of Interment at *Bubastis*.

The Dog, the Lion, the Ichneumon, the Hawk, the Monkey, and other Animals, were the Objects of the same People's Veneration; which makes *Herodotus* say, that the *Egyptians* looked upon all the Animals as sacred, that their Country brought forth; the number whereof however was not very considerable, tho' they were in the Neighbourhood of *Libya*, which produc'd them in such great plenty. Hence so many monstrous Figures of *Egyptian* Divinities, which we meet with in the Antiquaries, with the Heads of a Cat (a), a Dog, a Wolf, a Lion, a Monkey, &c. One

(1) L. 2. c. 66.

(a) Here we see what the *Egyptian* God Cat, or *Ælurus* was, whereof

One very infallible Proof of the Respect and Veneration which they had for those Animals is, that the Towns which honour'd them, were called by their Names. Such was *Bubastis*, *Mendes*, *Crocodilopolis* (b), *Leontopolis*, and several others, which were thus denominated, from their having a singular Veneration for the Cats, the Goats, the Crocodiles, the Lions, &c. Several *Nomes* in the same Country were design'd by the Names of the Animals that were worship'd there. The *Oxyrinchian* was so called upon account of the Fish *Oxyrinchus*; the *Lycopolitan*, from the Wolf; the *Cynocephalus*, from the Dog, &c. I shall not dwell longer upon a Subject so well known; but I cannot forbear remarking with *Herodotus* (1), that while one City rank'd certain Animals among their Gods, another held them in Abomination. Thus the Inhabitants of *Mendes*, who worship'd the Goat, sacrificed to him the Sheep, which were the Objects of Veneration to those of *Saïs*, who in their turn offered the Goats in Sacrifice to their *Jupiter Ammon*. Just so the Crocodiles, so highly honour'd at *Arsinoë*, were look'd upon with horror and detestation in the rest of *Egypt*, where they believed the Soul of *Typhon* had passed into that amphibious Animal. Hence those religious Wars mentioned by *Plutarch*, of one Province against another, which took their rise at first from a political Contrivance of one of their Kings; who, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, seeing his People somewhat intractable and inclined to revolt, distributed them into different Prefectures, in each of which he established the Worship of some Animal, and forbid the

N n

Use

whereof several Representations are to be found in the Antiquaries, sometimes under the Figure of that Animal, as one of them occurs in *Fabretti*; more frequently under that of a Man, with the Head of that Animal; and the Ornament which ordinarily accompanies that of *Osiris*; sometimes with a Scepter in his Hand, which was the Symbol of *Isis*.

(b) This City was called *Arsinoë*. Among the Crocodiles which were honoured there, the Priests had always a tame one, which they named *Suchus*. Him they adorned with Gold and Jewels; and they who came to see him, made him an Offering of Bread and Wine.

Use of it for Food, that each of those Provinces, bigotted to its own Worship, might contemn that of its Neighbours, and insensibly come to hate them ; which proved the Source of endless Wars.

The *Egyptians* could not possibly take more care than they did of the sacred Animals. They had public Parks, where they were maintained at vast expence. They who had the charge of them, fed them with fine Paste, diluted in Milk mixed with Honey; with Duck's Flesh, which was well dressed ; or with other Meat such as was proper for them. They were bath'd, they were perfum'd. The Apartments to which they retir'd, were both commodious and adorn'd. Upon the Death of one of those Animals, after the Mourning which the Law prescribed, they were first embalm'd, and then interr'd in the Catacombs. It even frequently happen'd, that the Funerals of those Animals were so expensive, as to exceed the Ability of those whose Office it was to solemnize them. *Diodorus Siculus* observes, that they who had this Charge, laid out an hundred Talents in one Year. Farther, those Guardians of the sacred Animals were well received every where ; and far from being ashamed of their Employment, they wore characteristick Marks to distinguish the several sorts of Animals that were committed to their trust. Sometimes they even fell down upon their knees to them, when they saw them passing by.

They who were engaged in a foreign War, brought back with them upon their Return the Cats and other Animals which had died, in order to bestow upon them an honourable Burial ; but what is yet a stronger Proof of their high Veneration for the sacred Animals, when *Egypt* was extremely distressed with Famine, so that the People were even reduced to the hard necessity of eating human Flesh, no body durst touch that of those Animals.

But is it possible, that a People so enlighten'd and refined as the *Egyptians* were, whom the most learned Men of *Greece* visited, in order to be instructed in Philosophy

lophony and Matters of Religion, whose Laws were so wise and so well observed ; that such a People, I say, carried Superstition so far as to worship Animals, Insects, and the very Plants of their Gardens? Ought we not to disbelieve the Authors who have insulted them upon this account? Are Strangers fit Persons to inform us of the Religion of a Country, where the Priests were so solicitous to keep its Mysteries conceal'd? If the *Egyptians* have met with Criticks, who turned them to ridicule, have they not also found Patrons to defend them? Let us examine this Question to the bottom : let us see what was the nature of that Worship, which *Egypt* paid to Animals, and weigh the Reasons whereby they were induced to pay them divine Honour.

C H A P. IV.

What was the Nature of that Worship which the Egyptians paid to Animals.

TH O' 'tis not my design to defend the *Egyptians*, yet I hope by searching into the Original and Causes of their superstitious Regard to Animals, to shew that it was not so extravagant as we are apt to believe ; that it was a natural Consequence of their Principles, and that their Blindness in this matter ought rather to be an Object of our Compassion, than a Subject of our Railery.

Diodorus Siculus (1), who is not satisfied with giving the History of so singular a Worship, has endeavour'd to assign several Reasons for it ; the first of them is the Benefit that accrues from those Animals. This *Herodotus* had touched upon before him (2), when speaking of the Veneration which the *Egyptians* had for the *Ibis*, he says, the Cause of it was that in the Spring-time, there came from *Arabia* Swarms of Flying-Serpents, which over-spread *Egypt*, and would have done infinite execution there, had it not been for those Birds,

(1) L. 1.

(2) L. 2.

which banish'd or entirely destroy'd them. *Cicero* is of the same mind with *Herodotus* (1). "The Egyptians, says he, whom we are apt to ridicule so much, conferred Honours however upon Animals, only in proportion to the Advantage which they derived from them; thus their Reason for worshipping the *Ibis*, was because it destroy'd the Serpents. I might take notice, continues he, of the Advantages they reap'd from the *Ichneumon*, from the *Crocodiles*, and the *Cats*; but I have no mind to be tedious." *Ipsi qui irridentur Ægyptii nullam belluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem quam ex ea caperent, consecrarunt; velut, quod Ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt: Possum de Ichneumonum utilitate, de Crocodilorum, de Felium dicere; sed nolo esse longior.*

I readily grant, that the Progress which the Worship of Animals made in *Egypt* was owing to this Consideration; but I don't believe that it was the Foundation of it. I know indeed, that Gratitude and Fear introduc'd Gods into the World. I am far from disowning the great Advantages that are derived from several Animals; nor am I ignorant of what *Vossius*, in his excellent Treatise of Idolatry, says upon this Subject; but would this single Consideration have been sufficient to raise Monsters and Insects to Divinities? Let us not rely too much upon *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, who were not always well instructed in the *Egyptian* Mysteries, which the Priests concealed from them as from profane Persons, who came into their Country out of meer Curiosity. They are not perhaps to be more believed upon this Subject, than as to the Calumnies with which they loaded the *Jews*, accusing them of having worshipped Swine, from whose Flesh they abstain'd; and of paying devotion to an Ass, whose Figure, according to them, they preserved in massy Gold, in the Temple of *Jerusalem* (a).

Judæus licet & porcinum numen adoret,

Et cilli summas advocet auriculas (2).

Let

(1) De Nat. Deor. L. 1.

(a) See *Josephus* against *Apion*, *Tacitus*, *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, &c.

(2) Petr. Sat.

Let us endeavour to unfold the *Egyptian* Myſteries, and ſee if the odd Figures of their Divinities, which provoked the Raileries and Contempt of *Cambyſes*, will not help us to find out the true Reaſons of the Worſhip which they paid to them. Firſt, I ſuppoſe, that all Worſhip is not a religious Worſhip, and that all religious Worſhip is not a Worſhip of *Latreia*. I don't think it neceſſary here to ſettle that Diſtinction, which is ſufficiently agreed to. This being laid down, I take the Worſhip which the *Egyptian* Priests aſcribed to Animals, to have been purely relative, and that it was ultimately directed to the Divinities, of whom they were the Symbols. But to ſhew that I am not advancing this Propoſition without foundation, I ſhall prove it by unqueſtionable Teſtimonies. We know, that the Ox *Apis* was among the *Egyptians* the Symbol of *Osiris*, and that *Osiris* himſelf was the Sun. Hence the Adoration of the Oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*; the firſt of them conſecrated to the Sun, and the other to the Moon (a), who were the great Divinities of that Country (1). *Herodotus* enquiring into the Reaſon why the *Egyptians* repreſented *Jupiter* with a Ram's Head, alledges, it was owing to that God's having appear'd under that form to *Hercules*, who was deſirous to ſee him. The ſame Author ſpeaking of the Worſhip which the Inhabitants of *Mendes* paid to *Pan*, ſays, they repreſented him under the figure of a Goat, for myſterious Reaſons, though they well knew that he reſembled the other Gods. *Diodorus Siculus* diſcovers this Myſtery, which *Herodotus* probably had no mind to unfold: That under the Symbol of that Animal, the People adored the proliſick Principle of univerſal Nature, which was repreſented by the God *Pan*. We ſee then it was *Osiris* and *Isis*, *Jupiter* and *Pan*, and by no means the Oxen, the Rams, and the Goats that were the true Objects of Worſhip to the Inhabitants of *Memphis*, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes* and *Mendes*.

N n 3

Plutarch

(a) *Porphry*, *Ælian*, *Amm. Marcel.* and others.

(1) That is, *Isis* and *Osiris*.

Plutarch (1) judiciously remarks, that Vigilance, a Quality common in Dogs, led the *Egyptians* to consecrate them to the most cunning and vigilant of all the Gods; or, in other words, the only Reason why they imaged *Mercury* with a Dog's Head, was, as *Servius* has it, because this is one of the most vigilant of Animals (a). We see from this Example the true Reason of the Doctrine of the Consecration of Animals, and that this sort of religious Worship terminated not in them, but in the Gods they represented. *Herodotus* decides the Question, when he says (2), “The *Egyptians* offered their Vows to those Animals, when they addressed their Prayers to the Gods to whom they were consecrated.” And if we would know what were those Vows which were addressed to Animals, this judicious Author informs us, that it was an Offering of Money, which was given them for their Maintenance. *Diodorus Siculus* says the same thing, and explains this Mystery more clearly (3): “The *Egyptians*, says he, offer'd to the Gods Vows for the Cure of their sick Children; and when they were out of danger, they conducted them to the Temple; and having cut off their Hair, they put it into a Balance with a Sum of Money of the same weight, which they gave to those who had the care of feeding the sacred Animals.”

Lucan, after having rallied the *Egyptians* who served up, says he, several of their Gods upon *Cæsar's* Table (b), subjoins however that the Priests being interrogated by that Prince about the Worship which they paid to those Animals, gave him to understand, that in them they worshipped the Divinity of whom they were the Symbols. Accordingly, when we learn that they placed in their Temples amidst all their Idols that of *Harpocrates*, with the Finger upon its Mouth, this plainly lets us see that therein they included Mysteries, which none were permitted to dive into, but only to meditate upon them in silence. But

(1) De Iside.

(2) *Servius* upon the Eighth Book of the *Æneid*. (2) Lib. 2. (3) L. 1.

(3) Non mandante fame, multos volucresque ferasque

Ægypti posuere Deos. Phars. Lib. 10.

But why make choice of Animals in order to represent the Gods? For what reasons were some prefer'd to others? *Plutarch* answers in general (1), "'Tis upon account of the Affinity which those Animals have with the Gods whom they represent. For, to make use of his Comparifon, the Image of God fhines forth in fome of them, as that of the Sun is reflected in the drops of Water which are ftruck with his Beams: Thus, the Crocodile having no Tongue, is confider'd as the Symbol of the Divinity, who, by his filent Influence, imprints the Laws of Equity and Wisdom on the filent Recesses of our Minds. And indeed, adds this learned Author, if numbers, which have neither Body nor Soul, were thought by the *Pythagoreans* to be proper Types of the Deity, is it not more reasonable, that Beings which are endued with both, should be confidered as Images wherein he has been pleas'd to make himself vifible to our eyes? And if Nature itfelf be but a Mirror, in which the Divinity, that glorious Sun, paints himfelf with his various Attributes, does not this ftill hold truer of the animate Creatures; and what Statue, even of the moft exquisite Workmanfhip, was ever capable of re-prefenting the fupreme Being to better advantage, than the fmalleft organized Body."

To this excellent Reason of *Plutarch*, I fhall fubjoin four others, which I fetch from the Aftrology, History, Theology of the *Egyptians*, and from the Benefit which accrued to *Egypt* from certain Animals.

"*Lucian* (a), after having faid that the *Egyptians* had calculated the courfe of every Star, and divided the Year into Months and Seasons, regulating the one by the courfe of the Sun, and the other by that of the Moon, fubjoins, that having divided the Heavens into twelve parts, they represented each Conftellation by the figure of fome Animal." Here then, in the firft place, we have the twelve Signs of the Zodiack represented by fo many Animals, fubftituted in place of

(1) De Ifid.

(a) Treatife of Judicial Aftrology.

the Stars, which were, as I have said, the first Divinities of the idolatrous World. The same Author after this adds, “ that the *Egyptians* revered the Ox *Apis*, “ in memory of the Celestial Bull, and that in the Oracle which was consecrated to him, they drew Predictions from the nature of that Sign, as the *Africans* “ from that of the Ram, in memory of *Jupiter Hammon*, “ whom they adored under that Figure.” It was then the Stars that they really worshipped; and if they paid a religious Worship to the Animals which represented them, this was nothing but a relative Worship.

’Tis true, the Vulgar did not always carry their views heaven-ward, there to adore those primary Gods, but frequently terminated their Worship in the Symbols themselves; but the question is not about the Religion of the Vulgar, but about that of the Priests and *Egyptian* Sages: And I don’t believe there ever was a Religion in the World that was exempt from Reproach, if regard was to be had only to popular Usages, which are frequently nothing but Superstition somewhat enlightened. The second Reason is taken from the ancient History of *Egypt*, which informs us, as has been already said, that the Gods having been once pursued by *Typhon*, had concealed themselves under the figures of different Animals, as we read in *Ovid*, in *Manilius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. Nothing was more proper to found the Worship we are speaking of, than this History; for whether they believed that in reality the Grandees and Princes of *Osiris*’s Party, whom his Brother *Typhon* persecuted, had been in after-times deify’d, or rather, that this mysterious Transmigration of the Gods into the Bodies of Animals, was an ingenious Allegory, holding forth that the celestial Gods came down sometimes to dwell in those Symbols which represented them, still they were obliged to have a high veneration for the Animals, and a dread of violating the sacred Shrine of the Divinity itself.

The only reasonable Objection that lies against this Conjecture, is, that this Fable is originally *Greek*, and that we have it only from *Greek* and *Latin* Authors:

But

But not to insist here upon what I have proved already, that most of the Fables of both these People came from *Egypt*, and that in particular that of the Combat of the Giants is nothing but a distorted Tradition of the History of *Typhon* and *Osiris*, are there not Monuments to be seen in *Egypt* ancients than the Fables of the *Greeks*; Cities founded, a publick Worship established in honour of the very Animals, whose Figures, they tell us, the Gods had assumed? For in fine, if *Ovid* gives out that *Jupiter* had borrowed that of a Ram (1);

Duxque gregis dixit, sit Jupiter, unde recurvis

Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon:

Was he not adored under that Form, in the famous Temple which he had in *Libya*? That *Diana* put on that of a Cat, *Fele soror Phæbi*, was not the City of *Bubastis*, whose name, according to *Stephanus*, was that of the same Goddess, and in which Cats were worshipped, was it not an authentick Monument of this Tradition? That *Bacchus*, or, according to others, *Pan*, took the figure of a He-Goat; *Proles Semeleia Capro*: Does not the Town of *Mendes* give an assured Testimony thereof? That *Juno* or *Isis* had assumed the Form of a Cow; *Niveâ Saturnia Vaccâ*: Was she not honoured at *Memphis*, under the Symbol of that Animal? That *Venus* disguised herself under the Scales of a Fish, *Pisce Venus latuit*, or as *Manilius* has it (2).

Inseruitque suos squamosis piscibus ignes:

Did not the *Syrians* abstain for this very reason, from eating Fish? In fine, that *Mercury* had assumed the figure of an *Ibis*; *Cyllenius Ibidis Alis*: Is it not well known that the *Egyptians* ascribed Worship to that Bird? Is it credible that the *Egyptians* learn'd both this Fable, and the Worship whereof it was the Foundation, from the *Greeks* and *Romans*? That it was upon their Ideas they founded the System of their Religion, and gave to their Cities Names conformable to the Worship which was therein practised? Or rather, was it not from those ancient Cities that the Authors I speak of, brought their Religion and Fables?

The

(1) Met. l. 5. v. 327. (2) Ast. l. 4.

The third Reason, which is likewise a consequence of the other, is drawn from the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or of that eternal circulation of Souls into different Bodies.

Morte carent Animæ, semperque priore relicta

Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ (1).

'Tis not necessary to insist upon the Origin of this Doctrine. It suffices to say, that *Pythagoras* taught it in *Greece* and *Italy*, towards the LXI, and following Olympiads; but whether he inculcated it in the natural sense, or, as *M. Dacier* ingeniously thinks; in a moral and allegorical sense, 'tis certain that he was not the Inventor of it. He himself had learn'd it from the *Egyptian* Priests, among whom, if we credit *Diogenes Laertius* (2), he resided a long time, in order to be instructed in their Mysteries, into which he was initiated. *Hercdotus* (3) leaves no room to doubt of what I have advanced. "The *Egyptians*, says he, are the first who
" maintained that the Soul of Man is immortal; that af-
" ter Death it passes successively into the Bodies of Ani-
" mals terrestrial, aquatick, and aërial, whence it re-
" turns to animate the Body of a Man, and finishes this
" circuit in three thousand years. There are *Greeks*,
" says he, who have delivered the same Doctrine, some
" sooner, some later, as if it had been theirs originally;
" their Names I know, tho' I forbear to mention them." Hence undoubtedly, their care to embalm the Bodies after Death, and to appropriate to them lasting Monuments for Burial.

'Tis therefore certain, that this Doctrine was originally from *Egypt*; and it was certainly attended with these two great Advantages. First, it served as a Foundation for the Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul: Secondly, by teaching that Souls passed into other Bodies, noble or ignominious, according to the Merit of the Actions that had been done in them, they render'd Vice odious and Virtue amiable; but then it naturally led to the Worship and Veneration which was afterwards paid to Animals, since it taught to consider them

as

(1) *Ov. Metam.* l. 5. 158. (2) *Life of Pythagoras.* (3) *L.* 1.

as the Receptacles not only of great Men, but of the Gods themselves. Accordingly, *Diodorus Siculus* asserts (1), that they were persuaded in *Egypt* that the Soul of *Osiris* had passed into that of an Ox ; and we learn from *Ælian* (2), that the aversion which the Inhabitants of *Heliopolis* had to the Crocodile, was founded upon their Belief that *Typhon* had put on the figure of that Animal.

In fine, the fourth Reason is drawn from the Benefit which the *Egyptians* received from certain Animals. Thus they had a veneration for the *Ibis*, because it destroy'd the flying Serpents that infested *Egypt* at a certain Season of the Year : For the *Ichneumon*, because it sought out the Crocodile's Eggs, which it broke without eating them, as if it had been led by its own Instinct to deliver *Egypt* from an Animal that was so destructive to it, &c.

After having laid open the Reasons which induced the *Egyptians* to pay to Animals a religious Worship, this would be the proper Place to examine, at what time this sort of Idolatry began ; but all I shall say, is, that it was in vogue thro' all *Egypt* in *Moses's* time, as is proved, 1. From the permission which he ask'd to go to sacrifice in the Wilderness, lest his offering up Victims for which the *Egyptians* had a veneration, should have caused them to stone him. 2. From the Idolatry of the golden Calf, which, as we have said, was an Imitation of that of the Ox *Apis*. What happened before the sojourning of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, is so little known, that I shall not carry my Enquiries farther upon this Subject.

C H A P. V.

Of some other Egyptian Gods.

YOU are not to imagine that we have comprehended in this Treatise all the Gods whom *Egypt* adored ; this is a thing impossible : We have only spoke of the principal ones, and such as are most known.

The

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) L. 10. Hist. of Ani. c. 21.

The others, whose Worship was propagated to *Greece* and *Italy*, shall be the Subject of the third Volume, since, except *Neptune* and some others, all the Gods of the *Greeks* and *Romans* came to them from *Egypt*. I must take notice however, before we close this Head, that there have been, and daily are discover'd, by opening the Pits of the Mummies, a world of Idols, which represent the *Egyptian* Gods. Some of those Idols have the Head of a Dog, some of a Lion, others of a Wolf, or Cat, and then 'tis easy to see that they are either *Anubis's*, or *Diana-Bubastes*, &c. But then they sometimes present Figures so odd, and of so extraordinary a nature, that they appear to be rather Monsters than Gods, as they are to be seen in the Antiquaries who have given us Representations of some of them.

Father *Kircher*, who has discoursed of those Idols, in his *Œdipus*, says, they were interr'd with the Corpses, to be Preservatives against the bad *Genii*, who were believed to disturb the *Manes* of the Dead ; and I don't know a more probable Account can be given.

In fine, that nothing might be wanting to the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, they had several Oracles, which they consulted upon all Occasions. *Herodotus* (1) speaks of those of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Latona*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*: Other Authors name those of *Apis*, of the Lion, the Goat, and the Crocodile.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Pageants and publick Ceremonies of the Egyptians, and some other Nations.

NEVER was Religion more encumbered with Ceremonies than that of the *Egyptians*, and nothing was ever accompany'd with more outward Splendor than their Festivals and Processions. An infinite Concourse of People, Licentiousness, Jollity, all combined in the Celebration of their Festivals ; and if the Priests made preparation for them by Fasting, Continence, and
other

(1) L. 2.

other burdensome Ceremonies, the People longed for them, as the most proper days of their Life for Riot and Debauchery.

Among those Festivals, they reckon'd six principal ones. The first was celebrated at *Bubastis*, in honour of *Diana*; the second, at *Busiris*, for the Goddess *Isis*; the third, at *Saïs*, for *Minerva*; the fourth, at *Heliopolis*, in honour of the Sun: The fifth, at *Buthos*, was the Festival of *Latona*; the sixth was celebrated at *Papremis*, in honour of *Mars*.

I have already said that the Festival of the God *Apis* had this singularity, that after the People had passed some days in Grief and Mourning, to bewail the loss of this God of theirs, whom they drowned in the *Nile*, they gave themselves up to intemperate Mirth, so soon as the Priests intimated the Appearance of another, distinguished by the same Marks; and if they appeared to be greatly afflicted before, they were now no less elated with sincere Joy. The Feastings, Dancing, and all the other Demonstrations of publick Festivity, succeeded to the Tears which they had shed, and all *Egypt* joined in this Solemnity.

Nothing was so glittering, nothing so pompous, as the Processions which they made in honour of *Isis* and *Osiris*: There they solemnly carried about the Statues of those two Divinities with their Symbols. The Priests, to assist therein, had their Heads shaved, while the Priestesses preserved their Tresses. White Vestments made of the finest Linnen, Crowns, and Garlands, distinguish'd these Priests and Priestesses from the numberless Crouds who were present at those Processions; and the Sound of Sistrums or Citterns, Tabrets, and Cymbals, filled the Spectators with a tumultuous Joy, which 'tis difficult to express. *Herodotus* (1) speaks of a Festival of *Isis*, where her Statue was carried upon a four-wheel'd Chariot, drawn by the Priests of that Goddess: And *Clemens of Alexandria* (2) describes another *Egyptian* Procession, wherein were carried about two Dogs of gold, a Hawk, and an Ibis. The same

Author

(1) L. 4. (2) Strom. l. 5.

Author reports in another place (3), the Words of *Menander*, who rallied those rambling Divinities, who could never settle.

The Festival of *Bubastis* in lower *Egypt* was still more solemn. Thither they came from all parts, and the *Nile* for several days was overspread with Barges, which they who filled them had deck'd with all the Ornaments they could devise: And as every Barge had its Musicians and Concert, the Air resounded on all hands with the Harmony of their Instruments. The Banks of the River were crouded on either side with Spectators to see those Barges as they passed: Those who were in them, according to a very antient Custom, and which lasts almost every where at this very day, lashed the spectators in Satirical Jests, and frequently in scurrilous Ribaldry; while the others in their turn paid home their Compliments with large interest. The Women who were upon the Water, presented themselves to those curious Eyes, in a manner too immodest to be here described. Care was taken to prepare upon the Banks of the River numbers of Inns, where they came to refresh themselves, and there great plenty was to be had of every thing conducive to good cheer. The number of Spectators at this Festival was computed to be seven hundred thousand, without including Children, who accompanied their Parents. When they arrived at *Bubastis*, they abandon'd themselves intirely to Mirth and Revelling; and more Wine was consumed in that City during the stay they made there upon account of this Solemnity, than thro' the whole Year besides.

As nothing is more difficult to be abolished than Ceremonies where Rioting is intermixed, this Festival lasts at this very day, though the Object thereof be changed; and every Year the *Egyptians*, together with the *Turks* who govern them, fall down the *Nile* at a certain time of the Year, from *Cairo* as far as *Rosetto*, with such a vast confluence of People, that the

• River

River resembles a floating City (*a*). The musical Instruments, the Inns, and the scurrilous Gibes that pass between those that are on the Water, and the Spectators on the Banks of the *Nile*, all bear a resemblance there to the ancient Festival of *Bubastis*. But nothing was ever so pompous and magnificent as the solemn Procession made by *Ptolemy's* Orders, whereof we have the Description in *Theocritus* and *Athenæus*, who has taken it from an ancient Author.

At the Festival of *Busiris*, which was celebrated in honour of *Isis*, the Sacrifices were followed with a Flagellation, from which neither Men nor Women were exempted ; but the *Carians* especially, who inhabited *Egypt*, were the Persons who drubb'd themselves most heartily, and they added even to this Ceremony, that of stabbing themselves in the Forehead with the point of a Sword.

What distinguished the Festival of *Minerva* at *Sais*, was the great number of Lamps they burnt there during the Night ; and they who could not be present at this Festival, kept them burning in their own Houses. The whole Ceremony in the Festival of *Heliopolis*, and that of *Butbos*, was to offer Sacrifices upon that occasion to the *Sun* and to *Latona*.

But that which they celebrated at *Pampremis* in honour of *Mars*, was attended with a remarkable Singularity. The Priests bore upon a four-wheel'd Chariot the Statue of that God, which was inclosed in a small Chapel of gilt Wood ; and while they endeavoured to force the Chariot and Statue into the Temple of that Divinity, Men armed with Clubs stood in the way to hinder it : And as the Priests who accompany'd the Procession, had likewise Arms, there ensued an Engagement, where naturally many People must have lost their lives. The *Egyptians*, however, maintained that no body died of the Wounds they received upon that occasion.

That People had besides, several sorts of Processions, but less solemn than those which I have been describing.

Macrobius

(*a*) See *Paul Lucas's* third Voyage.

Macrobius (1) informs us, that they led about in a Litter, the *Jupiter* of *Heliopolis*, born upon Men's shoulders, much in the same manner that the *Romans* carry'd about their Gods in the Pageantry of the *Circensian* Games, and as we, upon like occasions, bear about the Shrines of our Saints.

The *Hebrews*, who derived from the *Egyptians* that fatal Propensity which they had towards Idolatry, imitated them but too often, not only in the Solemnity of the golden Calf, as has been said, but also in the Ceremony of their Processions. The Prophet *Amos* upbraids them for having led about in the Wilderness the Tabernacle of the God *Moloch*, the Image of their Idol, and the Star of the God *Remphan* (a). *St. Stephen*, in the *Acts* of the Apostles (2), taxes them with the same piece of Idolatry.

These are the Gods carried about in ceremonious Procession, lodged in a Tabernacle; the Figures of a Star, and a Divinity acknowledged to be the King of those who adored him; that is, the Gods of *Egypt*, the Sun or *Osiris*, and others whom that superstitious People believed to have rescu'd them from Bondage, and who said: *Behold thy Gods, who have brought thee out of Egypt* (3).

Several other People practised the same Ceremonies, whether they had learned them from the *Egyptians*, as is very probable, or had invented them themselves. *Philo* of *Byblos*, speaking of *Agrotes*, the famous Divinity of the *Phenicians*, relates, according to *Eusebius* (4), that he was carried in procession in a cover'd Niche, upon a Chariot drawn by Animals. *Servius* (5) informs us, that the *Carthaginians* had Gods, represented by very small Images, which they bore about in cover'd

(1) *Sat.* l. 2.

(a) The *Hebrew* Text says. "You have carried the Tabernacles of your King, and the Base of your Figures, the Star of your Gods;" or, according to another Reading, *Chium* your Image, and the Star your God, whom you have made to yourselves. *Amos*, ch. 5. v. 26.

(2) *C.* vii. v. 43. (3) *Ex.* xxxii.. (4) *Præp. Evan.* l. i. N. 10.

(5) *Ad Æn.* 6.

covered Chariots, and which gave Oracles by the Motion which they impressed upon their Vehicle. *Quintus Curtius* (1) asserts, as we have said elsewhere (2), that the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* was deliver'd much in the same way. The ancient *Germans*, as we have it in *Tacitus* (3), had a Goddess who resided in a sacred Grove, in an Isle of the Ocean, and that Author adds, that there was in the same Grove a cover'd Chariot, to which no body durst approach but her Priest. This Priest observed the time when the Goddess enter'd thither, and then with great Reverence he accompany'd the Litter, drawn by two Heifers, in the Procession which was performed upon this occasion. *Tacitus* says farther, that wherever the Chariot pass'd, the Goddess was received with Festivals and publick Rejoicings; that after the Procession, the Goddess re-enter'd into her Grove, as tired with the commerce of Mortals; and that then the Chariot, the Veil that covered her, and the Goddess herself, were plunged into a Lake, and washed by Slaves who were drowned after this Ceremony.

Sulpitius Severus says, that the Peasants of *Gaul* had a Custom of carrying their Gods thro' the Country, covered with a white Veil. *Simulachra Dæmonum candido tuta velamine, miserâ per agros suos circumferre dementiâ.*

C H A P. VII.

Explanation of the Isiack Table.

TH O' this Monument belongs more properly to the Antiquaries than Mythologists, yet I judge it will be of use to give a short Explication of it, because there we have *Isis* and *Osiris*, and almost all the other Gods of *Egypt*, represented with their Symbols. Thus the Explanation which I am to give of it, will conduce to our understanding what has been said of these Deities. The *Isiack Table*, so term'd, because it

appears

(1) L. 4. (2) Chap. of Oracles. (3) De Mor. Ger.

appears to contain the Mysteries of *Isis*, was a Plate of Copper, whereon were engraved only the rough Outlines of Figures, representing most of the *Egyptian* Gods ; but especially *Isis* and *Osiris*, who are there repeated several times, with all their Symbols.

This Copper or Brass Ground was overlaid with a black Enamel, artificially intermixed with small Plates of Silver. When, in the Year 1525, the Constable of *Bourbon* took the City of *Rome*, a Locksmith bought it from a Soldier, and then sold it to Cardinal *Bembo*, after whose death it came into the hands of the Duke of *Mantua* ; and was kept in that Family, till it was lost at the taking of that City by the *Imperialists*, in the Year 1630, nor has it been ever heard of since. By good luck it had been engrav'd in its full Proportion, and with all possible Exactness, by *Æneas Vico* of *Parma*. This Tablet was divided into three horizontal Compartments, in each of which were different Scenes, which contained different Actions. Those Compartments are as it were different Cartouches, distinguished sometimes by single strokes only, but oftner by a very large *Fascia*, which is full of Hieroglyphicks, that is, of that mysterious Writing, consecrated by the ancient *Egyptians* to the Mysteries of Religion. The four sides of the Table were inclosed with a Border, fill'd up as the Ground, with several Figures of the *Egyptian* Gods, and with a great number of Hieroglyphicks.

'Tis a question not easy to determine, whether this Table only represents the Mysteries of *Isis*, whose Figure, placed in a sort of Niche, is in the Center ; or if it contains the principal Points of the *Egyptian* Theology, since all their Gods are there represented.

Every thing about it has a mysterious and enigmatical Appearance, according to the Genius of that Nation. *Pignorius* being intreated by his Friends to explain this Monument, yielded, even against his own Inclination, to their importunate Sollicitations. Accordingly, there is always to be seen an air of Diffidence in all the Conjectures which he offers. His Work, intitled *Mensa Isiaca*, was printed in 4to at *Amsterdam*, An. 1669. F.

Kircher

Kircher followed him pretty near, and treated the same Subject in his *Œdipus*, with that air of Assurance wherewith he was inspired from the superiority of his Genius, and that deep knowledge which he had in the Religion of the *Egyptians*. Lastly, *Chifflet* added new Conjectures to those of the learned Jesuit (1). A short Sketch of what has been delivered with relation to this Monument, by those three learned Antiquaries whom I have now named, will serve for a Supplement to what I have said of the Gods of *Egypt*, and shew their Symbols more particularly.

In the upper Partition, beginning at the left*, you see *Osiris*, holding in one hand a Ring, where appears a well-form'd Cross, and in the other a Staff, or rather a Scepter, terminating in a Bird's Head. That the Cross is to be found among the Symbols of the *Egyptian* Divinities, is evident, whatever *Justus Lipsius* may say to the contrary (2), not only from the Figures which we have now remaining, but also from Obelisks which time has preserved to us. The Bird is, without doubt, the Hawk, consecrated to *Isis*. After this, you see a Priest sacrificing a Roe-Buck to that Goddess, who is opposite to him, the Altar in the middle. *Isis* is there represented, holding in one hand a Ring, with its Cross, and in the other her Scepter, terminating in the Flower of Lotus, which was her ordinary Symbol. The Ornament of her Head is somewhat different from what she wears in other Figures; we shall speak of it afterwards. Next appears *Osiris*, with the Scepter in his hand, presenting a Bird to *Isis*, who in her turn presents him with a Vase, in form of a Goblet. Behind the Goddess is a Man, who holds in one hand a Vase, like that which *Isis* has in hers, and in the other a crooked Knife, not unlike a Lopping-Knife. Between *Isis* and *Osiris*, in the upper part of the Compartment, is a He-Goat, and in the lower, a kind of Ape called

O o 2

Cerco-

(1) In notis ad Mallarium.

* In the Print of it which I have now by me, you begin at the right. *Vid. Montfaucon*, V. 2. B. 2. ch. 1.

(2) De Cruce.

Cercopithecus. The Personage who comes next, is also an *Isis*; upon her Head a Serpent with a Bird's Head, in one hand she holds a Branch, and in the other a Staff, crooked at the head in form of a Crozier. *Osiris*, with the Symbols which he wears in the other Figures, comes after, and is fixing his eyes upon another *Isis*, who holds a Flower in her hand: The Griffin, an Animal consecrated to the Sun, is in the middle. The Compartment is terminated by three Figures, one of whom is also an *Osiris*, the other an *Isis*, and the third, who is in the middle, a Priest holding a Staff in one hand, and some kind of Offering in the other, which we cannot distinguish.

The middle Compartment, which appears to be the principal one, represents different Scenes: That in the Center, is the principal Figure. 'Tis first *Isis* upon a Throne, whose Cornice is supported by two Columns. The Goddess wears a singular Ornament upon her Head; 'tis a Bird couchant, whose Wings display'd, reach as far as her Shoulders. This Bird, which appears all speckled, is, according to *Pignorius*, the *Numidian Hen*, which *Martial* calls, *Numidica guttata* (1). Above the Bird are two Stalks, probably of the Lotus, which instead of Flowers, have nothing yet but Buds: The whole is surmounted by two great Horns, closed by a Line; with a Discus in the space which is left between them. The Ornaments of the Head, which the Goddess wears in the Statues we have of her, are always very high, and of an extraordinary nature. She appears sometimes even with an Ox's Head, with large Horns; but more frequently with the Flower of Lotus, forming a Crescent; with a Globe in the middle. As she represented the Moon, 'tis easy to see, that both the Horns of the Ox, and the Lotus placed as we have now said, were intended to image the Crescent of that Planet; and by the Globe, the World, round which it revolves.

In the same Scene are six Figures, three on each side of the Throne, with their Faces turned towards the Goddess;

(1) L. 3. Epig. 58.

Goddeſs. The two ſtanding with great Staves, may be reckon'd her two Life-Guards; the two that are ſitting are two *Oſiris's*, the one with the ordinary Plume, the other with an *Ibis's* Head. Below the Seat of him who is on the right, is the Ox *Apis*, and under him who is on the left, is a Crocodile.

The two laſt Figures of this Compartment, which are placed at the two extremities, are pretty ſingular. They are two Women, who entirely reſemble one another, both in their Apparel, and in the Symbols which they bear. Their Head-Attire is compoſed of a great Plume, with Horns and a Diſcus; they have buſhy Hair, and Wings upon their Haunches. They hold a ſort of Knife, brandiſh'd towards two Vaſes, which are upon two little Pillars, and ſeem to be offering a Sacrifice to *Iſis*, which makes it probable, that they are two of her Priſteſſes, and not the Goddeſs herſelf, as *Pignorius* reckons.

At the two extremities of this Fascia, are two Compartments, ſeparated likewise into two, which are entirely ſimilar. Above, is the Ox *Apis*, with two Priests, who have their Eyes intently fix'd upon him. *Pignorius* will have it, that they are obſerving if he has the proper Marks that were required in the Representative of *Oſiris*; but as the Priest who is before the Ox, holds in the one hand a Vaſe, and in the other, ſome Meat which he preſents to him, 'tis evident, that they are both of them attentively obſerving if he takes what is offered him to eat: For, as has been ſaid, they drew a good Omen from his eating; and a bad one from his rejecting the Food that was offer'd him: Infomuch that I am ſurprized how *Pignorius*, and after him very able Antiquaries, could miſtake as to this Article. The lower part of thoſe two ſmall Compartments, repreſents two *Iſis's*, or rather two of her Priſteſſes, who are offering to her a Sacrifice.

The loweſt Fascia contains thirteen Perſonages, and may be divided into ſeveral Actions. The firſt, beginning at the left, conſiſts of three Figures. That in the middle is an *Orus*, ſwath'd, yet ſo as to have both

his hands disengaged, and holding a long Staff which terminates in a Hawk's Head, resembling that of *Osiris*; and another smaller one, which probably is design'd for a Whip. This God represented the Sun, as well as his Father, as has been said in his Article; accordingly, he had the proper Symbols of that Luminary. On each side of *Orus* are two Figures, which some have taken for two *Isis's*; but I am persuaded that they are two Priestesses, with the Habit of that Goddess, offering a Sacrifice. Accordingly, one of them presents a Cup to the young God, and the other a small Tablet, on which are five Vases.

The second Scene of this Fascia represents *Isis* sitting between two *Osiris's*, one of them presenting a Bird to her. The third exhibits an *Osiris* with an Hawk's Head, and two Figures of *Isis*, of whom the one appears to be offering to him a Vase. The fourth contains five Figures, whereof the principal is an *Isis*, with a Lion's Head. Hard by her is an *Anubis*, then an *Osiris*, who holds his Staff in one hand, and in the other the Marks of his Castration. Then comes another *Orus*, swath'd, who has a Cat by him, or the God *Ælurus*, with a Sistrum. Lastly, you see another *Osiris*, with a Spear terminating in the form of a Crosier, having upon his Head a Serpent surmounted with a Sun; which no doubt denotes the Obliquity of the course of that Luminary.

As the Border is full of the same Figures, tho' with some variety, we shall content ourselves with referring to *Pignorius*, who has explained it.

Such is the Description of this Table, upon which I thought fit to enlarge, because of the extraordinary Symbols which are there given to the Gods of *Egypt*. But what the Person had in his view who caused it to be engraved, is not easy to conjecture. *F. Kircher* (1) thought he discovered therein, the darkest Mysteries of the *Egyptian* Theology, and enters into a detail which I have no mind to copy. *Pignorius* seems to have apply'd himself only to the mechanical Description

(1) Oed. Synt. i. p. 89.

tion of this Table, without attempting to unfold its Design. For my part, I am of opinion it was a votive Table, which some Prince, or private Person had consecrated to *Isis*, as an acknowledgment for some Benefit which he believed she had conferred upon him. That Goddess occupies the principal Place in it, and the design of varying her Attitudes and Symbols, must have been to point out to us, in how many different manners she was represented, as also the different Sacrifices that were offered to her. Accordingly, three sorts of them are there to be observed, one of Animals, another of Plants, and a third of Libations: Perhaps he who consecrated this Table to *Isis*, had offered to her all those sorts of Sacrifices, either for having been cured of some severe Disease, or for having been delivered from some great Danger, to which he had been exposed by Sea: For that Goddess was equally invoked in Diseases, and when People were entering upon a long Voyage; hence the Epithets of *Salutaris*, and *Pelagia*, were added to her Name.

For what remains, nothing was more common than the votive Tables, consecrated to *Isis*. All the Temples of this Goddess were full of them, and Works of that sort procured a Living to great numbers of Painters, as it is in *Juvenal*:

*Et quam votivâ testantur fana tabellâ
Plurima, Pictôres quis nescit ab Iside pasci (1)?*

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Gods of the Arabians.

THE History of the *Egyptian* Gods leads us naturally to that of the *Arabians*, their Neighbours. This People, whose way of Life was always rambling and unsettled, frequently changed their State and Religion. As they were descended from *Ishmael*, *Abraham's* Son, 'tis reasonable to believe, that they had at first no other Creed but that of their Founder; but Idolatry,

latry, which diffused itself at that time over all the Earth, doubtless penetrated very soon into *Arabia*. We are ignorant, however, as to the time when the *Arabians* embraced the Worship of false Gods: Only this we know, that as *Sabism* was the predominant Religion of those early times, so it is probable that this was the Religion which they followed, 'Tis even not to be doubted, but the *Sabeans*, an *Arabian* Nation, had derived their Name from that sort of Worship. But whatever be in that, here is what *Herodotus* says of that ancient People (1). “ There is no People in the
 “ World that has a stricter regard to their plighted
 “ Faith, than the *Arabians*; and they come under Engagements in this manner: Some one of them sets
 “ himself between the two Parties who are to make a
 “ Treaty with one another, holding a sharp Stone, with
 “ which he makes some Incisions in the Palm of their
 “ Hands: Then taking a piece of their Clothes, he
 “ dips it in the Blood which issues from those Wounds.
 “ He anoints with it seven Stones which he has placed
 “ between them, invoking, in the time of this Operation, *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, and *Urania*. The *Arabians*, continues this Author, believe there are no
 “ other Gods but those two. They shave their Temples, and cut their Hair round, because they believe
 “ *Bacchus* wore it so. They call *Dionysius*, *Urotal* (a);
 “ and *Urania*, *Alilat*.” Upon which 'tis proper to make two Remarks. First, that this Author, who here names that Goddess *Alilat*, had called her in the second Book, *Mylitta*. Secondly, that tho' he gives in one place the name of *Apbrodite* to this *Venus*, and in another that of *Urania*, yet 'tis evident that he does not distinguish the one from the other.

Strabo, who likewise speaks of the *Arabian* Gods, says (2), they adored only *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, without making any mention of *Urania*; and *Arrian*, who gives them no other Divinities but *Uranus* or Heaven,
 and

(1) L. 3. c. 8.

(a) See in *Vossius de Idol.* l. 1. c. 8. the Etymology of this Name.

(2) L. 10.

and *Bacchus*, seems to favour the Sentiment of this Author: But 'tis probable that these two Authors were not so well informed as *Herodotus*, in the Religion of that ancient People, or we must allow that it had undergone some Alteration; perhaps at bottom they don't contradict one another. *Bacchus* incontestably was the Sun; and *Urania*, or the Celestial, named by the *Arabians* and some other People, *Alilat*, was the Moon; and it was, in reality, those two Stars or Luminaries they adored.

Tho' the only Objects of Idolatry at first were the Sun and Moon, yet it did not long continue in that primitive Simplicity, so that we need not be surprized that other Authors of less antiquity than those whom I have now cited, have given the *Arabians* a greater number of Gods. Thus, *Stephen of Byzantium* says, their God was called *Dusares*, and that it was he who gave his Name to a high Mountain and to its Inhabitants, who were denominated *Dusarenians*. He likewise relates a Fact, which, as it shews us the Vanity of *Alexander*, so it proves at the same time, what *Herodotus* says of the Religion of the *Arabians*: For that Hero being inform'd that they worshipped only two Gods, proposed that they would make himself the third; since he was comparable to *Bacchus*, whose Conquests and Expeditions he had equall'd.

'Tis true, that Author says, the two Divinities adored by the *Arabians*, were *Uranus* or Heaven, and *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*; but the Learned justly give the preference to *Herodotus*. *Tertullian*, in his *Apologeticks*, and in the XIth Book against the *Gentiles*, mentions that *Dusares*, and reckons him in the number of the *Arabian* Gods, with *Obodan*, who was a King of the Country, whose Tomb was to be seen among the *Nabathæan Arabs*.

Philostorgus, in *Photius*, asserts that the *Homerites*, a Nation celebrated among the *Arabians*, sacrificed to the Sun, to the Moon, and to the Demons. *Maximus Tyrius* says, they paid a divine Worship to a square Stone; and when some one of them embraced the

Christian

Christian Religion, he was obliged to anathematize that Stone which had been the Object of his Worship. Other Authors alledge, that the Tower named *Acara*, or *Alquibila*, built of old by their Patriarch *Ishmael*, had become amongst them an Object of Religion. *St. Jerom*, in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Hoseab*, informs us, that they adored also *Baal-Peor*, of whom the sacred Books speak, and reckons him to have been the same as *Priapus*; but as in the best Mythologists, *Priapus* is the Sun, as we observe elsewhere, we must still return to the Sentiment of *Herodotus*.

To these ancient Authors, it will not be amiss to add the Authority of some Moderns, who had taken their Accounts of the *Arabian* Religion from their own Books; I mean *Herbelot*, who speaks thereof in several Places of his Dictionary, and *Pocock* in his History of *Arabia*. The last names seven of those celestial Gods; *Dzobl*, whom he takes to be *Saturn*; *Dzobara*, or *Venus*; *Moschtara*, or *Jupiter*; *Aikarid*, or *Mercury*; *Abdabaram*, or the Bull's-Eye; *Sobail*, or *Canopus*; and *Aichcera*, or *Sirius*. The Reader may consult the learned Dissertations of that Author, where he will see that he makes the number of the Gods, whom the *Arabians* worshipped, amount to more than forty.

Beger names five of them, who, he says, held the first Rank among the Gods of that People; *Vuodd*, among the *Kelibites*; *Scurac*, among the *Hadeilites*; *Nesv*, among the *Duikelaits*; *Jagut* or *Jaug*. 'Tis also known, that about the *Kaaba* (a) were three hundred and sixty Statues. But the question is, whether they represented the Gods, or only the great Men of the Nation? However this much at least is certain, that several of those Statues were respected, or rather adored. The Testimony of *Arabian* Authors, as *M. Fourmont* has it (b), suffers us not to doubt of it. According to those Authors, adds this ingenious Academic, the Idolatry of the *Arabians* is older than the Deluge.

(a) Temple of *Mecca*.

(b) Reflexions upon ancient Nations.

Deluge. The five last Gods, whom we have named after *Beger*, were, according to *Budauvi*, virtuous Men who had lived before the Deluge, and whose Worship after that Event, had been established among the *Arabians*.

I shall not dwell any longer upon the Gods of that People; a List of them may be seen in *Pocock*, and in *M. Fourmont*, and I am the more willing to suppress that Catalogue, as it is not very instructive. I shall only observe, that such of those Gods as had no relation to the Stars and Planets, were some illustrious Men, whom they thought entitled to a religious Worship, among whom doubtless were *Abraham* and *Ismael*, from whom the *Arabians* descended. But be that as it will, it appears, that the *Arabians* at first had only two natural Gods, *Dionysius* and *Alilat*, that is, the Sun and the Moon, as *Gerard Vossius* fully proves; but in after-times they join'd to those two Divinities, the animated Gods, their Kings and illustrious Men; and at length they adopted the Gods of their Neighbours.

To conclude, none of the Authors, whom I have cited, mention either the form of the *Arabian* Sacrifices, or the Victims which they offered up. *Strabo* only informs us, that they made a daily Offering of Incense to the Sun, or to *Dionysius*, upon an Altar which was in a covered Place: and *Theophrastus* long before him had said, that the *Sabeans* carefully collected Myrrh and Incense, to offer it in the Temple of that God: which was common to them with the *Ethiopians*, as shall be said in the following Chapter.

We shall not farther insist upon the *Venus Urania*, nor upon *Dionysius*, who was the ancient *Bacchus*, or rather *Osiris*, whose Worship had passed from *Egypt* into *Arabia*, because we shall have occasion to speak of them elsewhere.

The *Arabians* continued Idolaters till the time of *Mahomet*, under whom they abandoned the Worship of Idols, and have always been since his most faithful Disciples.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Gods of the Ethiopians.

FROM the Gods of the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, 'tis natural to proceed to those of the *Ethiopians*. Here then, in the first place, is what we learn of them from *Strabo* (1). “The *Ethiopians*, says that learned Geographer, acknowledge an immortal God, who is the Principle of all things, and a mortal God, who has no Name; but commonly they look upon their Benefactors as Gods, and those who are distinguished by their Birth. Among those who inhabit the torrid Zone, there are some who pass for Atheists, because they actually hate the Sun, and curse him at his Rising, because he scorches them with his Heat, to such a degree, that they are forced to shelter themselves in moist and marshy Places.

“Those of *Meroe* adore *Hercules*, *Pan*, and *Isis*, with another foreign God. Some among them throw their dead into the River, while others keep them in their Houses in great Glass-Vessels; others in short put them into Coffins of bak'd Earth, and interr them about the Temples.”

We see from this Passage, that the *Ethiopians*, after the example of other Nations, had Gods natural, and Gods animated: That they took the last from among their great Men, whom they deified; and that they had borrow'd the former from the *Egyptians* their Neighbours, since, like them, they worshipped the Moon under the Name of *Isis*, and universal Nature under that of *Pan*.

As for the Sun, 'tis certain, that they adored him so highly as to repute those to be Atheists, who did not acknowledge him for a God, as has been now said after *Strabo*. However, they did not stile him *Osiris* as the *Egyptians*, but *Assabinus*; and because he was their great Divinity, the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave him the Name

(1) L. 1.

Name of *Ethiopian Jupiter*; and that with so much the more reason, remarks the learned *Vossius*, that in all the East, and among the Nations of *Africk*, *Jupiter* not only represented Heaven, but also the Sun.

But let that be as it will, the *Ethiopians* consecrated to the Sun the Cinnamon-tree, an odoriferous Shrub which grew in their Country. The singular manner how they gather'd it, is told, tho' with some variation, by *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; it amounts to this. The Priests, and none but they, were allowed to gather that Harvest, which was always ushered in with Sacrifices; and they were not to begin this Work till after Sun-rising, and it was to be finished before his setting. The Crop being gathered, they divided it into three parts, with a Spear, which was never used but upon that occasion. They carried away two Portions of it, and left on the same place that which fell to the Sun, and forthwith, say they, if the Division had been performed with Equity, the Sun's Portion took fire of itself, and was consumed. *Theophrastus* justly reckons this last Circumstance to be a meer Fable (1); but *Pliny* and *Solinus* subjoin no Reflection to their Recital, as is to be seen in the two Passages of those two Authors, which run thus:

Metitur non nisi permiserit Deus: Jovem hunc intelligunt aliqui, Assabinum illi vocant. Quadraginta quatuor boum caprarumque & arietum cæsis, impetratur venia cædendi; non tamen aut ante ortum Solis, aut post occasum, licet. Sarmenta hasta dividit Sacerdos, Deoque partem ponit; reliquum mercator in nassas condit. Est et alia fama, cum Sole dividi, ternasque partes fieri: dein sorte cremia discerni; quodque Soli cesserit, relinqui, ac sponte conflagrare (2).

Æthiopes legunt Cinnamum; verum legitur per Sacerdotes, hostiis prius cæsis: quæ cum litaverint, observatur ut messis, nec ortum Solis anticipet, nec egrediatur occasum. Quisquis principatum tenet Sacerdotum, acervos hasta dividit, quæ sacrata est in hoc ministerium:

Atque

(1) Οὗτος μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄντι μῦθος.

(2) Plin. L. 12. c. 19.

Atque ita portio manipulorum Soli dicatur ; quæ si juste divisa est, sponte incenditur (1).

For my own part, I am apt to believe that the Priests secretly convey'd some Coals under the Heap that was allotted to the Sun ; and that those Coals kindled some moments after, precisely at the time of their retiring.

This, in short, is all that we know from the Ancients of the Religion of the *Ethiopians* ; nay, we are not able exactly to determine what *Ethiopians* they mean ; and in all probability, it was the Orientals, and not those of *Africk*. And indeed what *Theophrastus* tells us of the care which the *Sabeans*, an *Arabian* Nation, had to gather Incense and Cinnamon, to offer it to the Sun, is the same with what *Strabo* says of the *Ethiopians*.

As the Ancients were unacquainted with the interior Parts of *Africk*, I shall say nothing of the Idolatry of those Nations. The case was quite otherwise, as to the maritime Parts of that Continent ; these were very well known to the Ancients, who make frequent mention of the Religion of the Inhabitants of those places : but this shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. X.

Of the Gods of the Carthaginians, and some other People of Africk.

THAT the *Carthaginians* were a Colony that came from *Phenicia*, under the Conduct of *Elisa*, surnamed *Dido*, is a Fact to which all are agreed ; and consequently it is not to be denied, but that the first Gods of *Carthage* were the same as those who were adored at *Tyre* and *Sidon*. *Dido*, no doubt establish'd in her new Colony the Worship of the Gods of her Ancestors : her Subjects would never have been reconciled to a sudden Change in Religion, it being natural for Mankind to have a strong Attachment to what they have, as I may say, drank in with their Mother's Milk.

(1) Solin. c. 31.

Milk: 'Tis our Unhappiness, that the little we know of the Religion of the *Carthaginians*, is transmitted to us by *Greeks* and *Romans*, who have given the Names of their own Gods to those of that People; thus we find at *Carthage* *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Hercules*, *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, *Juno*, and *Esculapius*; all of them Gods worship'd in *Greece* and *Italy*. We are not however to think, that those two Countries had themselves received them from the *Carthaginians*, since the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies, which brought the Knowledge of them into *Greece*, were many Ages before *Dido's* time. 'Tis more credible, that first the *Greeks*, and then the *Romans*, in the time of the *Punick* Wars, communicated their Gods to the *Carthaginians*, a thing by no means improbable. But the question is about the first Gods of that People, who unquestionably were the same with those of the *Phenicians*.

What might then have led the *Greeks* and *Romans* into the Mistake is this. In the Commerce which they had with the *Carthaginians*, they were informed, that they sacrificed Children to one of their Gods, and hence they made no doubt but that God was *Saturn*; whereas had they known the Original of their own Gods, they had seen that their *Saturn*, as well as that of the *Carthaginians*, was *Moloch*, the great Divinity of the *Ammonites*. In like manner, they understood that the *Carthaginians* had a God to whom they address'd their Oaths; and as themselves swore by *Jupiter*, so they made no doubt but that God was the same; whereas at *Carthage* it was the *Baal-Berith* of *Phenicia*, of whom we shall speak in the following Book. The same thing may be said of most of the other Gods, who were worshipped at *Carthage*. We now come to particulars.

All Antiquity agrees, that the *Carthaginians* worship'd *Saturn*; who, as we have now said, was the same with *Moloch*, and that they sacrificed to him their Children. Was I inclin'd to enlarge upon this Article, I might quote the Passages from *Diodorus Siculus* (1),

from

(1) L. 10.

from *Plutarch* (1), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2), *Quintus Curtius* (3), and several other Ancients. The detestable Custom of sacrificing every year human Victims to that God, lasted even after the Overthrow of that People, notwithstanding all that their Conquerors could do to abolish it.

*Urna reducebat miserandos annua casus,
Sacra Thoantæ ritusque imitata Dianæ* (4).

Justin relates (5), that *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* had commanded them to lay aside those barbarous Sacrifices; but his Orders were but ill executed. *Plutarch* adds (6), that *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, did not make peace with them, till he had laid them under the same Prohibition, as the first Condition of the Treaty; and, according to *Tertullian* (7), *Tiberius* gave Orders to hang all the Priests who exacted those barbarous Sacrifices.

We have already said, that the God whom *Carthage* adored was the same as *Moloch*; all the Learned, among whom may be consulted *Bochart*, *Vossius* and *Selden*, agree to it, and *M. Fourmont* has put this Fact beyond doubt (a). The Verse in *Silius Italicus*, where *Melicus* is mentioned, can, according to him, be understood of none but *Moloch*. And indeed he is treating in that Verse, and in the two others which we have now cited, of the *Carthaginians* and their Religion. The Names of *Amilcar*, of *Bomilcar*, and *Imilco*, according to the same Author, carry plain Allusions to those of *Moloch*, *Milcom*, and *Melech*, *Phenician* Divinities: but I cannot be of his mind as to this last Article. Those three Names belong to three illustrious Persons, whom the *Carthaginians* adopted into the number of their Gods; *Herodotus* expressly asserts it of the first. “*Amilcar*, says he (8), “having been vanquished by *Gelon*, vanish’d, and could

(1) Treatise of Superstition. (2) Rom. Ant. (3) L. 3. c. 3.
(4) Sil. Ital. (5) L. 19. (6) De Sera Num. Vin. (7) In Apol.

(a) Critical Reflections upon ancient Nations. Tom. 1. p. 144, & sequ.

(8) L. 7.

“ could never more be found either alive or dead, what-
 “ ever pains his Vanquisher was at in causing search to be
 “ made for him. The *Carthaginians*, who have a great
 “ veneration for him; say, that during the Engagement
 “ between the *Barbarians* and *Sicilian Greeks*, *Amilcar*
 “ having staid in the Camp, there offered Sacrifices of
 “ all sorts of Animals, and, seeing the rout of his
 “ Army, threw himself into the Fire; but whether
 “ he died in that way; as the *Phenicians* say, or in the
 “ other, as the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans* assert, 'tis
 “ certain that the former offer Sacrifices to him, and
 “ have erected Monuments to his Honour, wherever
 “ there is any of their Colonies, and principally in *Car-*
 “ *thage*.”

We may judge the same way of *Bomilcar* and *Imilco*,
 tho' the Ancients tell us nothing of them. For in fine,
 there is no denying, after what we have now quoted
 from *Herodotus*, that the *Carthaginians*, like other Na-
 tions, rank'd their great Men in the number of the Gods,
 and joined the animated Gods to those who are called
 natural: The Example of the two *Phileni*, is a proof of
 it. These two Brothers, as we have it in *Sallust* (1),
Pomponius Mela (2), and *Valerius Maximus* (3), having
 been sent by the *Carthaginians* to make peace with the
Cyrenians, who were at war with them, sacrificed them-
 selves for their Country, which in gratitude raised
 Altars to them, and conferred upon them divine Ho-
 nours.

As to *Neptune*, the *Carthaginians* had received the
 Worship of him from the *Libyans*, as well as the *Greeks*
 and *Romans*; for that God; as we learn from *Herodo-*
tus (4), from whom we have quoted the Passage else-
 where, was originally from *Africa*. *Appian* says (5),
 that the same People paid adoration to *Apollo*, who had
 a Temple at *Carthage*; and *Plutarch* adds (6), that the
 Statue of that God was brought to *Rome*.

Juno and *Venus* were two of the greatest *Carthagi-*
nian

(1) De Bel. Jug. c. 79. (2) L. 1. c. 8. (3) L. 5. c. 6.
 (4) L. 2. (5) De Bell. Pun. (6) Life of *Flav.*

nian Divinities. St. *Augustine* (1) speaking of the last of those two Goddesses, says, *Carthage* was the Place where she had established her Reign; and *Virgil* informs us, that *Juno* preferred that City to all others, even to *Samos* itself:

*Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabitâ coluisse Samo* (2).

As for *Mars*, we have the Testimony of *Silius Italicus* (3), who tells us, that *Annibal* invoked him. We know also that the *Carthaginians* honoured *Mercury*, under the name of *Sumes*. Would ever that People, who supported themselves chiefly by Commerce, have neglected the Worship of the God of Merchants and Thieves? We have two Authorities which prove, that they likewise paid Homage to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The Poet whom I now quoted, tells us (4), that the Statues of those two Goddesses were in the Temple of *Dido*, and *Virgil* lets us know, that this Princess sacrificed to *Ceres* (5).

Nothing is more celebrated in ancient History than the *Tyrian Hercules*, whose Worship was brought to *Carthage* by *Dido*, and diffused itself afterwards over all the Coasts of *Africk*, and as far as *Gades* or *Cadiz*, where he had a magnificent Temple (6): But as I am to speak of that God fully, in one of the following Volumes, I shall say nothing of him here.

Silius Italicus (7) reckons likewise *Dis*, or *Pluto*, or *Erebus*, among the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, and *Polybius* informs us (8), that he was invoked by them as the God of Hell. *Æsculapius*, as we are told by *Strabo* (9), *Apuleius* (10), and *Appion* (11), was likewise in great veneration at *Carthage*, and had there a magnificent Temple. *Vossius* (12) proves by good Authorities, that the Worship of that God came to them from *Tyre*; but I would not aver that they had not likewise known the *Greek* or *Messenian Æsculapius*.

Such

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 10. (2) Æn. l. 1. (3) Pun. l. 1.
(4) Ibid. (5) Æn. l. 4. v. 58. (6) Diod. Sic. l. 4. (7) Loc. cit.
(8) L. 7. (9) L. 17. (10) In Flor. (11) In Libycis.
(12) De Idol. l. 1. c. 32.

Such were the Gods, whose Worship the *Carthaginians* received first from the *Phenicians*, then from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Not content with the Religion of their Fathers, they would needs imitate the other Nations in deifying their great Men. *Dido* their Foundress, received this Honour, which she herself, according to *Ovid* (1), had conferr'd upon *Sicheus* her Husband, and became one of the great Divinities of *Carthage* (2). *Anna*, according to the same Poet, shared divine Honours with her Sister (3); as also *Amilcar*, as we have observed from *Herodotus* (4): For tho' that Author does not say positively, that he was ranked among the Gods, yet he tells us, he was honoured at least as a Hero, since he says, Sacrifices were instituted to his Honour, and those sorts of Monuments which he calls *μῆματα*, consecrated to Heroes, as shall be said when we come to the Worship which was paid to them.

If, after having spoke of the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, we proceed to other parts of *Libyans*. *Africk*, we shall find that *Ammon* was worshipped by the *Libyans*, in the place where was that famous Oracle, of which we have discoursed in the IVth Book. The Learned have enquired who this *Ammon* was, and they all agree that it was *Ham* himself, whose Name, soften'd by cutting off the first Letter, was pronounc'd *Am*, or *Ammon*, upon which *Vossius* may be consulted (5).

And indeed, 'tis certain that *Ham*, or at least *Mizraim* his Son, came and settled in *Egypt*; and as the Scripture calls it almost always the Land of *Mizraim*, so it sometimes makes mention of the Name of *Hàm*, or *Ammon*, as may be seen in those words of the Prophet *Nabum*, who thus makes an Apostrophe to the City of *Niniveh*: *Art thou better than the City of Ammon* (6)? The Vulgate, I know, has understood this Passage of the City of *Alexandria*: *Art thou better than the City Alexandria?* And *St. Jerom* (7) says, that his Master in the *Hebrew*; told him that this Passage might be so in-

P p 2

terpreted;

(1) *Heroid.* 7. (2) See her History. (3) *Fast.* l. 3. (4) *L.* 7.
(5) *De Idol.* l. 1. c. 32. (6) *C.* 3. v. 8. (7) *In* 3 e. *Nah.*

terpreted; but still this is certain, that in the original Text it is *No-Amon*.

The *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus* (1), gave to *Ammon* the Name of *Jupiter*: Ἀμμὼν Αἰγύπτιοι καλέεσι τὸν Δία; which ought not to surprize us, since most of the ancient Princes, or Gods, bore the same Name. If we take *Diodorus Siculus's* Authority (2), *Ammon* had been King of a part of *Libya*, and he had married *Rhea*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, and Sister of *Chronos* or *Saturn*; but as *Vossius* judiciously remarks (3), all this agrees to *Ham*: for if the young *Saturn* is the same with *Noah*, his Son's Wives may well enough be called his Sisters, since they descended, like him, from the old *Saturn*, that is from *Adam*. And if the *Greek* Historian makes *Ammon* reign only in *Libya*, tho' his Empire comprehended the Country of *Canaan*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Æthiopia*, and a part of *Libya*, the reason might be, that he thought he had reign'd only in the Country where his Oracle was established.

Let us then conclude with *Vossius*, that *Ammon* was the same with *Ham*, who, after his Death, was number'd with the Gods, and adored under the Name of *Jupiter Ammon*.

Gods of the Augilites. The *Augiles*, or rather *Augilites*, People lying between the *Garamantes* and the *Trogodytes*, according to *Pomponius Mela* (4), had no other Gods but the *Manes*. It was by them they swore; they consulted them as their Oracles, and received their Responses by sleeping near their Tombs: *Augilæ Manes tantum Deos putant; per eos dejerant; eos ut Oracula consulunt; precatique quæ volunt, ubi tumultis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia.*

Pliny (5) differs from *Mela*, only in so far as he calls those infernal Gods whom the Geographer had called Gods *Manes*: *Augilæ inferos tantum colunt*; and both the one and the other have only copied *Herodotus*, with this difference, that they ascribe to the *Augilites* what

(1) L. 2. (2) L. 8. (3) Loc. cit. (4) L. 1. c. 8.
(5) L. 5. c. 8.

what the *Greek* Historian had said of the *Nasamones*; but these People were so near to one another, that it was easy to confound them (a); or possibly they had both the same Gods, that is, the Souls of their Ancestors. *Pomponius Mela* speaks in the same Chapter, of the Religion of the *Catabathmi*, a small Nation lying between *Libya* and *Egypt*; but, as he says only that this People adored the Gods of their own Country, after the manner of their Fathers, *Et cultu Deum quos patrios servant ex patrio more venerantur* (1), 'tis not possible to divine whether those Gods were the natural Gods, such as the Stars, and other parts of the Universe, or the Souls of their Ancestors, as we have been now saying of the *Augilites* and *Nasamones*.

We learn from *Herodotus*, that the Inhabitants of the *Cyrenaica* paid divine Honours to *Battus*, to whom they built Temples. 'Tis known that *Battus* came from the Island of *Thera*, had led a Colony into that part of *Africk*, and had there founded the Kingdom of *Cyrene*. *Demonax*, who upon account of an Oracle at *Delphos*, had been sent to *Cyrene* by the *Mantineans* his Countrymen, was he who there established the Worship of *Battus*.

The Diviner *Mopsus* was also honoured as a God, in *Africk*, properly so called, or in the part of that Continent on the west Side from *Cyrenaica* to *Mauritania*. There were two of that Name, the one the Son of *Manto*, and Grandson of *Tiresias*, the other the Son of *Ampycus*. The first had an Oracle, and was worshipped in *Cilicia*; the second was a famous *Argonaut*, who died in *Africk*, and there received divine Honours, as we learn from *Apuleius*, who was born in *Africk*: *Pro Numine postea ab hominibus prodicti, fanis & ceremoniis vulgo advertuntur; ut in Bæotia Amphiaraus, in Africa Mopsus, &c.*

(a) They who are curious to see the Error of *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*, in its full light, may consult the learned Remark of *Abraham Gronovius* upon the 8th Chap. of the 1st Book of *Pomponius Mela*.

(1) *Gronovius's* Edition.

&c. But as I shall have occasion to speak of this *Mopsus*, in the History of the *Argonauts*, I shall say no more of him here.

The Emperor *Severus*; if we credit *Spartian*, received likewise divine Honours in that same part of *Africk* which had given him birth: *Horum igitur tantorum, & tam illustrium virorum Intersector, ab Afris ut Deus habetur.*

The *Africans* had likewise *Neptune*, whose Worship; according to *Herodotus*, had passed from *Libya* into *Greece*; *Tritonian Minerva*; *Hercules*, who signalized himself so much in *Mauritania Tingitana*, and was so highly honour'd at *Gades*; not to mention the *Titan* Princes, who were deify'd by the same People; but we have said enough of these last in the Theogony of the *Atlantidæ* (1): As for the three former, I shall give the History of them in the following Volumes.

The *Moors*; if credit may be given to the Ancients, had no other Gods but their Kings; this is what we learn from *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Cyprian*; and as the two last were *Africans*, their Testimony ought to be of great weight: The first of them thus delivers himself upon the Subject. *It was for this reason, says he, that the Moors deify'd their Kings; hoc scilicet ratione consecraverunt, ut Mauri, Reges suos* (2). *Tertullian* alledged to the *Pagans*, that every Country and every Town had its particular Gods: *Syria*, says he to them, has its *Astarte*; *Arabia*, its *Disares*; the People of *Noricum*, their *Belenus*; the *Africans*, their *Celestis*; and the *Moors*, their Kings (a). Among those deify'd Kings was the famous *Juba*, as we learn from *Minutius Felix* (b).

Tertullian reckons also in the number of the Gods of the *Moors*, the Goddess *Versotina*, who is quite unknown: She was probably one of their Queens, or
some

(1) B. 2. (2) Lact. l. 1. c. 15.

(a) Unicuique etiam Provinciæ & Civitati, suus Deus est; ut Syriæ Astartes, ut Arabiæ Disares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africae Cælestis, ut Mauritaniæ Reguli sui. *Apolog.* c. 24.

(b) Nisi forte post mortem Deos fingitis, & pejerante populo Deus Romulus, & Juba Mauris volentibus Deus est. *In Oratione.*

some other Woman signalized by her glorious Actions. As for that *Cælestis* of theirs, of whom that Author takes notice, it was the *Venus Urania* so well known in *Syria*; that is, the Planet of that Name: For it is certain that almost all Nations worshipped the Stars, and had Gods natural and Gods animated.

To conclude, If I say nothing in this Chapter of the Religion of several other People of *Africa*, the reason is, that they were not known to the Ancients, and 'tis only the ancient Religions we have to do with in this Mythology. The modern Travellers, who speak of the present Idolatry of some of those People, do it in a manner so little instructive, that nothing certain can be learned from their Relations, concerning the Origin and true Object of the religious Worship of each of the People they give account of. We see in general, that there are still a great many Nations in that part of the World, which ascribe a religious Worship to vain Idols of different kinds: But whether those Idols represent animated Beings, or the Ancestors of those Idolaters, as among some other People of *Africa*, is what the Travellers don't determine. Thus, after having examined what the Ancients have left us about the Gods of the *Egyptians*, and of the *Africans*, who were known in their time, we shall see in the following Book, what Account they give of those of the *Asiatick* Nations.

End of the First Volume.



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THE
MYTHOLOGY
AND
FABLES
OF THE
ANCIENTS,

Explain'd from

HISTORY.

By the Abbé *BANIER*,
Member of the ROYAL ACADEMY of
INSCRIPTIONS and BELLES-LETTRES.

VOL. II.

Translated from the Original FRENCH.

CONTAINING

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| I. The History of the Gods of the <i>Chaldeans, Babylonians, Syrians, Persians, &c.</i> | historical Explanation of all the poetical Fables relating to these several Divinities. |
| II. Of the Divinities of the <i>Greeks and Romans</i> , divided into three Classes, <i>viz.</i> the Celestial Gods, the Gods of the Waters, and those of the Earth. | Under the second Class is the History of <i>Demogorgon, Cybele, Vesta, Terminus, Flora, the Satyrs, &c.</i> |
| The first contains the History of <i>Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Minerva, Mars, Venus, Vulcan, Mercury, Apollo, Diana, Bacchus, &c.</i> together with an | The third contains the History of <i>Neptune, Amphitrité, Nereus, Proteus, the Nymphs</i> ; with a curious Enquiry into the Foundation and Nature of that Worship which was paid them. |
-

L O N D O N :

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

O <i>F the Gods of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and Phenicians</i>	Page 1
<i>A Preliminary</i>	ib.
Chap. I. <i>Of the Gods of the Chaldeans and Babylonians</i>	2
Chap. II. <i>Astarte, or Astaroth, Thammus, or Adonis</i>	6
Chap. III. <i>Derceto or Atergatis, and Semiramis</i>	30
Chap. IV. <i>Dagon</i>	36
Chap. V. <i>Marnas</i>	38
Chap. VI. <i>Of some other Syrian and Phenician Gods, no where mentioned but in Scripture</i>	39
Art. I. <i>Of the Teraphim</i>	ibid.
Art. II. <i>Of Moloch the God of the Ammonites</i>	48
Art. III. <i>Baal, or Bel, Baal-pehor, or Baal-phegor</i>	52
Art. IV. <i>Chamos</i>	55
Art. V. <i>Beelzebub</i>	57
Art. VI. <i>Berith, or Baal-Berith</i>	58
Art. VII. <i>Kiun, or Rempham</i>	60
A 3	Art.

C O N T E N T S.

Art. VIII. <i>Of other Gods less known, of whom there is also Mention made in Scripture</i>	61
Chap. VII. <i>Of the Gods of Tadmor or Palmyra</i>	64
Chap. VIII. <i>Of the Gods Cabiri</i>	70
Chap. IX. <i>Of the Anaces, or Anaëtes</i>	83
Chap. X. <i>Of the Gods Pataici</i>	87
Chap. XI. <i>Of the Gods Palici</i>	89
Chap. XII. <i>Of the Gods of the Persians</i>	94
Art. I. <i>Mithras</i>	102
Art. II. <i>Of some other Gods of the Persians ; of those of the Parthians, Cappadocians, and Armenians</i>	128
Chap. XIII. <i>Of the Gods of the Scythians, and some other northern Nations</i>	135

<i>Of the Gods of the Greeks, Romans, and other Western Nations</i>	149
---	-----

B O O K I.

O <i>F the celestial Gods</i>	160
Chap. I. <i>The History of Jupiter and his Ancestors</i>	ibid.
Art. I. <i>The History of Jupiter, according to the more common Opinion</i>	165
Art. II. <i>The History of Jupiter and the Titan Princes, according to a second Tradition</i>	170
	Art.

C O N T E N T S.

Art. III. <i>The Explanation of the poetical Fa- bles intermixed with the preceding History</i>	179
Art. IV. <i>Of the different Names of Jupiter</i>	216
Art. V. <i>After what Manner Jupiter used to be represented, and what Sort of Worship was paid him</i>	227
Chap. II. <i>The History of Juno</i>	235
Hymen, or Hymenœus, Thalaffius, and other Gods of Marriage	249
Chap. III. <i>The History of Saturn</i>	253
Chap. IV. <i>The History of Janus</i>	261
Chap. V. <i>The History of Atlas, of the Pleiades his Daughters, of Hesperus and the Hesper- rides</i>	272
<i>The Pleiades</i>	276
<i>The Hyades</i>	278
Chap. VI. <i>The History of Japetus, Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Pandora</i>	279
Chap. VII. <i>Of the other Titans</i>	289
Chap. VIII. <i>An Examination into the Time when Saturn, Jupiter, and the other Titans lived; and when Men began to pay them divine Ho- nours</i>	292
Chap. IX. <i>The History of Minerva, or Pallas and Bellona</i>	295
Chap. X. <i>The History of Mars and Victory</i>	315
Chap. XI. <i>The History of Venus, Cupid, Psy- che, and the Graces</i>	324
Chap. XII. <i>Of Vulcan</i>	354
Chap. XIII. <i>The History of Mercury</i>	361
Chap. XIV. <i>Apollo, the Sun, Phaeton, the Muses, &c.</i>	378
	Art.

CONTENTS.

Art. I. <i>The Sun named Helios by the Greeks</i>	ibid.
Art. II. <i>The Explanation of the Fable of Phaeton, of the Heliades his Sisters, and of Cygnus.</i>	384
Chap. XV. <i>The History of Apollo and Diana</i>	392
Chap. XVI. <i>Of the Muses</i>	429
Chap. XVII. <i>The History of Bacchus</i>	436

BOOK II.

O <i>F the Gods of the Sea, of the Rivers and Fountains</i>	473
Chap. I. <i>Of the Worship paid to the Water, and the Causes of its Institution</i>	474
Chap. II. <i>Of the various Sacrifices that were offered to the Gods of the Waters</i>	483
Chap. III. <i>Of Oceanus and Tethys</i>	486
Chap. IV. <i>Neptune and Amphitrite</i>	490
Chap. V. <i>Nereus, the Nereids, Doris and Triton</i>	507
Chap. VI. <i>Proteus</i>	513
Chap. VII. <i>Phorcys, Saron, Portunus, Matuta, Glaucus and Egeon</i>	522
Chap. VIII. <i>Of the Nymphs, Dryads, Hamadryads, Napææ, Oreades, &c.</i>	527
Chap. IX. <i>Of Eolus and the Winds</i>	532
Chap. X. <i>Of the Sirens</i>	539

BOOK

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K III.

<i>OF the Terrestrial Gods</i>	547
Chap. I. Demogorgon	549
Chap. II. <i>Of the Earth adored under different Names</i>	551
Chap. III. <i>Of Cybele, or the Mother of the Gods</i>	557
Chap. IV. <i>Of Vesta and the Vestals</i>	568
Chap. V. <i>Of the God Terminus.</i>	571
Chap. VI. <i>The History of Flora, Pomona, Vertumnus and Priapus, Gods of the Gardens and Orchards</i>	575
Chap. VII. <i>Of Pales, and some other rural Divinities</i>	
Chap. VIII. <i>Of the Satyrs, Fauns, Ægypans, &c.</i>	
Chap. IX. <i>Of Faunus and Sylvanus</i>	
Chap. X. <i>Of Silenus and Midas</i>	602
Chap. XI. <i>Of the Gods Lares</i>	609
Chap. XII. <i>Of the Gods Penates</i>	613

M Y T H O.



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK VII. * VOL. III.

*Of the Gods of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and
Phenicians.*

A PRELIMINARY.

THE inspired Writers frequently reproached the *Israelites* for worshiping the Gods of their heathen Neighbours; and from their Writings we have the Knowledge of many of those Gods, and can give the Names of several Idols that were adored in *Syria* and the adjacent Countries. Thus from the Book of *Genesis* (1) we learn that the *Teraphims* were worshiped by the *Chaldeans*. *Isaiab* (2) gives *Bel* a Place among the Gods of the *Babylonians*: *Jeremiah* adds *Nebo* and *Sesak*; the second Book of *Kings* (3) takes in *Nefrock* and *Succoth Benoth*. The same Book informs us that *Ashima* was the God of the *Hemathians*; *Adrammelek* and *Anammelek* the Gods of *Sepharvaim*; *Nergol*, the Idol of the *Cuthians*; *Nibbaz* and *Tartak*, those of the *Hiveans*. The *Syrians* in general worshiped

Vol. II. B Rimmon,

* Here begins Vol. III. of the Original.

(1) C. xxxi.

(2) C. xlvi.

(3) C. xvii.

Rimmon (1), *Baal*, *Gad* (2), and the Gods of the Mountains (3), *Dii montium sunt Dii eorum*. We read in the Book of Numbers that *Baal-Pegor* was the great Divinity of the *Midianites* and *Moabites*: That the latter worship'd also *Peor*, or *Chamos*. The *Ammonites* acknowledged for their Sovereign the God *Molok*; and the *Sidonians*, *Astaroth* or *Ajlarte*.

The Idolatry of the *Philistines* was not uniform, and tho' *Ajlartoth* was their great Divinity, yet they had others peculiar to each City. Thus those of *Ajotb* worship'd *Dagon*; those of *Ascalon*, *Derceto* or *Atergatis* (4); those of *Accaron*, *Belzebub* (5); those of *Gaza*, *Alarnack*, as we learn from *Bochart* (6); in fine, those of *Byblos* and their Neighbours, *Adonis* or *Thammus*, of whom the Prophet *Ezekiel* makes mention (7).

We read in Scripture, of several other Gods of the Nations bordering upon *Judea*; such as *Kium* (8), *Baal-Zepbon* (9), *Baal-Berith* (10); the Gods of the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir* (11); and in general of all the Abominations that brought on the Ruin of the *Amorites*. All these and other Gods whom I have not named, shall be the Subject of this Book: Those of the *Chaldeans* shall have the first Place.

C H A P. I.

Of the Gods of the Chaldeans and Babylonians.

HOWEVER we may be unable to determine the precise Time when, and the particular Country where Idolatry commenced, this much is certain, that *Chaldea* was infected therewith from the earliest Ages. That Country was peopled, at the very Time of the Dispersion which succeeded the Confusion

(1) 2 Ki. v. 18.

(2) Jos. ii.

(3) Ki.

(4) Diod. Sic.

(5) 2 Ki. i. 2.

(6) Can. i. c. 16.

(7) C. viii. v. 14.

(8) Amos. v.

(9) Ex. xiv.

(10) Jud. viii. 33.

(11) 2 Chro. xxv.

Chap. I. *explain'd by* HISTORY. 3

Confusion of *Babel*; and *Nimrod*, the first King in the World, established there his Monarchy. We have proved elsewhere that Idolatry commenced with the Worship of the Stars (1): Now 'tis certain, that the *Chaldeans* were the first who observed their Motions; and this makes it not improbable that they were likewise the first who made them the Objects of religious Worship. It was also in the same Country that the Adoration of Fire was established, and that Sabism, the first Religion of the Pagan World, had its Rise: The City *Ur* was infected therewith, even in the Time of *Abraham*, who was obliged upon that Account to relinquish that Place, as has been already said (2). We are likewise to reckon in the Number of their most ancient Divinities the *Teraphims*, whom we shall speak of afterwards.

Such was the first Idolatry of the *Chaldeans*: But they did not stop there. The Observation of the Stars led them to the Invention of judicial Astrology; and by Consequence, to the Belief of a fatal Necessity determining all that happens in the World, or of that kind of Fate which goes under the Name of *Fatum Mathematicum*, or *Chaldaicum*, from the Country where it was invented. Hence their Credulity towards Astrologers and Sooth-sayers, who amused them with vain Predictions, as they are upbraided by the Prophets (a).

Besides the natural Gods, such as the Stars, the Fire, &c. the *Chaldeans* had also animated Deities, that is their first Kings, and great Men. *Babylon*, the Capital of *Chaldea*, was the most idolatrous City in the World: This is the Character the Scripture gives of it. The Prophet *Jeremiah* paints it with one Stroke, when he calls it a Land of Idols, *terra sculptilium* (3); and 'tis highly probable that it had adopted most of the Gods of its Neighbours, even

B 2

the

(1) See Book III. Vol. I. (2) Ibid.

(a) See what has been said above from the Prophet *Isaiah*.

(3) Jer. i. 21.

4 MYTHOLOGY *and* FABLES Book VII.

the Monsters of *Egypt*; & *in portentis gloriantur*. Thus what is said in this Book, concerning the eastern Gods, might suffice to our understanding the idolatrous Worship of that City; but in Regard it has likewise some Gods peculiar to itself, I must give some short Account of them.

Belus was the great *Chaldean* Divinity; and the Temple he had at *Babylon* was incomparably rich and magnificent, as has been observed. But was this *Belus* the same with *Bel* or *Baal*? was he the same whom *Virgil* mentions (1) *Quam Belus, & omnes a Belo Soliti, &c?* Was he the Founder, and first King of *Babylon*? This is what we shall examine in one of the following Books under the Article of *Jupiter Belus*.

Jeremiab reckons among the Gods of that City, *Merodach*, “ Declare ye among the Nations, and
“ publish, and set up a Standard, publish and conceal not: Say, *Babylon* is taken, *Bel* is confounded,
“ *Merodach* is broken in Pieces, her Idols are confounded, her Images are broken in Pieces (2)”
Annunciate in Gentibus . . . dicite, confusus est Bel, victus est Merodach; confusa sunt sculptilia ejus, superata sunt idola eorum. Here is a Prediction that foretells the greatest Calamities and an entire Desolation to come upon *Babylon*.

Is this to be understood of the Sacking of that City, and is *Merodach* the King under whom it was taken? That he was is not at all probable, since Historians give another Name to that Prince who was conquered by *Cyrus*, when he made himself Master of *Babylon*.

Some Interpreters alledge that this Name was common to the *Babylonish* Princes (a); and accordingly some of them, they observe, have their Names compounded of *Merodach*; such as *Merodach-Baladan*, whom the Prophet *Isaiab* speaks of (3); *Evil-Merodach*

(1) *Æn.* l. 2.

(2) *Jer.* l. 2.

(a) See *Calmet* upon the 50th Chap. of *Jeremiab*.

(3) *Is.* xxxix. 1.

dach mentioned in the second Book of *Kings* (1). In *Ptolemy's Canon* we find a *Mardc-Campanus*, and *Messi-Mordachus*: But the Manner in which the Prophet expresses himself, leaves us no Room to doubt, but that in the Passage now quoted he means a Divinity worship'd at *Babylon*, as *Belus* was: *Their Statues are broken in Pieces, their Idols are confounded.* *Selden*, who treats of the Gods of *Syria* with so much Erudition, owns he has found nothing in Antiquity to clear up the History of *Merodach*; for it seems he laid no Stress upon what the *Rabbi's* say of him.

In order to reconcile the different Opinions of the Learned, I shall follow that of *Theodoret*, who says *Merodach* had been an ancient King of *Chaldea*, and that he was deify'd for his Merit, as well as *Belus*. This gives us the Reason why his Name was commonly joined to that of the Princes who reigned afterwards; as *Nebo*, or *Nabo*, another God of the *Babylonians* enter'd into that of *Nabuchodonosor*, *Nabopolassar* and others.

Nebo, I say, or *Nabo*, was likewise one of their Deities; and my Authority is the first Verse of the Forty-Sixth Chapter of *Isaiah*: *Confractus est Bel, contritus Nabo; Bel is broken in Pieces, Nabo is reduced to Ashes, &c.* For 'tis Evident, whatever Interpreters may say, that the Prophet in this Place is speaking of two Divinities, whose Worship was one Day to be entirely abolish'd, and their Idols overthrown.

I know there was in the Country of the *Moabites*, near *Jericho*, a Mountain, and a Town, that went by the Name of *Nabo*; but neither the one, nor the other, is meant in the Passage I have quoted. Farther, it is probable that the Worship of this false Deity, having been transported into the Country of the *Moabites*, they therefore gave his Name to one of their Towns, and to the Mountain where he was worship'd. For it was commonly upon high Places

B 3 that

(1) 2 Ki. xxv. 27.

that they had their Temples and sacred Groves, as appears from a hundred Passages of Scripture, and from profane Authors.

C H A P. II.

Astarte or Astaroth, Thammus or Adonis.

A *STARTE* was the great Divinity of the *Syrians*; and from several Places in Scripture it appears, that she was equally worship'd by the *Phenicians* and *Philistines*. All the Learned agree that she is the same with *Venus*, as shall be said in the History of the Gods of *Greece*. *Cicero*, speaking of the several *Venus*'s acknowledged by the *Pagan* Theology says, the fourth (1), whom they called *Astarte*, was born at *Tyre* in *Syria*, and was married to *Adonis*: *Quarta Venus Syria, Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse tradunt*. His Account had been truer, had he made her the same with the first, whom he calls the Daughter of Heaven and of the Light; for as *Astarte* among the *Syrians* was the same with the Moon, as shall be said, so that Original was most suitable to her. We may even affirm, that all the four *Venus*'s of whom he speaks, may be reduced to *Astarte* alone. This we have seen as to the First, nor is it difficult to prove it with regard to the Second, who was likewise believed to have been born in the Sea, from the Blood which flowed from the Wound of *Cælus*; but the discussing of this, I refer to the next Volume (2).

But to proceed, the Scripture frequently mentioning this Goddess calls her *Astaroth* (3), and sometimes the God (4), or Abomination of the *Sidonians* (5). Where 'tis proper to remark, *First*, that altho' the Word *Astaroth* be plural, yet it does not signify a Number of Divinities. *Secondly*, Nor is the masculine Name, God of the *Sidonians*, a Proof of *Astaroth*'s

(1) De Nat. Deo. L. 3.

(3) 2 Sam. xxxi. v. 10.

(5) 2 Ki. xxiii. 13.

(2) History of *Venus*.

(4) 1 Ki. xi. 5.

Astaroth's being a God ; for besides that the *Hebrews* have no Word to signify a Goddess, 'tis certain that the Goddess of the *Sidonians* was worship'd under both Sexes, as well as several other Gods. Accordingly the Ancients make mention of the God *Lunus*, which was the Moon ; and *Virgil*, speaking of *Venus*, calls her a powerful God ; *Pollentemque Deum Venerem* (1). Thirdly, that *Astaroth* properly signifies Flocks of Sheep and Goats. The Prophet *Jeremiah* calls that Goddess the Queen of Heaven : The Children, says he, gather Wood, the Fathers kindle the Fire, and the Women mix Fat with Flower, to make Cakes to the Queen of Heaven. Upon which I make these two Remarks : First, that the Title of Queen of Heaven is what best agrees to *Astarte*, who among the *Syrians* was the same as the Moon. Secondly, that from this Passage we learn one Part of the Worship that was paid to that Goddess, and with what Zeal all Sorts of People had used to prepare Sacrifices to be presented to her. In other Places of the sacred Books, she is designed merely by the Words *Asera*, or *Asero*, or *Aserim* ; the Woods, or the Idol of the Grove, because she was really worship'd in the sacred Groves, which served for her Temple. The *Septuagint* makes no Scruple to put sometimes *Astarte*, instead of *Aserot*, since these two Terms do indeed denote the same Divinity.

When I say *Astarte* represented the Moon among the *Syrians*, I mean that she was become the Symbol thereof, and consider her only as a physical Divinity. For, with Respect to this Goddess and her Spouse *Adonis*, we are to observe the same Distinction that has already been made as to *Isis* and *Osiris*. *Astarte* and *Adonis* reigned in *Syria*, and endeared themselves so much to their Subjects by their extensive Beneficence, that after Death they were raised to divine Honours. And it being the received Opinion of those early Times, that the Souls of great Men, and above all of such as had taught the necessary Arts

B 4 of

(1) See all *Æn.* 2. 632.

of Life, were gone to reside in the Stars ; hence they were easily persuaded, that the Souls of that Prince and of his Spouse had taken the Sun and Moon for their Mansion ; and accordingly they were adored as those Luminaries themselves, whose Worship was already establish'd : For we must always take this along with us, that the Stars and Planets were the first Gods of the *Pagan* World ; and that the same Divinity might be a natural or physical God, and an animated one.

This is not to say, that History has transmitted to us a particular Account of the Actions of those ancient Princes, who rose to the Rank of Gods ; the Monuments that contained them being lost ; but 'tis easy to see that the Fables handed down to us carry an Allusion to the History of those famous Men. What the *Greeks* and *Romans* have fabled concerning *Venus* and *Adonis*, was undoubtedly founded upon some ancient Traditions they had learned from the *Phenicians* : The Ground of those Traditions was historical ; but these People had embellish'd it with several Fictions, to render their Gods the more venerable.

According to *Ovid* (1), *Adonis* sprung from the Embraces of *Cinyras* with his Daughter *Myrrha*. That Princess, constrained to fly from her Father's Anger (who had lain with her without knowing who she was, at a Time when the Queen had gone from her Husband to celebrate a Festival) retired into *Arabia* ; where the Gods, touch'd with her Misfortunes and Repentance, transform'd her into the Tree which bears the precious Perfume called after her Name. It was in that State she brought forth the young *Adonis*, whom the neighbouring Nymphs took into their Care at his Birth, and nursed in the Caves of *Arabia*. *Adonis*, grown up, repaired to the Court of *Byblos*, in *Phenicia*, where he became the brightest Ornament. Here the Poets have given them-
selves

(1) Met. l. 10.

selves an unbounded Freedom. *Venus*, say they (*a*), became desperately in love with the Youth, prefer'd the Conquest of him to that of the Gods themselves, and abandon'd the Mansions of *Cythera*, *Amathus*, and *Paphos*, to follow *Adonis* in the Forests of Mount *Lebanus*, where he used to go a Hunting. *Mars*, jealous of the Preference given by the Goddess to that young Prince, in Revenge had Recourse to the Assistance of *Diana*, who rais'd a Boar that destroyed *Adonis*. *Venus*, coming to the Knowledge of this sad Accident, expressed all Demonstrations of the deepest Sorrow :

— *Pariterque sinus, pariterque capillos*

Rupit, & indignis percussit pectora palmis (1).

In the mean Time the young Prince descended into *Pluto's* Kingdom, and inflamed *Proserpine* with the soft Passion. *Venus* ascends to Heaven to procure his Return from her Father *Jupiter* ; but the Goddesses of Hell refused to give him back. The Father of the Gods, puzzled with so nice an Affair, referred the Decision thereof to the Muse *Calliope*, who hoped to satisfy the two Goddesses by delivering him up to them alternately : The Hours were sent to *Pluto* to bring back *Adonis* ; and from that time he continued every Year six Months upon Earth with his beloved *Venus*, and six Months in Hell.

Here, no doubt, is a Fable full of Allegory ; and an Enigma, which one would be sufficiently puzzled to explain in every Point ; but we may easily see it is intermix'd with History and Physiology : And this is what we shall endeavour to unravel as we go along.

M. le Clerc, after *Selden* and *Marsham*, having been more inclined to take this Fable from *Phurnutus*, and other Mythologists, than from *Ovid*, relates
and

(*a*) There is another Tradition, which imports, that the Boar was rais'd by *Apollo*, to be avenged of *Venus*, who had put out the Eyes of *Erimanthus*, the Son of that God, for making a Jest of her Gallantries.

(1) *Ovid. Met. Lib. 10.*

and explains it thus (1): *Cimyrus*, or *Cinyras*, the Grandfather of *Adonis*, having drunk one Day to excess, fell asleep in an indecent Posture. *Mor*, or *Myrrha*, his Daughter-in-law, *Ammon's* Wife, accompanied with her Son *Adonis*, having seen him in this Posture, apprized her Husband of it: He, after *Cinyras* was become sober, informed him of what had happened, which so provoked him, that he poured out Imprecations on his Daughter-in-law, and his Grandson. Here, without going any further, says *M. le Clerc*, is the Foundation of the pretended Incest of *Myrrha*, which *Ovid* speaks of; the Poet having represented the indiscreet Curiosity of that Princess, as a real Incest. *Myrrha*, loaded with her Father's Curses, retired into *Arabia*, where she abode for some time; and this again is what gave the same Poet occasion to say, that this was the Country where she was delivered of *Adonis*, because that young Prince happened to be educated there. Some time after, continues *M. le Clerc*, *Adonis*, with *Ammon* his Father, and *Myrrha* his Mother, went into *Egypt*, where, upon *Ammon's* Death, that young Prince applied himself wholly to the Improvement of that People; taught them Agriculture, and enacted many excellent Laws concerning the Property of Lands. *Astarte*, or *Isis* his Wife, was passionately fond of him; and they lived together like a Lover and a Mistress. *Adonis* having gone into *Syria*, was wounded in the Groin by a Boar, in the Forests of Mount *Lebanus*, where he had been Hunting. *Astarte* apprehending his Wound to be mortal, was so deeply affected with Grief, that People believed he was actually dead, and *Egypt* and *Phenicia* bewailed his Death: However he recovered, and their Mourning was turned into Ecstasy of Joy. To perpetuate the Memory of this Event, an annual Festival was instituted, during which, they first mourned for the Death of *Adonis*, and then rejoiced as for his being again returned to Life. *Adonis*, according to the same

Author,

(1) Bib. Univer. T. 3.

Author, was killed in Battle ; and his Wife procured his Deification. After the Death of *Adonis*, *Astarte* governed *Egypt* with peaceful Sway, and acquired divine Honours. The *Egyptians*, whose Theology was all symbolical, represented them both afterwards, under the Figure of an Ox, and of a Cow, to inform Posterity that they had taught Agriculture.

As to the Flight of *Myrrha*, which *Ovid* mentions, it means no more, says *M. le Clerc*, but the Curse which she had brought upon herself, and her Retreat into *Egypt* with her Husband ; and the Story of her Transformation into a Tree, owed its Rise only to the equivocal Meaning of her Name *Mor*, which among the *Arabians* imported *Myrrha*.

From this Explanation we see, that the learned Author, whom I have been abridging, was persuaded that *Adonis* and *Astarte* were the same as *Osiris* and *Isis* ; nor is he alone in this Opinion, which wants not some Probability : *Lucian* and *Plutarch*, among the Ancients, *Selden*, *Marsham* and several others, among the Moderns, had advanced it before him. *M. le Clerc* brings several Arguments in Proof of his Opinion, which may be seen in the third Volume of his *Bibliothèque Universelle*. The chief of them are these : That while the Festival of *Osiris* was celebrated in *Egypt*, another like to it used to be kept in *Phenicia* for *Adonis*. There was Mourning for them both as dead, and then rejoicing as though they had been risen again : . But what is still more decisive, we are assured by antient Authors, that the *Egyptians*, during the Celebration of their Festival, used to set down upon the *Nile* an osier Basket, wherein was a Letter, which, by the Course of the Waves, was conveyed to *Phenicia*, near *Byblos*, where it was no sooner arrived, than the People gave over their mourning for *Adonis*, and began to rejoice for his return to Life. The Festival must therefore have been the same ; and as there is no doubt but it was celebrated in *Egypt* in Honour of
Isis

Isis and *Osiris* ; so we may conclude that the *Syrians* celebrated it for them too.

To these Proofs we may add, that *Adonis* and *Astarte*, among the *Phenicians*, were the Symbols of the Sun and Moon, as *Osiris* and *Isis* were in *Egypt* ; and that *Astarte* was represented upon Monuments, with a Cow's Head, or at least with the Skin of that Animal, as *Isis* was among the *Egyptians* : In fine, that in the Festivals of *Adonis* and *Astarte*, obscene Emblems were carried in Procession, as in those of *Osiris* and *Isis*. These are the Arguments of those who maintain this Opinion, set forth in their whole force. I am, however, persuaded that those four Personages are to be distinguish'd, of whom two reign'd in *Egypt*, and the other two in *Phenicia*, though both the one and the other became the Symbols of the Sun and Moon, upon account of the Blessings they had conferr'd upon their People. I am far from denying, that there was a great Affinity in Religion between two People, so near Neighbours, as the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians* ; but this Affinity proves not the Sameness of their Kings and Gods ; and if there are some Passages in their History resembling one another, there are likewise many more that are quite different : For, in short, what is there in the Story of *Isis* analogous to what we are told of *Cinyras* and his Incest ; a Piece of History plainly borrowed from what the Scripture tells us of *Noah* and his Son ? Do we find in the History of *Isis*, that she was oblig'd to fly from her Father's Wrath, and retire into *Arabia*, like *Myrrha* and *Adonis* ? Besides, all Antiquity agrees (a) that *Osiris* was the Brother and Husband of *Isis* ; and *M. le Clerc* is obliged to own that *Adonis* was only the Son of *Astarte*. *Osiris* is slain by *Typhon* his Brother, in the manner that has been said ; *Adonis* is slain either by a Boar,

(a) *Cic.* in the Passage quoted, *Theocr. Id.* 3. and *Bion* in the Epitaph of *Adonis*, not to mention other ancient Authors who say the same.

Boar, or in a Battle : *Isis* collects the scattered Remains of her Husband's Body, and erects sepulchral Monuments to them in all the Places where she finds them : Is any Thing parallel to this told of *Astarte* ? The Return of *Adonis* from Hell, was a symbolical Representation of his Cure, as shall be said afterwards : That of *Osiris* signify'd nothing else but that an Ox had appeared with Marks like the one that was drowned. In *Egypt* the Rejoicing is at finding again a young Bull, distinguish'd by certain Marks : In *Phenicia* it is because *Adonis*, whom they believed dead, is really cured by means of *Cocytus* the Physician (*a*). *Adonis*, according to *Jupiter's* Decree, remains six Months in Hell with *Proserpine*, and six Months upon Earth with *Venus* ; nothing like this is related by the *Egyptians* concerning their *Osiris*. *Venus* could not be one Moment separate from her beloved *Adonis* : *Osiris* left *Isis* to go into the *Indies*, and several other Countries. *Isis* and *Osiris* reign'd in *Egypt*, as all the World allow ; *Astarte*, *Adonis*, and his Grandfather *Cinyras*, were Kings of *Phenicia*, the Capital whereof, according to *Strabo* and *Lucian*, was *Byblos*, where these two Authors say the Events happened that are the Subject of this History. In fine, the one was a warlike conquering Prince, the other a peaceful King, who delighted only in Hunting. But what I am going to say of the Worship paid to *Adonis* and *Astarte*, compared with that of *Isis* and *Osiris*, will prove yet more convincingly that they were different from one another.

Though I have treated this Subject in a particular Dissertation (*b*), yet I hope the Reader will not be ill-pleased to find here an Abstract of it.

Adonis was passionately fond of the Chace; and as he was one Day hunting in the Forests of Mount *Lebanus*, a Boar wounded him in the Groin ; the News were quickly brought to *Astarte* of the Death of that Prince : Her Affliction, upon this Occasion, was
inex-

(*a*) See the Sequel of this History.

(*b*) See the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, Tom. 11.

inexpressible, as has been said: She fill'd the whole City with her Complaints and Groans, and all her Kingdom went into Mourning. In order to immortalize the Memory of that Prince, and in some sort to sooth the Anguish of the Queen, divine Honours and solemn Festivals were instituted to *Adonis*: This was the ordinary Resource of Flatterers, and most of the Gods of Antiquity are owing to Mens officious Zeal to honour the Dead, in servile Complaisance to the Living.

There was, according to *Lucian*, a River near *Byblos*, that bore the Name of *Adonis*; there, undoubtedly it was, they wash'd the Wound of that Prince; and as its Streams were stained red by the Sand blown into it from Mount *Lebanus*, at a certain Season of the Year, as *Lucian* learned from an Inhabitant of the Country, hence People were induced to believe, that this Change proceeded from the Blood of *Adonis*; and they even chose that Season of the Year for celebrating his Festivals. First of all, the whole City went into Mourning, and gave publick Signs of Grief and Affliction: Nothing all around was heard but Groans and Lamentations; the Women who ministered in this Piece of Worship, were obliged to shave their Heads, and to beat their Breasts, running through the Streets; and such was the Impiety of that superstitious Usage, that those who would not join in the Ceremony, were obliged to prostitute themselves for a whole Day (1), and to apply what Money they earned by that infamous Trade, to the Service of the new God. On the last Day of the Festival, their Mourning was turned into Joy, and every one made merry as if *Adonis* had risen to Life. The first Part of this Solemnity was called Ἀφανισμός, *the Disappearance*, during which they mourned, or bewailed the Prince's Death; and the second, εὐρεσις, *the Discovery*, when Joy succeeded to Grief.

This

(1) *Lucian*, Loc. Cit.

This Ceremony continued eight Days, and was celebrated at the same Time in *Lower Egypt*. *Lucian* (1) observes, upon this Occasion, a Thing very singular, whereof he himself was an Eye-witness; namely, That the *Egyptians* exposed upon the Sea a Basket of Osier (*a*), which being carried by a favourable Wind, arrived of it self upon the Coasts of *Phenicia*, where the Women of *Byblos*, who waited for it with Impatience, carry'd it into the City; and then it was that the publick Sorrow ended, and the Festival was concluded with Transports of universal Joy. *Simulatione luctus peracta, says Macrobius, celebratur lætitiæ exordium* (2).

This Circumstance has not been omitted by the Sacred Writers, since, according to *Procopius* of *Gaza* (3), and *S. Cyril* (4), we are thus to understand that Passage in *Isaiab*, where it is said, *Mittens per mare legatos, & in vasis juncis per superficiem aquarum*. The seventy Interpreters, who were themselves at *Alexandria*, and consequently must have been well informed about this Fact, leave no room to doubt of it; they even add, as *St. Cyril* remarks, that there were to be Letters in that small Vessel, which they call *Επιστολὰς βυβλίνας*.

The Worship of *Adonis* was not confined to *Syria*, but spread it self very soon into the neighbouring Countries. *Theocritus* (5) describes the Ladies of *Syracuse*, embarking for *Alexandria*, where they were to keep the Festival in honour of *Adonis*. Nothing was so noble and grand as the Apparatus of this Ceremony. *Arsinoe*, the Sister and Wife of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, bore the Statue of *Adonis* herself. She was accompanied with the Women of greatest Distinction in the City, holding in their Hands Baskets full of Cakes, Boxes of Perfumes, Flowers, Branches of

(1) Loc. Cit.

(a) *Lucian* thinks it was made of that Wood which they made use of in the Composition of Paper, and he calls it *κεφάλην βυβλίνην*.

(2) Sat. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

(3) In Is. cap. 18.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Id. 15.

of Trees, and all sorts of Fruits. The Solemnity was closed by other Ladies, bearing rich Carpets, whereon were two Beds, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, the one for *Venus*, the other for *Adonis*. Then was exhibited the Statue of that young Prince, with a ghastly Paleness in his Looks, which yet did not quite deface the Charms that had rendered him so amiable. The Procession march'd in this manner along the Sea Coasts, to the Sound of Trumpets, and all Sorts of Instruments, that accompanied the Voices of Musicians. The same Ceremony was diffused throughout all *Assyria*, as we are informed by *Macrobius* (1), *Inspecta religione Assyriorum, apud quos Veneris Archiditis & Adonidis maxima olim veneratio viguit.*

'Tis undoubtedly to the same Festival celebrated at *Babylon*, that the Prophet *Baruch* alludes (2), when he says, *The Priests of that City sat in their Temples with their Heads uncovered and shaved, their Vestments torn, and mourning as at a Feast for the Dead.* The Interpreters of Scripture are persuaded that *Moses*, when he forbids the *Israelites* to shave their Heads for the dead (3), is alluding to the Mourning and Festivals of *Adonis*; and that in the Counsel which *Balaam* gives to *Balac*, King of the *Moabites*, to entice the *Hebrews* to the Festivals of his Gods, wherein, after the Feast, all sorts of Disorders were committed without controul, he has an Eye to those of the same God, whose Worship was propagated to the Dominions of that Prince. This *Ammianus Marcellinus* (4) tells us of the City *Antioch* in particular. *Evenerat autem iisdem diebus, annuo cursu Adonia ritu veteri celebrari*; and that Author shews at the same time, that the Ceremonies practiced in that City, were the same as those at the Funerals of Persons of Distinction, comparing the Funeral Pomp of a young Prince slain in a Combat, to that of the Festival of *Adonis*, which the Women celebrated with so many Tears, and heavy Lamentations.

Judea

(1) Sat. l. i. c. 21. (2) Chap. vi. 30, 31. (3) Lev. xvi.
(4) Lib 19. 22.

Judea was too near *Assyria* and *Egypt*, and the Jews had too strong a Bias towards strange Superstitions, not to have celebrated the Festivals of this false Divinity in their turn. The Prophet *Ezekiel* (1), in one of those divine Transports, wherein God revealed to him the Abominations of *Israel*, saw, near the Gate of the Temple that faced to the North, the Women sitting and mourning for *Thammus* (a). As to the Signification of this Name, Interpreters are divided, and the *Rabbins* have vented a thousand ridiculous Fables upon this Occasion; but we ought to rely upon the Authority of St. *Jerom*, and some other Fathers of the Church, who have render'd the Word *Thammus* by that of *Adonis*, & *ecce sedebant ibi mulieres plangentes Adonidem*, and were of Opinion, with a great deal of Reason, that those Women of *Judea* mourned the Death of that Prince, and celebrated his Festival much the same way as the neighbouring Nations, of whom we have been speaking. The Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria* confirms this Sentiment, translating the same Word by that of *Adonis*.

To know now why the Prophet calls *Adonis*, *Thammus*, is no easy Matter. However, I shall offer two Reasons for it; the first, that *Adonis* having been taken for the Sun, as I shall shew afterwards, the sacred Text has given him the Name of the Month when that Luminary entring into the Sign of *Cancer*, diffuses Heat and Fruitfulness over our Hemisphere, which happens in the Month of *June*, called *Thammus* by the *Hebrews*; and what proves this Conjecture to be not without Foundation, the *Jewish* Astronomers named the Entrance of the Sun into that Sign, *Tecupha Thammus*, *Periodus Tammus*: The second is fetch'd from the Tradition of *Adonis's* having been slain in the Month of *June*, as we learn from St. *Jerom* (2), which, according to that learned Father of the Church,

C

was

(1) Chap. 8.

(a) The *Septuagint* calls him *Thammos*.

(2) Comm. in *Ezek*.

was the Reason of giving that Name to the Prince we are now speaking of: *Quia tamen Mense Junio Amasius Veneris, pulcherrimus Juvenis, occisus, eundem Junium Iuensem eodem appellant Nomine, & anniversariam ei celebrant Solemnitatem.* This Reason to me appears the best, because I am persuaded that the Ground of the Fables, and of the Ceremonies of the pagan Religion, was for the most Part historical, and that Allegories were only introduced afterwards, to Support the Ignorance or Avarice of the Priests.

From *Syria* and *Palestine*, the Worship of *Adonis* was propagated to *Persia*; to the Island of *Cyprus*, and at Length to *Greece*, especially to *Athens*, where the Festival of *Adonis* was celebrated with a great deal of Magnificence; for which my Dissertation may be consulted.

When the Time of the Festival of *Adonis* was come, they took care, as *Plutarch* remarks, to place in several Quarters of the City, Representations of dead Bodies, resembling a young Man who had died in the Flower of his Age. Then came Women dressed in mourning Robes, and carried them off to celebrate their funeral Rites, weeping and singing doleful Songs expressive of their Affliction. Their Tears were accompany'd with Shrieks and Groans, as we are told by *Aristophanes* and *Bion*; all which *Ovid* expresses very happily (1)

. *Luctus Monumenta manebunt*
Semper, Adoni, mei; repetitaque Mortis Imago
Annua plangoris peraget simulamina nostri.

Plutarch adds farther, that the Days whereon this Festival was celebrated, were reputed unlucky, and that the *Athenian* Fleet's setting sail at that Season for *Sicily*, was taken for a bad Omen; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes the same Remark upon *Julian*, the Emperor's Entrance into the City *Antioch*.
Et visum est Triste, quod amplam Urbem, Principum Domicilium, introeunte Imperatore nunc primum, ulu-
labiles

(1) Met. l. 10. 725.

labiles undique planctus & lugubres sonitus audiebantur.

We find among the other Ceremonies of the Festival of *Adonis*, that they carried Corn in earthen Vessels which they had sowed there, together with Flowers, springing Grass, Fruits, young Trees and Lettices. *Suidas*, *Hesychius* (1) and *Theophrastus* (2), inform us of these Circumstances, and add, that at the End of the Ceremony, they went and threw those portable Gardens, either into a Fountain, or into the Sea, when they were near it, as is remark'd by *Eustathius* (3) and the Scholiast on *Theocritus* (4). This was a Kind of Sacrifice which they made to *Adonis*, as we learn from *Hesychius*.

For what remains, 'tis easy to account for these Ceremonies: They carry'd an Allusion to the Circumstances of the Life and Death of *Adonis*, and I know not why they should be thought a Mystery. The sprouting Grass, the new sprung Corn which soon withered, were Emblems of that Prince's having died in the Flower of his Age, and that he had been mowed down by the cruel Hand of Death, like a young and tender Plant.

I have said they carried Lettices at the same Festival; for which Usage the Ancients have assigned various Reasons. Some alledge it was owing to a Tradition, that *Venus* had concealed her dear *Adonis* among Lettices after his Wound, as we learn from *Hesychius*. We have even a Fragment of *Eubulus*, preserved to us by *Atheneus* (5) which gives the same Reason of it. "Don't serve me with Lettices, says
" one of the Speakers to a Woman, for they say *Venus*
" concealed her dear Lover after his Death among
" Lettices." And the same Author calls that vegetable *the Food of the dead*. *Nicander* of *Colophon*, as may be seen in the same *Atheneus* (6) was also of this Opinion, since in relating how *Adonis*, to escape the
C 2 Boar

(1) In *Adωνιδος κήποι*.

(2) *Hist. plan.* l. 6. c. 7.

(3) Upon the 10. of the *Il'ad*.

(4) *Loc. cit.*

(5) *Lib.* 2.

(6) *Loc. cit.*

Boar that pursued him, had concealed himself behind a Plant which the *Cyprians* called *Brentim*; he has translated this barbarous Word by that of Lettice. *M. le Clerc* happily corrects that Author, alledging (1) it ought to be read *Βέγαρι*, a Word which in the *Phœnician* Language signifies a Fir-tree, a more secure Sanctuary to shelter *Adonis* than Lettices; which *Ovid* seems to insinuate in these Verses:

. *Trepidumque & tuta petentem*
Trux aper insequitur (2).

Nothing further remains for finishing the Explanation of all the Circumstances of the Worship of *Adonis*, but to examine the Reason why in his Festivals they used to make Joy succeed to Sorrow. *Phurnutus*, *Lactantius* (3) *Macrobius* (4) and some others, have attempted to prove, that *Adonis* being no other than the Sun, the Mysteries celebrated to his Honour, ought to be referred to that Luminary; so that the Death of *Adonis*, according to them, denoted the Sun's Distance in the Winter Time; as the Joy for his being risen again figured the Return of that Luminary, which having travelled thro' the southern Signs, and descended, as we may say, into the Kingdom of *Pluto*, signified by the Pole that is opposite to us, returned at the End of six Months towards those of the North, and brought back Mirth and Gaiety with the fine Days.

These Authors add that this was the Reason of its being happily imagined that *Proserpine* would needs detain *Adonis* with whom she was enamoured (5), and that *Venus* being desirous likewise to have him in her Possession, *Jupiter* had referred the Decision of the Controversy to *Calliope*, as has been said. They added that a Boar had caused the Death of *Adonis*, because that Animal is the Symbol of the Winter, as we are told by *Macrobius* (6) *Hyems veluti vulnus est*

(1) Bib. Univ. T. 3.

(2) Loc. cit. 714.

(3) De Diis & Mundo.

(4) Sat. L. 1. c. 2.

(5) Hyg. Poet. Astron.

(6) Loc. cit.

est Solis, quæ & Lucem ejus nobis minuit & calorem, quod utrumque Animantibus accidit Morte.

Others alledge that *Adonis* denoted the Grain, which is lodged for six Months in the Bowels of the Earth, as if it were in the Arms of *Proserpine*, who is the Goddess thereof; whence it came to visit its dear *Venus*, when it began to grow.

But is not this to allow too great Refinement to the first Inventors of the Ceremonies and Festivals, who had no other Aim but to perpetuate the Memory of Events which had given Rise to them? Does the Sun descend to the internal Regions, because he is at some Distance during the Winter? Does he abandon Men, especially in *Syria* and *Phenicia* where the Winters are so short, and sometimes more supportable than the Summers? Had they been *Laplanders* or *Siberians* who instituted that Festival, we might indeed think the total Absence of the Sun had led them to it; but this we can never believe of the Inhabitants of *Syria*, who always enjoy a serene Sky, and where the Inequality of Days is not even very considerable. Besides, were this Hypothesis true, the Festivals of *Adonis* ought to have been celebrated at different Times of the Year, and at six Months distance from one another; whereas they were celebrated only once a Year, and in a Month remote from the two Equinoxes, which would have better denoted the precise Time when the Sun begins to withdraw, or to approach our Pole.

I am therefore more inclin'd to think, that the Foundation of this double Ceremony, was built upon the Tradition, that *Adonis* did not die of the Wound he received upon Mount *Lebanus*, but was cured by *Cocytus* the Physician contrary to all Probability. For 'tis in this Sense that *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Ephestion*, understands a Greek Verse of *Euphorion's Hyacinth*, which says, *that Physician alone, the Disciple of Chiron, washed the Wound of Adonis*; that is to say, he alone was employed in so difficult a Cure: Otherwise this Verse would have no rational

Meaning. This Case was looked upon as a Kind of Miracle, and in their Transports of Joy, no doubt they would say the Prince was restored to Life, that he was come back from Hell and the Grave; metaphorical Expressions common enough on such Occasions.

'Tis true, most of the Ancients, especially the *Latins*, were of Opinion that *Adonis* died of his Wound (1); but some *Greek* Authors inform us that he did not die of it, which however they have expressed in a poetical Manner, saying, as we may see in *Theocritus*, (2) that the Hours brought back *Adonis* from *Acheron*, after he had dwelt there twelve Months; which undoubtedly imports, that that Prince recovered only at a Year's End, and that the Hours, that is the Times and Seasons, for this is the proper Signification of the Name given by the *Greeks* to those Goddesses, gave him back at Length to his beloved *Venus*: And tho' we don't take the Verses of *Theocritus* in this Sense, the System of the *Mythologists* must still fall to the Ground, since it is inconsistent with the Idea of the Sun's dividing his Influences equally to the two Hemispheres, by making *Adonis* remain a Year with *Proserpine*, that is, in plain Language, in the Arms of Death. Thus to return to our Hypothesis, we may with good Reason believe, that *Venus's* Grief, upon the first News of the Wound of *Adonis*, was so great that the Report spread thro' all *Phenicia* of that Prince's being dead. They mourn'd for him as such, while he was in Danger, nor did they begin to rejoice till he was perfectly recovered: Of which double Circumstance the Memory was preserved in the two Parts of the Ceremony instituted upon that Occasion: For we know that great Events gave Rise to the Institution of Festivals, as we learn both from sacred and profane History.

But if any be tenacious of the Opinion that *Adonis* died of his Wound, I shall Account for that Joy which

(1) Ovid. Hygin. &c.

(2) Idyll. 15.

which succeeded the Mourning on the last Day of the Festival, by saying it imported that that Prince was promoted to divine Honours, and left no longer any Room for Sorrow, but that having mourned his Death, they were now to rejoice at his Deification. The Priests, who would not have found their Account in a Tradition importing that the God whom they served was subject to Death, made it their Business afterwards to conceal the original thereof from the People, and invented the allegorical Explications which I have been refuting.

I grant there are Authors who contend that the Worship of *Adonis* had a Reference to the Sun, whose Symbol he was become ; but as 'tis my Design to trace the Fable back to its Source, I can find nothing in it but the Monuments which Love and Gratitude had consecrated to the Honour of a beloved Prince.

Ovid elegantly describes this Festival of *Adonis* (1), and his Transformation into a Flower. *Venus*, disconsolate for the Death of her Paramour, thus addresses herself to cruel Destiny : “ No, my dear
“ *Adonis* shall not be wholly subjected to thy Power ;
“ Posterity shall at least preserve an eternal Monument of his Disaster, and my Distress. The
“ Festival that shall be celebrated yearly in Memory of so dismal an Accident, shall continually keep
“ up the Remembrance of my Grief whereof he is the Cause, and from the Blood of my darling
“ Youth shall spring a Flower. After this Speech
“ she poured Nectar upon the Blood that flowed
“ from the Wound of *Adonis* In less than
“ an Hour, there sprung from thence a crimson Flower, like that of the Pomegranate. This Flower
“ is short lived, since the same Winds, whence
“ it derives its Name, soon blow it away”.

'Tis easy to see that the feigned Original of this Flower is an Episode invented for adorning the History. This Flower, according to *Pliny*, was the

(1) Met. l. 10. v. 725.

Anemone, so called because it is the Wind, *ἀνέμος* that makes it blow: Which the *Latin* Poet happily expresses in this single Verse:

Excitiunt iidem, qui præstant nomina Venti.

After the Death of *Adonis*, *Astarte*, having governed the Kingdom with a great deal of Mildness and Equity, was deify'd and honour'd with a particular Worship as he had been before. This Worship at first was pure enough; but it was blended afterwards with infamous Rites, which I have no Mind to describe. This Goddess was chiefly worship'd in the sacred Groves, which holy Writ calls *Aserim*, as has been said; and *S. Jerom* always renders that Word, by *Priapus*, to denote the Abuses that were committed there.

Besides the sacred Groves, this Goddess had her Temples. *Herodotus* (1) mentions that of *Ascalon*, which was dedicated to her, being, according to that Author, the most ancient of her Temples. She had others likewise in the Islands of *Cyprus* and *Cythera*, and doubtless in many other Places.

Astarte having become the Symbol of the Moon, as *Adonis* was of the Sun, the inspired Writings join always the Worship of *Baal*, who represented that Luminary, with that of *Astaroth* or *Astarte*.

To shew in a few Words, to what Excess their Superstition towards these two Idols was carried, it suffices to mention that *Abab* had four Hundred and fifty Prophets, or Priests of *Baal*, and that *Jezebel* his Spouse, who introduced into *Israel* the Worship of *Asera* or of *Astarte*, had four Hundred belonging to that Goddess (2), whose high Priest was her Father *Itobal* the King of *Tyre*, as we learn from *Menander* of *Ephesus* quoted by *Josephus* (3).

We may further Remark that the Groves consecrated to this Divinity, were always near the Temples of *Baal*, and while bloody Sacrifices were offered to him, and even human Victims, she was presented with

(1) Lib. 1.

(2) 1 King. xviii. 19.

(3) Contra App.

with nothing but cakes, Liquors and Perfumes; but in Honour to her they abandon'd themselves to the vilest Prostitutions, in Tents made on purpose, or in Caverns that were in her consecrated Groves. The Worshipers of this false Divinity, caused the Figure of a Tree to be imprinted upon their Flesh, and were therefore called *Dendrophori*, *Tree-bearers*; which wonderfully agrees to what the sacred Scripture says of *Astaroth*, whose Name *Asera*, given her by the Prophets, signifies Trees, or a Grove.

It was usual likewise to set up Tables to her upon the Tops of Houses, at the Gates, or in the Vestibles, as also in the Cross-Streets; and on the first Day of each Moon, a Supper was prepared for the Goddess; and this, by the by, is what the *Greeks* called the Supper of *Hecate*; the same Repasts were prepared for *Adonis*.

The Manner of representing these two Divinities was different, according to the Places which had adopted their Worship; and sometimes *Baal*, or the Sun, was dressed like a Woman, while *Astarte* or the Moon appeared armed and with a Beard; but more frequently under the Figure of a Woman having for her Head-dress, an Ox's Head with the Horns, either to denote her Royalty, as *Porphyry* has it in *Eusebius* (1), or to represent the Crescent of the Moon, just as *Isis* in *Egypt* who was the Symbol of the same Planet (2).

Macrobius (3) gives us the Description of the *Venus Architis*, who was worship'd upon Mount *Lebanus*. She was, according to him, in the Posture of a disconsolate and afflicted Woman, having her Head covered and leaning upon her left Hand, insomuch that you would have thought you saw her Tears flowing; a lively and expressive Image of the Distress in which *Astarte* was upon the first News of *Adonis's* being wounded. In Fine, the Medals of
of

(1) *Præp.* L. 1. c. ult.

(2) *Herod* L. 2. c. 41.

(3) *Sat.* L. 1. c. 41.

of the City *Tyre* (a) struck in Honour of *Demetrius*, the second King of *Syria*, represent *Astarte*, or the *Tyrian Venus*, dressed in a long Habit, over which she wears a Mantle tuck'd up on the left Arm. She has one Hand stretch'd forth, as it were commanding with Authority, while with the other she holds a crooked Staff made in Form of a Cross. Among the Flowers, the Rose was consecrated to her, because it had been tinged with the Blood of *Adonis*, whom one of its Thorns had prick'd. They added that this Flower, formerly white, had become red from that Moment, as we see in *Ovid* (1).

We shall close this Article with one or two Remarks. *First*, That the celestial Goddesses whom *Sanboniathon*, and after him *Porphyry*, calls *Baltis* (2), the *Mistress* or *Queen*; the *Venus* of *Ascalon*; the *Alilat* of the *Arabians*; the *Isis* of the *Egyptians*, all represented the Moon, among the various Nations which adored that Planet, whose Worship was very much propagated thro' the East. *Secondly*, That possibly *Astarte*, or *Venus*, the same whom the *Greeks* stiled *Venus Urania* or celestial, represented the Planet of that Name: But 'tis certain from *Herodotus*, and other Ancients, that she was most frequently taken for the Moon, or, which is the same Thing, for the Queen of Heaven. *Thirdly*, That the Name of *Adonis*, which is much the same with that of *Adonai*, or *Κύριος*, the *Lord*, which was given to that same Prince, are all of them applicable to the Sun, who is as Master and Lord of Heaven. *Fourthly*, That with Respect to *Adonis* and *Astarte*, as well as *Isis* and *Osiris*, we must always distinguish two Sorts of Divinities, Gods animated, and Gods natural. To the former Class belong the Kings of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, who by their Virtues acquired divine Honours: To the latter, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars; whose Worship, prior to that of the great Person-

ages,

(a) See *Vaillant's* History of the Kings of *Syria*, p. 272, and 273.

(1) Met. L. 10.

(2) Ap. Euf. præp. L. 1. c. 10.

ages, has been confounded with that which was ascribed to them ; either from a Belief that their Souls after Death had chosen those Luminaries for their Residence ; or for some other Reason, which we know not. This Distinction, so necessary in the present Subject, is the Foundation of Mythology, without which it would be quite unintelligible ; for I reckon none will deny that the four Persons I speak of had a real Existence, since History speaks of their Birth, their Actions, their Death, and fixes the Place of their Abode ; nor that they were deify'd and honoured with a particular Worship ; far less that, in that Worship, Circumstances occur, which can only refer to the Sun, the Moon and other Planets.

Astarte in Process of Time was stiled the *Assyrian Juno*, as we are assured by *Lucian* (1) ; but according to that Author, this was not her Name, nor was it given her till the Time when they began to celebrate the high Mysteries in her Honour. We learn from the same Author, that of all the Towns in *Syria*, *Hierapolis*, or the sacred City, was that wherein *Astarte* was most honoured : And as he was a Native of *Syria*, and advances nothing, as he says himself at the Beginning of his curious and learned Treatise upon that Goddess, but what he had either seen or learned from her Priests, his Authority here ought to be of great Weight. “ Of all the Temples of *Syria*, says he, the most celebrated, and most august one, is what belongs to that City : For besides the Works of great Value, and the Offerings which are there in great Number, there are Marks of a Divinity who presides there. There you see the Statues sweat, move themselves, deliver Oracles ; and there Sounds are frequently heard, while the Gates are shut : it is also the richest of any that I have been acquainted with.”

After having delivered the various Opinions about the Founder of that stately Temple he thus proceeds

(1) *De Dea Syria.*

ceeds to the Description of it. “ It fronts, says he,
 “ to the East, and rises two Toises (*a*) above
 “ the Ground, whereon it stands, and the As-
 “ cent to it, is by a Stone Stair. *First*, There is
 “ a grand Portico of an admirable Structure. The
 “ Gates of the Temple are of Gold, as is also the
 “ Roof, not to mention the Inside which shines
 “ all around with the same Metal. The Edifice is
 “ divided into two Parts, the one whereof is for the
 “ Sanctuary, and is higher than the other; but
 “ none are permitted to enter thither except the
 “ Priests, and but the Chief of them too. In this
 “ Sanctuary are two golden Statues; the one of
 “ *Jupiter* supported by Oxen; the other of *Juno*,
 “ by Lions: The last is a Kind of Pantheon, that
 “ bears the Symbols of several other Goddesses (*1*),
 “ and holds in one Hand a Sceptre, and in the other
 “ a Distaff, the Head encircled with Rays, and
 “ crown’d with Turrets. In the same Temple are
 “ likewise to be seen several other Statues, of *Apol-*
 “ *lo*, *Atlas*, *Mercury*, *Lucina*, &c.”

Such, according to *Lucian*, was the Inside of the Temple. “ On the Outside was a large Altar
 “ of Brass, accompanied with several Statues made
 “ by the best Masters. There were upwards of
 “ 300 Priests, employed in nothing but the Care
 “ of the Sacrifices, besides Numbers of other sub-
 “ altern Ministers. The Priests were cloathed in
 “ White, and the high Priests in Purple, with a
 “ Tiara (*b*) of Gold. Sacrifices were offered in
 “ this Temple twice a Day; and there were festival
 “ Days when Sacrifices were offered with more So-
 “ lemnity than on ordinary Days.”

I shall subjoin two Reflexions to what I have now quoted from *Lucian*. The first, that the Temple he describes was not the ancient one, which, as he says himself, Time had destroyed; but that which had

(1) Of *Minerva*, *Venus*, the Moon, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis* and the Destinies.

(*a*) About twelve Feet.

(*b*) Like the *Pope's* Triple Crown.

had been built by *Stratonice*, the same whom *Antiochus* resigned to his Son who was deeply in Love with her: Accordingly it bore all the Marks of a Temple built by the *Greeks*, since it had in it the Statues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the other Gods of *Greece*.

A second Remark is, that it appears evidently, both from the Construction of the Temple, and from the Service of the Goddess who was worship'd in it, that they had borrowed many Things from that of *Solomon*. For *First*, that of *Syria* was divided into two Parts, the one of them the Temple properly so called; the other the Sanctuary, whither none but the chief Priests were permitted to enter: And we know that the High Priest alone had Permission to enter once a Year into what was called the *Sancta Sanctorum*. *Secondly*, Each of these Temples was encompass'd with two Courts. *Thirdly*, There was at the Gate of either of them a brazen Altar. *Fourthly*, The Ministers of the *Syrian* Goddess were divided into two Orders, namely the High Priest, and the Priests; it was the same at *Jerusalem*. The Priests of *Hierapolis* were cloath'd in White, and the High Priest in Purple with a Tiara of Gold; such was also the Habit of the *Jewish* Priests. *Fifthly*, *Lucian* adds that besides these Priests, there was in the Temple of the *Syrian* Goddess a Multitude of other Ministers who served in the Ceremonies, and a vast Number of others who played upon Flutes and several other Instruments; these were the Functions of the *Levites*, who served the Priests, sung, and blew the Trumpet in Time of the Sacrifices. *Sixthly*, Sacrifices were offered twice a Day at *Hierapolis*, Evening and Morning; it was the same at *Jerusalem*. *Seventhly*, In the Ceremony of one of the Festivals of *Hierapolis*, they used to draw Water from the Sea, to pour it out in the Temple, in Honour of the Goddess; and what was this but an Imitation of that Effusion of Water at *Jerusalem* as was the Custom at the Feast of Tabernacles? *Eighthly*, According to

to *Lucian*, the Animals sacrificed in the Temple of *Hierapolis*, were the Ox, the Sheep and the Goat, but no Swine were to be offered there; 'tis plain that this Usage was taken from the *Jews*, who sacrificed no four footed Animals, but those now mentioned. *Nintbly*, The greatest Festival of *Hierapolis*, according to the same Author, happened in the Spring, and they who joined in it sacrificed a Sheep, dress'd and ate it: They did not offer it in the Temple, but after having presented it at the Altar and made Libations, they brought it Home to their own Houses, where after some Prayers they offered it up in Sacrifice: Nothing sure bears a greater Resemblance to the Feast of the Passover, which was also celebrated in the Spring Time. *Tentbly*, There was at *Hierapolis*, says the same Author, another Sort of Sacrifice, where the Victim was crown'd, then let loose, and it threw itself down from the Top of the Rock, whereon the Temple was built: This, no Doubt, is an Imitation of the Feast of Atonement, on which Day they carried the Goat *Azazel* (*a*) into the Wilderness, crowned with a Fillet of Scarlet, and threw him down from the Top of a Rock.

This Parallel might still be carried farther. But here is enough to satisfy us that the *Syrians*, at least as to the Time whereof *Lucian* speaks, for he says nothing of the ancient Temple of their Goddess, had borrowed from the *Jews* several Ceremonies that were practised at *Jerusalem*.

C H A P. III.

Derceto, or Atergatis, & Semiramis.

TH O' Persons of very great Learning are determined by solid Reasons to think that *Derceto* or *Atergatis* is the same with *Astarte*, of whom I have been speaking; I am however induced from the Authority of *Lucian*, who appears to be thoroughly instructed

(*a*) The Scape-Goat.

structed in the Religion of the *Syrians*, to believe that they are to be distinguish'd. This Author having delivered their Opinion, who alledged that the Temple of *Hierapolis*, we have been now upon, had been built by *Semiramis* in Honour of *Derceto* her Mother, tells us, he was persuaded that Princess had built it; but he did not believe it was for her Mother. "I have seen, says he, in *Phenicia* the Figure of *Derceto*, which represents a Woman from the Waist upwards, and the lower Parts terminate in a Fish's Tail; but the Statue in the Temple of *Hierapolis* bears the Resemblance of an entire Woman." Nothing is more distinct than this Passage, and 'tis plain the Author was persuaded of the Distinction we are to make between those two Goddesses.

To the Authority of *Lucian*, I join that of *Diodorus Siculus*, who thus relates the History of this Goddess (1). "There is in *Syria* a City call'd *Ascalon*, nigh to which is a large and deep Lake, abounding with Fishes, and a Temple dedicated to a famous Goddess, whom the *Syrians* call *Derceto*, she has the Head and Face of a Woman, but all the Rest of the Body is of a Fish. As for the Reason of this Form, the more ingenious of the Nation say that *Venus* having been offended by *Derceto*, infused into her a violent Passion for a young Priest who was very handsome. *Derceto* having had a Daughter by him became so ashamed of her Frailty, that she put the young Man out of the Way, and having carried the Child into a Desert full of Rocks, threw herself into the Lake, where her Body was transform'd into a Fish: Hence the *Syrians* to this very Day abstain from that Food, and revere the Fishes as Gods."

From these two Authorities we see that *Astarte*, of whom no such Account is given, was quite different from *Derceto*, whose Body was that of a *Nereid*, and must have resembled the Goddess *Eurynome*
Daughter

(1) L. 2. c. 5.

Daughter of the Ocean, who was worshipped in *Arcadia*, and had a Temple in the City of *Phigale* (1), which was opened only once a Year. This Goddess, who was there fastened with Chains of Gold, was represented half Woman, half Fish.

But we must examine more narrowly into the Mythology of the *Syrians*, with Respect to *Derceto*, and enquire what were the Reasons of their having such Veneration for the Fishes.

All the Antients are unanimously agreed, that they abstained from eating them: They are not, however, all of one Mind, as to the Motives of this Abstinence. *Xenophon* (2), *Diodorus* (3), *Clemens of Alexandria* (4), and some others, believe it was because they adored them as Gods. *Antipater*, and *Mnaseus*, quoted by *Athenæus* (5), relate, that a Queen of *Syria*, named *Atergatis*, loved Fish to such a Degree, that she forbade her Subjects to eat them, as has been already said. Hence, says *Athenæus*, the Custom of consecrating in the Temples of that Goddess, Fishes of Gold and Silver, and of presenting real ones to her every Day. Other Authors are of Opinion, that this Veneration for the Fishes, was owing to their having saved *Derceto* when she fell into the Lake we mentioned. In fine, there are some who, upon *Menander's* Authority cited by *Porphyrus* (6), say, the *Syrians* abstain from the Use of Fish only for fear of contracting certain Diseases in the Liver and Bowels, wherewith they believe the Goddess to whom that Animal was consecrated, punished those who eat of them.

But, without examining these several Reasons, I am of Opinion that this Custom took its Rise from a Persuasion that formerly the Gods, to escape the Persecution of the Giants, had assumed the Figure of various Animals, as has been said in the History of the Gods of *Egypt*. Now from this Fable they learned, that *Venus*, the same as *Atergatis* or *Derceto*, had transformed herself into a Fish: *Pisce Venus latuit*,

(1) *Pauf.* in *Arc.* (2) *Cyrop.* (3) *Lec. cit.* (4) *Proscript*
 (5) *Lib. 8. cap. 8.* (6) *De Abst. Lib. 4.*

tuit, as *Ovid* has it (1). The same Poet asserts that this was the Opinion of the People of *Babylon* and *Palestine*. The Inhabitants of *Palestine*, says he, believe that the *Babylonian Derceto* is transformed into a Fish, and inhabits the Lakes.

— *Et dubia est, de te, Babylonia, narret,
Derceto, quam versâ squammis velantibus artus,
Stagna Palæstini credunt coluisse figurâ* (2).

We have just now been told that *Derceto* exposed her Daughter: This was the famous *Semiramis*. Some Shepherds having found her, carried her to *Simma* (3), Wife to the Master-Shepherd of the King of the Country, who gave her the Name of *Semiramis*, signifying, in the *Syrian* Language, a Pigeon. Hence, probably, came the Fable of her having been nursed by Pigeons, and transformed into that Bird, which, since that time, was in high Veneration among the *Assyrians* (a).

I shall not farther enlarge upon the History of that famous Heroine, who, after the Death of her Husband *Ninus*, the Founder of the first *Assyrian* Monarchy, made so many glorious Conquests, and raised those celebrated Gardens, which have pass'd for one of the seven Wonders of the World; as also the Walls of *Babylon*, whereof so many Historians have given a Description. As I am to speak of her only in so far as her History has a Relation to Mythology, I shall only say here, in order to explain the Fables that have been intermix'd with her History, that her Son *Ninias* having a mind to put her to Death, she made no Resistance, calling to mind the Oracle whereby she had been foretold, that while that Prince laid Snares for her, she should

VOL. II. D disappear,

(1) Met. Lib. 5. (2) Met. Lib. 4. (3) Diod. Lib. 2.

(a) *Luther*, on these Words of *Jeremiah*, *Facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie columbæ*, says the Prophet is here alluding to the History of *Semiramis*, and of the Pigeons that were in great Veneration among the *Assyrians*: As also in that other Passage of the same Prophet, who, when he would foretel the *Jerus* that the *Assyrians* should come and lay their Country desolate, says, *Fugite a facie gladii columbæ*.

disappear, and afterwards be adored as a Goddess. Accordingly, whether it was that *Ninias*, to favour that Error, had concealed the Body of his Mother; or that some Pigeons had been seen to fly out of the Palace while they were assassinating her, it was given out that it was she had flown away under that Figure, and from that time the Pigeons were consecrated among the *Assyrians*, who bore them in their Ensigns. To this Veneration for those Birds, painted on the Standards of the *Assyrians*, the Scripture alludes, in that Passage which says, *Fugite a facie gladii Columbe, Fly from the Face of the Sword of the Pigeon.*

The Inhabitants of *Ascalon* had a profound Reverence for the Pigeons: They neither durst kill nor eat them, for fear of feeding upon their Gods themselves. *Pbilo* assures us, he had seen, in that City, a prodigious number of Pigeons, which were maintain'd, and held in peculiar Veneration. *Tibullus* has very happily express'd that Respect of the *Syrians* for the Pigeons, in these two Verses:

*Quid referam, ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes,
Aiba Palestino sancta columba Syro.*

Semiramis died at sixty years of Age, after having reigned forty-two. *Lucian* (1), speaking of a Statue of that Princess, which was in the Court of the Temple of the Syrian Goddess at *Hierapolis*, says, she was there represented in the Attitude of a Person stretching forth the Hand, and pointing to the Temple; whereof, says he, the Reason was, that having appointed a Day when she alone was to be worship'd in all her Dominions, she was plunged into deep Calamities; which having brought her to wise Reflection, she commanded her Subjects to worship *Juno* instead of herself: and that therefore she stretches out her Hand to intimate that Religious Worship is to be paid only to the Goddess who is in the Temple. One thing more we are not to omit, that *Vossius* is of Opinion there were three *Semiramis's*; the Wife of *Ninus*, the Daughter of *Belochus*, and another; and that

(1) De Dea Syria

that their being confounded together in After-ages, had introduced so much Confusion into this History.

I have observed, that learned Men were persuaded, that *Derceto* or *Atergatis* was the same as *Astarte*; and the Arguments they rely upon are these. *Stabo* (1), speaking of the Changes that have happened to Names, observes, that of *Atergatis*, or *Atergata*, they had made *Athera*; and that this Goddess is the same as she whom *Ctesias* calls *Derceto*: Now *Ctesias* having dwelt long in *Persia*, must needs have known the Gods of *Syria*. *Artemidorus* assures us, that the *Syrians* eat Fish, except those who worship *Astarte*; a Proof that this Author confounds that Goddess with *Derceto*, since he applies to the Worshippers of *Astarte*, what would agree only to those of *Derceto*, were the one distinct from the other. The Author of the second Book of *Maccabees*, seems to suppose what I say here, since speaking of *Astaroth-Carnain*, he tells us, there was in that City a Temple to *Atergata*. *Pliny* appears to be of the same Mind, when he says *Atergatis* was reckoned to be the same Goddess whom the *Greeks* named *Derceto*: *Ibi prodigiosa Atergatis, Græcis autem Derceto dicta videtur* (2). In fine, *Selden*, who has thoroughly considered the History of those Divinities of *Syria*, adds new Proofs besides those which I have now mentioned, as may be seen in his Work. This Author likewise proves the Fable of *Derceto*, or *Atergatis*, to be the same with that of *Dagon*, the God of the *Philistines*, who was represented under the Figure of a Fish, since, according to him (3), the Name of *Atergatis* is compounded of *Adir-dagon*, *Great Fish*, or *Magnificent Fish*. *S. Jerom* seems to favour the Opinion of this learned *English* Writer, when he says *Dagon* signifies *Piscis maroris*, the Fish of Sorrow: But as to this last Article, I prefer the Opinion of *Vossius*, who takes the Name *Atergatis* to import, *quasi sine piscibus*, without Fishes, because the Worshippers of that Goddess abstained

D 2

from

(1) Synt. 2. cap. 3. (2) Lib. 16. (3) De Dea Syria.

from eating them as has been said ; and consequently we distinguish her from *Dagon*, as we shall see in the following Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

D A G O N.

DAGON was one of the most celebrated Divinities of the *Philistines*, and one of those whom the Scripture most frequently mentions. If we may believe *Sanchoniathon*, the Original of this God is very ancient. *Cælus*, says that Author (*a*), had many Sons, and among the rest *Dagon*, so called from the Word *Dagan*, which in *Phenician* signifies Wheat. As he was the Inventor of the Plough, and taught Men the Use of Corn for Bread, he, after his Death, was surnamed *Jupiter Agrotæ*, or *the Labourer*. *Saturn*, continues that Author, when at War with *Cælus* or *Uranos*, having made one of his Wives Prisoner, caused her to marry *Dagon*. According to this Opinion, *Dagon* is no longer a God half Man half Fish, as the *Rabbi's* imagined : Nor yet is he the *Atergatis* or *Deceto*, I have been speaking of ; he is the God of Corn, the Inventor of Agriculture, who, upon that Account, was deify'd after his Death. His Name comes not from the *Hebrew* Word *Dag*, a *Fish*, but it is a *Phenician* Name, *Dagan*, which in that Language imports *Wheat*.

Bochart, persuaded that 'tis to the *Phenician* Author we must have Recourse for the Origine of the Gods of his own Country, is consequently in the right to look upon all that has been delivered about the Figure of *Dagon*, as so many rabbinical Fables. And indeed, some of those Doctors of the Law, confounding that God with *Atergatis*, or *Deceto*, say he was represented as a Man, in the upper Part of his

(a) See the Fragment of that Author, which we have given in the Article of the *Theogonies*.

his Body, and as a Fish from the Waist downward (1), while others, on the contrary, will have it, that he had the Form of a Fish above, and a human Figure from the Thighs down (2). Some again alledge (3), that he was all Fish: Others, that his Figure was that of a Man from Head to Foot; and these, doubtless, have most Reason. This is the Account given of him in Scripture, when it tells us (4), that at the Presence of the Ark of the Lord, which the *Philistines* had placed in the Temple of that God, after the Defeat of the *Israelites*, his Idol was overthrown, and that his Head and his Hands were found upon the Threshold of the Gate of the Temple, while the rest of the Body remained upon the Pedestal. *Caput Dagon, & duæ palmæ manuum ejus abscissæ erant super limen. Porro Dagon solus truncus remanserat in loco suo.* Here then is a Head, Hands, and a Trunk; and if we add Feet, as the *Septuagint* have done, saying, “The Head, the Hands and the Feet of the “Idol, were found together, apart from the Body”, we shall then have a human Figure in all its Parts.

But be that as it will, the *Philistines* had a high Veneration for *Dagon*, and his Temples were magnificent. That which he had at *Gaza* must needs have been vastly large, since *Sampson* (whom they conducted thither, after taking him out of Prison, to insult that formidable Enemy, imagining he had lost all his Strength by the Treachery of *Dalila*) having pulled down the Pillars that supported it, buried in its Ruins more than threethousand Men. The Temple which this God had at *Azoth* was no less famous, there was the Ark of the Lord deposited, and there the Miracle happened which I have related. The Head of *Saul* was also placed in one of the Temples of the same God, as we see from the Book of *Samuel* (5), and his Arms in that of *Astaroth*; a new Proof, to mention it by the way, that *Dagon* and *Astaroth* were two distinct Divinities.

D 3

C H A P.

(1) Rabbi Kimchi.

(2) Aburbonel.

(3) Rabbi Silom.

(4) 1 Sam. Ch. v.

(5) Chap. xxxi.

C H A P. V.

M A R N A S.

THE *Philistines* had another Divinity, of whom S. *Jerom* gives us no high Idea, since he says this God, shut up in his Temple, was in continual fear of its downfall. *Marnas Gasæ luget inclusus, & everisionem templi pertimescit*; but 'tis probable that holy Doctor had a Mind in this, as in many other Passages, to rally the *Pagans* upon their false Gods. For in truth, *Marnas* was look'd upon by the Inhabitants of *Geza*, as one of their great Gods, since, among them he was *Jupiter* himself. His Name, in the *Syriac* Language, imports *Lord*; which is very applicable to the Father of Gods and Men (*a*). But who was this *Jupiter*, who had the Surname of *Marnas*? This is no easy Matter to determine. The Learned, however, are of Opinion, that it was the *Jupiter* of *Crete* (the same who carried off *Europa*, and this is the Sentiment of *Stephanus*) that is to say, *Minos*, the first of the Name. Some Authors will have this *Marnas* to have been Secretary to that Prince, who employed him to digest the Code of his Laws, as shall be said in his History (1). They who carried off *Europa* to convey her into *Crete*, probably brought *Marnas* with them; for to be sure he must have been born in *Syria*, as his Name demonstrates. The same Name became famous in the Island of *Crete*, and it was given to the young Women, who were called *Marna*, as much as to say *Madam*.

But passing that, *Marnas* was highly honoured in the City *Gaza*: There he had a Temple, and Games and Chariot-races were celebrated to his Honour. *Gaza* joined sometimes the Name of that God in her Medals together with her own.

C H A P.

(*a*) See *Bochart, Can. Lib. 1. cap. 15.*

(1) Vol. IV.

C H A P. VI.

Of some other Syrian and Phenician Gods, which are no where known but in the sacred Scriptures.

WE find in the sacred Books the Names of some Gods concerning whom we can learn nothing from profane Authors. *Selden* in the curious Treatise he has compos'd upon the Gods of the *Syrians*, divides them into two Classes (1). In the first he reckons those who are mentioned in the Pentateuch, such as *Gad*, or good Fortune, the *Teraphims*, *Baal-Zephon*, the golden Calf, *Baal-Peor* and *Moloch*; and in the second, those who are spoken of by the Prophets, as *Baal* or *Bel*, *Astarte* or *Astaroth*, *Dagon*, *Miphlötzeth*, *Beel-Zebut*, *Succoth-Benoth*, *Nergel* and *Thammus*; among the Gods of these two Classes, says he, are comprehended the Sun, the Queen of Heaven, the Host of Heaven, and the Planets, with whose Worship the *Pagans* are so often taxed by the inspired Writers.

I shall endeavour to give an exact Idea of such of these Gods, as I have not hitherto described. I should have begun with Fortune, or *Gad*, the first of the *Pagan* Divinities whom *Moses* names; but of this I said enough, when I was enquiring into the Origin of Idolatry.

A R T I C L E I.

Of the Teraphims.

The *Hebrews* gave the Name of *Teraphims* to the Idols, which *Rachel* had stolen from her Father *Laban* (2); and 'tis beyond Doubt that these were his Gods, since in complaining to *Jacob*, he tells him: (3) *Cur furatus es Deos meos? Why have you rob'd me of*

D 4 *my*

(1) Synt. 2. c. 1.

(2) Gen. c. xxxi. v. 19, and 20.

(3) v. 30.

my Gods? The Scripture Interpreters, and the *Rabbis*, have offered a great many Conjectures about the Nature of those *Teraphims*, and *Selden* has hardly omitted any Thing material upon the Subject: My Readers will not expect that I am to crowd into this Article all the eastern Learning that is to be found in that Author; but they would have Reason to complain, if I did not give them some short Account of what we are to think of these Gods (a). In the first Place then I say the *Teraphims* were very ancient Gods, since their Worship was establish'd in the Time of *Jacob* and *Laban*. Secondly, Their Idols were of a human Figure, and some of them must have been great, others small; so small, that altho' *Rachel* had stolen several of them, *Deos meos*, she concealed them from her Father, under the Pannel of a Camel, by sitting above them: Others of them were larger, since *Michol* put one of them into *David's* Bed, that his Keepers might believe it was *David* himself asleep. *Aben-Esra* the most celebrated Divine among the *Jews*, and at the same Time a great *Astrologer*, says, these Idols were represented under a human Figure, that they might be capable to receive the celestial Influences; as if, supposing those pretended Influences to act upon Bodies, the Animals and other Beings were not as capable to receive them as Men. But not to insist on that, as those Idols, in the Opinion of the *Rabbins*, served for Divination, *Rachel*, according to them, had no other Intention in stealing them but to hinder *Laban* by their Means from knowing the Way they had taken at setting out from his House, and consequently to prevent his pursuing them. *S. Augustin* seems to favour the Opinion of those *Rabbins*, when he says (1): *Qued Laban dicit, quare furatus es Deos*

(a) We say nothing of the various Etymologies which the Learned give of the Word *Teraphim*; the Variety and Uncertainty of their Conjectures renders it quite unnecessary, you may consult *M. Furmont, Ref. Critiques*, T. I. p. 318.

(1) Quæst. In. Gen. 94.

Deos meos ; hinc est illud fortasse quod & augurari se dixerat. Accordingly *Laban* had said to *Jacob* before ; *I have divined that God hath blessed me for thy Sake : Auguratus sum quod benedixerit mihi Deus propter te.* Some Interpreters are of Opinion that *Rachel*, tho' instructed by her Husband in the Worship of the true God, had yet some Byass towards Idolatry ; but there are others, and those by far the more numerous, who judging more favourably of *Rachel's* Piety say, she carry'd away her Father's Idols, only to take from him the Object of a criminal Worship.

Thirdly, Authors are not agreed as to the Notion People had of the *Teraphims*. Some alledge they had a religious Worship paid them, while others will have it that they were looked upon as so many *Talismans*, which were used in Divination ; but as the Scripture calls them Gods, 'tis probable they were honoured as such.

Fourthly, But in what Manner were the *Teraphims* used for discovering Futurity ? Were they consulted as Oracles ? How were the Responses given to the Requests that were offered to them ? These are all Questions which I find not decided by the Authors who have treated of these Idols. As for the Conjectures of Interpreters and *Rabbins*, I shall not repeat them. *Ezekiel* tells us only that they used to be interrogated. That Prophet (1), relating how *Nebuchadnezzar*, having stop'd in a Place where two Ways met, had Recourse to Divination, that he might be determined to which Side he should turn his Arms, tells us he interrogated the *Teraphims*. *Stetit Rex Nabuchodonosor in bivio, capite scilicet duarum viarum, Divinationem quærens ; commiscuit sagittas & interrogavit Teraphim* (2). But he does not inform us how those Idols answered him ; and as he adds that, after this Operation of the *Arrows*, and *Teraphim*, the Lot fell upon *Jerusalem*, which determined him to go against that City ; and as we know

(1) C. xxi. v. 21.

(2) The Vulgat says only Idols.

know farther, that Divination by Arrows (a) consisted in mixing them after a certain Manner, it would seem that the *Teraphims* being a Kind of *Talismans*, on which perhaps were engraved the heavenly Signs and Constellations, they thought by applying them in a certain Manner to the Aspects of those Constellations and Signs, they might divine what Events they were curious to know. We also find in the eighteenth Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, that the *Teraphims* were consulted for the Knowledge of some future Event, since the Deputies sent by the Tribe of *Dan* to spy out the Land, having come to the House of *Micha*, who had the *Teraphims* and a *Levite* to serve them by Way of Priest, pray him to consult them that they might know whether their Journey would be prosperous.

Onkelos, the *Syriack*, the *Rabbins*, and after them *Grotius* and several other Interpreters, had therefore good Reason to believe, that the *Teraphims* were *Talismans*, that is to say, Figures of Metal, melted down and engraved under a certain Aspect of the Planets, to which several Virtues were ascribed, and by Means whereof they thought they had a Power of divining. *Maimonides* (1), says they were anciently molten of Gold and Silver; that the first were consecrated to the Sun, and the second to the Moon: And that they attributed to them the Virtue of averting Evils and foretelling what was to come. We are assured that the Ancients had some of those magical Figures, that were self-moved and delivered Oracles; a Thing likewise common among the *Egyptians*

(a) This Sort of Divination was very ancient in *Chaldea*, and it consisted in writing upon those Arrows the Names of the Places whither they would go, or some Words denoting their Intention. Upon which they mixed the Arrows, drew one of them at a Venture, and what they found written upon it was taken for a Declaration of the Will of the God whom they adored. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* having found the Name of *Jerusalem* inscribed upon that which he first drew, went to lay Siege to that City, instead of carrying his Arms against the *Ammonites*, whose Name was written upon another Arrow.

(1) More Rub. L. 3.

Egyptians and *Arabians*, who boasted of having the Secret of confining in those Figures the Demons and Gods; and of forcing an Answer from them when they were consulted: Doubtless 'tis to this Usage that the Prophet *Zechariah* alludes, when he says, as it is in the *Hebrew Text* (1) *Teraphim locuta sunt Vanitatem, & Divini viderunt Mendacium*. Further the Author of the second Book of *Kings* says, *Josias entirely destroyed in his Kingdom, the Spirit of Python, the Fortune-tellers, and the Teraphim*; which leaves no Room to doubt of their having served for Divination.

The whole East is still infatuated with this vain Superstition; and as it is one of the most ancient, since it subsisted in the Time of *Laban*, so it is one of the most general. There is not a Man to be seen in *Persia* and the neighbouring Countries, who does not bear about with him *Talismans*, and sometimes they have vast Numbers of them. These Amoulets, consist in some mysterious Words, written upon Paper, or engraven upon Wood or precious Stones, with some Signs, or celestial Constellations, under which they have been made. The *Basilidians* made great Use of them; and the *Mahometans* who have no Statues, bear about with them these *Talismans* engraven upon Stones, or written upon Parchment: But I am not to enlarge upon this Subject, which has been handled by several Authors (a).

Could we give credit to the *Rabbins*, we must allow that the Manner of making the *Teraphims* was equally impious and cruel, since they tell us that when one of these Figures was to be melted down, it was usual to kill a Man, and after cutting off his Head, they embalmed him and shut him up in the Heart of a Wall. Under his Tongue they put a Plate of Gold, whereon was inscribed the Name of some God; and these same Authors add that when they had a Mind to make it speak, they lighted Wax-tapers

(1) C. x. v. 2.

(a) See *Scaliger, Gaffarel, Selden, &c.*

tapers before it, and prostrated themselves, upon which it delivered its Oracles. But what Resemblance had these *Teraphims* to those which *Rachel* stole from her Father *Laban*? In fine, in what Manner did the *Teraphims* answer those who consulted them, since it is certain from the Passage in the Prophet *Zechariah* now quoted, that they did deliver Oracles? Here we are to reflect upon what has been said (1) as to the different Manners in which the Oracles made their Responses be known, since probably it was in one of them that the *Teraphims* instructed those who consulted them; for I am not at all of Cardinal *Bellarmin*'s Opinion, that those Idols assumed a human Voice in revealing Futurity. 'Tis true we find in Fable, and even in History that there were Statues which sometimes spoke, accordingly we are told that at the Time of sacking *Veii*, they interrogated a Statue of *Juno*, to know if it would go to *Rome*, and it answered *I will*; that the Statue of Fortune which was consecrated to the Women, and especially to the Mother of *Coriolanus*, pronounced these Words, *rite me Dicastis, nothing has been omitted in my Dedication*; that that of *Cybele* which *Attalus* had refused to the *Romans*, declared she would be transported to *Rome*, as *Ovid* tells the Story:

Mira canem; longo tremuit cum murmure Tellus,

Et sic est adytis Diva locuta juis:

Ipsa peti volui, ne sit mora; mitte volentem;

Dignus Roma Locus, quo Deus omnis eat (2).

But most of these Facts are acknowledged to be fabulous by those very Persons who relate them: Accordingly *Titus Livius* considers the first of these Examples now quoted as a mere Fiction. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Coriolanus* overthrows, by judicious Reflections, the other as to the Fortune of the Women, which was said to have spoke; and nothing can be inferred from the Example in *Ovid*, since he only says the Voice that was heard to declare the Pleasure

(1) B. 4.

(2) Fast. l. 4. v. 265.

sure of the Goddess to be transported to *Rome*, arose from the inner Part of the Temple ; which is no Proof that it was formed by the Statue itself. The Testimony of the Prophet whom I have quoted, would seem to favour the Opinion which I impugn, since he plainly says the *Teraphims* spoke ; but provided it be granted that they revealed future Events in any Manner whatsoever, the Passage will have all its Force.

The Author of the critical History of ancient Worships, is of Opinion that in every House where there were *Teraphims*, they were placed at the two Extremities of a Cenotaphy, much the same Way as the *Cherubins* were set upon the two Ends of the Ark of the Covenant, and that near to this Kind of Tomb they prostrated themselves, and offered Sacrifices and Prayers to those Idols : But whence had he this Circumstance ? The *Teraphims* were known long before the Building of the Ark and the Tabernacle, since we read of them in the History of *Jacob* and *Laban*, some Ages before *Moses* ; and it is of no Service to the Author to say that the Idols worship'd in the more early Times, did not become Oracles till after the Entrance of the *Israelites* into the promised Land ; for upon what Authority can that singular Opinion be grounded ?

We may conclude from what hath been said, that the *Teraphims* derived their Origine from *Chaldea*, and that they were of great Antiquity. That some of them were of Wood, some of Metal (*a*) ; that the *Pagans* consulted them, to come at the Knowledge of Futurity : That these Figures were of a human Form, since the Scripture tells us that *Michol* put one of them in *David's* Bed, to make it be believ'd that he was asleep : Otherwise it would have been ridiculous to put in that Prince's Bed any other Figure than that of a Man, that she might deceive the Keepers ; for they must needs have thought they saw somewhat at a Distance, that resembled a
Man

(*a*) This Circumstance we learn from the Book of *Judges* upon Occasion of *Micha's Teraphims*.

Man asleep. I presume it may likewise be reasonably concluded from that History, that there must have been *Teraphims* of a Bigness not much short of the Ordinary Size of a Man. To be sure, had they been all of a little Pigmey Size, *David's* Keepers could never have been deceived by them: In fine, that sometimes the Term of *Teraphim* is taken in Scripture in a good Sense; as in the Prophet *Hoseab* (1), where it seems they looked upon them as Oracles, and called by that Name the Image of Truth which the High Priest wore when he consulted the Lord: *Quia dies multos sedebunt Filii Israel sine Rege & sine Principe, & sine Sacrificio, & sine Altari, & sine Ephod, & sine Teraphim; without Altar, without Ephod, and without Teraphim.* 'Tis obvious to remark that this Passage is very obscure, as is the whole Prophecy of *Hoseab*. For in short if the *Teraphims* were *Pagan* Idols, is this a threatening to the *Jews*, to foretel them that they shall be long without them?

The Interpreters not knowing what to make of so difficult a Passage, explain it variously, as may be seen in their Commentaries; but S. *Jerom* (2), from the Authority of the Septuagint, seems to have reduced it to its true Sense. The Ephod was the ceremonial Vestment of the High Priest, with the Stones of the Breast-plate, and the Urim and Thummim, by Means whereof he delivered Oracles to those who consulted him; and as the Septuagint have understood by the Word *Teraphim*, this Oracle of God, and by the Ephod, the Priesthood; 'tis plain the Prophet intended to foretel the *Israelites*, that if they continued to be Transgressors of the Law of God, the Day should come when they should neither have Sacrifice, Altar, Priesthood, nor Oracles. But at the same Time we must allow with that holy Father, that except in this Passage of the Prophet *Hoseab*, the Word *Teraphim* is always taken in Scripture in a bad Sense; and that if in the Passage

(1) Ch. 3. v. 4.

(2) In Hof. c. iii. v. 3.

sage now quoted it signifies the Urim and Thummim of the High Priest, it is used every where else to denote vain Idols, only the Objects of *Pagan* Veneration (*a*).

From what we have said it appears, that the *Teraphims* were private Gods, resembling those that have been since named *Lares* or *Penates*, and that every one had of them in his House for the Preservation of himself and Family. Had they been publick Gods, *Laban* would not have said, *why have you stolen my Gods?* Nor would he have been alone in the Pursuit of *Jacob*; the whole People having concern in that Theft, would have seconded him. This Example of *Nabuchodonosor* proves that they used to bear them about in Journeys and military Expeditions, since it was in the Way that he consulted them. In fine, we may prove the same Truth from that of *Micha*, who had *Teraphims* in his House to interrogate them upon Occasion. But whether these were natural Gods, such as the Stars; or animated Gods, that is the Souls of their Ancestors, is what we are not able to determine. Some learned Men contend they were animated Gods; and the Author of the critical History of Dogmes and Worships, is so fully persuaded of this, that he will have *Laban's Teraphim* to have been *Noah* and *Shem*: But on what Proofs can such an Allegation be establish'd? Upon this Foundation the Author is obliged to say there were in every House but two *Teraphims*, to represent the two Patriarchs; but as the Scripture mentions these Gods without specifying their Number, I don't think it can be restricted to two. This much we know, that if the Gods *Penates* derive their Original from those ancient *Teraphims*, as is very probable, it was free to every one to have as many of them as he had a Mind.

ARTICLE

(*a*) The Example of *Micha* is perhaps an Exception to the Rule establish'd by *S. Jerom*. For 'tis commonly thought that he had made his *Teraphims* to consult the true God; and that however he was a Transgressor, yet he was no Idolater.

ARTICLE II.

Moloch the God of the Ammonites.

Moloch, one of the principal Gods of the East, was worship'd by the *Ammonites*, who represented him under the monstrous Figure of a Man and a Calf. There were contrived about the Feet of the Statue, several Furnaces into which they threw the Children whom they offered up to that God; and while those unhappy Victims that were roasted in the Furnaces, sent forth most doleful Cries, the Priests beat Drums, to hinder their Wailings from being heard. From this Noise the Valley, where those Abominations were committed, was denominated the Valley of *Tophet*, as much as to say, the Valley of dreadful Sounds.

The Interpreters of the Bible, and some other learned Men have endeavoured to find out who this *Moloch* was. Some have been of Opinion, with *Antonius Fonseca*, that he was the same as *Priapus*: *Gerard Vossius* has attempted to prove that he was the Sun; but the most common Opinion is that this God was the same with *Saturn*: And this Opinion is supported by the Conformity of human Sacrifices, which were offered equally to *Moloch* and *Saturn*; and as this last is *Abraham*, there is no Doubt but that the former had been formed upon what the *Pagans* had learned of the History of that holy Patriarch. Thus *Selden* (1), Father *Kirker* (2), *Beger* and several others have reasoned upon the Head; but no Body has proved this Opinion with more Force than M. *Fourmont* (3). *Moloch*, says he, was a Furnace according to the Opinion of all the Orientals. Now this Idea was taken from the Furnace that was said to have been kindled in *Ur*, a Town of the *Chaldeans*, therein to consume *Abraham*, as we are told by the *Rabbins*; and as the Name of that City

is

(1) De Diis Syr. (2) Oed. Ægypt.

(3) Ref. Crit. T. I. p. 357.

is the same with that of Fire, instead of saying that Holy *Patriarch* had come out of *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*, they fabled that he had been taken out of the Fire or Furnace.

In the Sacrifices of *Moloch*, Infants were offered up; is not this an Imitation of the Sacrifice of *Isaac*, which the *Pagans* always thought to have been performed according to the Letter? In the Sacrifices of *Moloch*, together with the human Victims, others were offered, namely, Turtle Doves or Pigeons, a Sheep or a Lamb, a Ram or a Goat, a Calf or a Bull, to which they added Flower, *Simila*: The Author puts the Question whence those Circumstances had been derived? To which he answers, that the History of the *Patriarch* exhibited all this *Apparatus*. Take, says *Abraham*, a Heifer of three Years old, a Ram of the same Age, a Turtle Dove and a Pigeon (1): *Sumite mihi vaccam triennem, & arietem annorum trium, Turturem quoque & Columbam*. Besides these there was the Ram offered up in Place of *Isaac*, the Flower, or rather Loaves baked under the Ashes, which we read of in the History of the same *Patriarch*, and the Calf he slew for the Entertainment he gave the Angels; and it can hardly be refused that all the Circumstances of the Sacrifices offered to *Moloch*, were expressive of *Abraham's* Adventures.

To all these Proofs we might add another, the Names *Moloch* and *Melchon*, that were given to the same God, signify King. Now profane Authors believed that *Abraham* had been a King (2): We may also observe that the Name of *Baal* or *Bel*, who, according to Scripture, was the same with *Moloch*, as we shall prove in the following Article, signifies Lord, a Title given to Sovereigns.

In order to understand what I have been advancing as to the different Sorts of Victims that were offered up to *Moloch*, 'tis proper to remark that the Moderns have taken up this Opinion up-

(1) Gen. xv. 9.

(2) *Strabo*.

on the Authority of the *Rabbins*: I shall give you from *Paul-Fagus* what they have deliver'd as to this Subject. The Statue of *Moloch* was a hollow Figure, in which were contriv'd seven little Cells or Presses. One of them was opened to receive the Flower for the Offering, another for the Turtle-Doves, a Third to offer up in it a Sheep, a Fourth to sacrifice a Ram, the Fifth for a Calf, the Sixth for an Ox, and lastly the Seventh to inclose a Child who was therein burnt alive.

These seven different Chambers, contrived within the Statue of *Moloch*, have too manifest a Resemblance to what is said of the seven Gates of *Mithras* (thro' which all were obliged to pass before they could be initiated into his Mysteries) not to believe that it was upon the Model of that God the *Jewish* Doctors formed their Description of the Statue of *Moloch*; whether this God was really the Sun among the *Ammonites*, as *Mithras* was among the *Persians*, a thing very probable, as we shall prove concerning *Baal*, the same God with *Moloch*; or whether he represented *Saturn*, as the learned Authors I have mentioned will have it; that is to say, the Planet that goes under his Name. For we must never forget that Idolatry commenced among the eastern Nations with the Worship of the Stars.

But whatever be in that, they who take *Moloch* and *Saturn* to be all one, want not Proofs to support their Opinion. And indeed the *Saturn* adored by the *Carthaginians*, had a great deal of Resemblance to the God of the *Ammonites*, since, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), he was represented by a Figure in *Bronze*, the Palms of whose Hands were turned up and sloping towards the Earth, insomuch that when they put a Child into his Arms to consecrate it to him, it fell down that Moment into a Fire kindled at the Feet of the Idol, where it was very soon consumed.

Nothing

(1) Ap. Euf. Præp. Ev. lib. 4.

Nothing is more celebrated in Antiquity than the human Sacrifices offered to *Saturn*, not only at *Carthage*, and in several other Places of *Africa*, as *Minutius Felix* remarks (1), but also in *Phenicia*; tho' that God was represented there in a Manner different from what we have been now speaking of, since to his Statue were added Eyes and Wings, as has been said in quoting the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon* (a): And this barbarous Custom of offering those Sorts of Victims to that God, lasted till the Time of *Tiberius*, as *Tertullian* relates (2).

They who will have *Moloch* to be the Sun, have yet stronger Arguments for their Opinion, as may be seen in *Vossius's* second Book concerning the Origin and Progress of Idolatry (3). Father *Calmet* alledges that *Moloch* represented the Sun and Moon promiscuously.

I think I have found out a Way to reconcile these various Opinions, by saying that *Moloch* was one of those Divinities whom the *Greeks* called *Panthees*, and that among the *Ammonites* he represented the seven Planets. The Proof of my Opinion is taken from the seven Cells that were framed within his Statue, and from the seven Sorts of Sacrifices that were offered to him. And indeed had he been only the Sun, or *Saturn*, for what Design would those seven little Chambers have been made, and why would so many Victims have been offered to him? It must therefore have been the seven Planets which the *Ammonites* worship'd in the single Idol of *Moloch*, to each of which they offered such Victims as Superstition had consecrated.

The impious Worship of *Moloch* was propagated into several Countries, and the *Jews* themselves adopted it in the Time of *Moses*, since that sacred Legislator prohibits them to consecrate their Children to that Divinity: *De semine tuo non dabis ut consecre-*

E 2 *tur*

(1) In *Octavio*.

(a) See the Chapter of the *Theogonies*.

(2) *Apolog.* (3) Ch. 3.

tur Idolo Moloch (1); and God threatens to extirpate the whole Race of those who should commit that Abomination (2). The *Israelites* must needs have been addicted to this cruel Superstition before they came out of *Egypt*, since the Prophet *Amos* (3), and after him *St. Stephen* (4) reproach them for having born the Tabernacle of that God, as has been already said.

ARTICLE III.

Baal or Bel, Baal-Pehor, or Baal-Phegor.

I asserted in the preceding Article, that the Scripture seems to confound *Bel* or *Baal* with *Moloch*, and now it remains to be proved. *Jeremiah* Taxes the Tribe of *Judah* and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, with having built a Temple to *Baal*, there to burn their Children in the Fire; and then that Prophet subjoins: *Wherefore the Time cometh when this Place shall no more be called Tophet, nor the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom, but the Valley of Carnage.* It was to *Moloch* they offered up those innocent Victims, and the Valley of the Sons of *Hinnom* was the Place where that Abomination was committed: Consequently *Bel* or *Baal* was the same God with *Moloch*. The same Conclusion may be drawn from the Similitude of their Names, which signify both of them, *the King, the Lord*, as I have already said; Titles applicable to the Sun, worship'd promiscuously under the Name of *Baal*, or of *Moloch*.

In order fully to comprehend this ancient Mythology, 'tis necessary to observe, *First*, That the same God was frequently worship'd by different People, but almost always under different Names, and with different Ceremonies; and this is what has thrown a great Obscurity upon this Subject. 'Tis certain, for Instance, that the great Divinity of the

(1) Lev. c. 18. v. 21.

(2) Ib. c. 20. v. 2, 3.

(3) 5. 26.

(4) Ac. vii. 43.

the eastern Nations was the Sun : And yet under how many Names was he adored ?

Secondly, That as several Princes have born the Name of *Belus*, Mythologists are at a loss to determine which of them was the first who received divine Honours. Did we follow the Opinion of *Berosus*, preserved to us by *Syncellus* upon the Authority of *Polyhistor*, we should find Princes and Gods of that Name even before the Deluge ; but not to insist upon this Opinion, which I take to be without Foundation, 'tis certain, that most of the People of *Syria* and *Phenicia* acknowledged a Divinity of that Name. The *Syrians* adored him under the Name of *Baal-Pehor* ; the *Moabites*, under that of *Baal-Phegor*, that is to say, *Baal* worshipped upon Mount *Phegor*, as *Theodoret* remarks (*a*) ; the *Affyrians* under that of *Baal-Gad*. The Worship of this God was propagated even into *Africa*, probably with the Colony of *Dido*, and the *Carthaginians* called him *Bal* or *Bel*, as we learn from *Servius* (*b*) : Hence undoubtedly, came their Custom of adding, by way of Honour, the Title of *Bal* to the Names of their great Men, as in those of *Anni-Bal*, *Astru-Bal*, and others.

The Worship of this false Divinity was often forbid the *Jewish* People by the Prophets. The impious *Abab* built a Temple to him at *Samaria*, and the Prophet *Elijah* destroyed four hundred and fifty of his Priests ; which shews us the Magnificence of the Worship of this Idol, before whom almost the whole Earth had bowed the Knee, as we are told in Scripture. Among the Ceremonies of the Worship of this God, we may remark that of serving Meat every Day before his Idol, which the Priests took Care to carry off, entring into the Temple by Passages under Ground, as the Prophet *Daniel* discovered to the

E 3

King

(*a*) *Phegor* quidem *Simulachri* locus vocabatur, *Beel* vero *Idolum*. *Theodoret* in *Psal.* cv.

(*b*) *Lingua Punica*, *Bal* *Deus* dicitur ; apud *Affyrios* autem *Bel* dicitur : says *Servius* upon these Verses in *Virgil*.

Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus & omnes

A Belo soliti — &c.

Æn. Lib. i.

King of *Babylon*, to the Confusion of those wicked Impostors (1).

They who made it their Business to enquire into the Original of this Divinity, were divided in their Opinions. *Servius*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, and some others, have taken him for *Saturn*. *Vossius* and *Selden*, as has been said, thought he was the Sun ; and the latter confirms his Opinion by several very plausible Arguments ; among others, what he draws from the Name of *Heliogabal*, Priest of the Sun, is not the weakest ; since that Emperor seem'd to have joined the two Names which the *Greeks* and *Syrians* gave to that Luminary, called by the *Greeks* *Helios*, and by the *Syrians*, *Bel*, or *Belus*. Others have fancied that *Baal* was the same with *Stygian-Jupiter*, or *Pluto* ; and they found their Opinion upon a Passage of Scripture, where the Holy Ghost calls the Sacrifices of *Baal-Phegor*, the Sacrifices of the dead (a). For, as *St. Augustin* remarks (2), by the Sacrifices of the Dead, we are to understand those that were offered to the *Manes*, or infernal Gods.

Some Authors, among whom is *Eusebius*, confound *Baal* with *Belus*, the first King of the *Assyrians*, who was deify'd after his Death : But probably the Worship of this Divinity was ancients than that Prince, who was also honoured with the Name of *Belus*, which imports *Lord* ; a Name which the *Jews*, as *Grotius* judiciously remarks, would never give to the God of *Israel*, because it was profaned by the Application which the Idolaters made of it to their false Divinities.

As *S. Jerom*, *Rufinus*, and some others, were of Opinion, that *Beel-Phegor* imports a *naked God*, or an *Idol of hard Stone*, which has a considerable Affinity with *Priapus* ; they confounded these two Divinities, for Reasons which I am going to recite.

Forni-

(1) *Bel* and the Dragon. c. 2.

(a) Et copulati sunt Beel-Phegor, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum. *Psalm.* cvi.

(2) In *Psalm.* cvi.

Fornication, as we see in the Book of *Numbers*, was consecrated to *Beel-Phegor*; is not this the Character of the infamous Divinity of *Lampsacus*? * The Vulgar translates the Word *Mipheletzeth*, which is of the same Import with *Beel-Phegor*, by *Priapus*; and as that *Hebrew* word signifies *Terror*, nothing is more suitable to that God, whose Figure was set up in Gardens to serve for a Scare-Crow, as we learn from *Horace* and *Tibullus*. These Authors add several other Reasons to confirm this Opinion, which may be seen in *Vossius* (1); but, accurately speaking, it would be better to say, that the *Priapus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* was a Copy of that ancient Divinity of *Syria*, whose abominable Worship was adopted by the *Greeks*. For I would intimate once for all, that when we shall say in the Sequel, that Authors confound such a God of *Phenicia*, or *Egypt*, with *Jupiter*, or some other *Greek* Divinity; the meaning is, that that God of the *Greeks* had been formed upon the Model of the God of the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*.

I said the Vulgar renders the Word *Mipheletzeth*, which is in the *Hebrew* Text, by that of *Priapus*. This is in the Case of *Maaca*, the Mother of *Asa*, who honoured that God with a particular Worship, being his Priests, and was deprived upon that Account of her Authority by the wise Prince her Son. *Sed & Maacham matrem Asa Regis ex augusto imperio deposuit, eo quod fecisset in luco simulacrum Priapi: quod omne contrivit, & in frusta comminuens, combussit in torrente Cedron* (2). The same Fact is recorded in the Books of the Kings.

ARTICLE IV.

C H A M O S.

According to *St. Jerom* (3), *Chamos*, whose Name comes from an *Arabick* Root, that signifies

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* A famous Town near the *Hellepont*, where *Priapus* was worshipped.

(1) De Orig. & progr. Idol. Lib. 1. (2) 2 Chro. Chap. xv. ver. 16. (3) Upon the 51st Chapter of *Isaiab*.

fies, *to hasten, to go quickly*, was the same as *Beel-Phegor*; and the *Moabites* worship'd him sometimes under that Name, as may be seen in the Book of *Kings* (1), where this Idol, whose Worship *Solomon* establish'd, is stiled the Abomination of the *Moabites*, whom the Scripture calls the People of *Chamos*: *Wo to thee Moab, thou art undone, O People of Chamos; he hath put his Sons to flight*; saith the Lord by the Mouth of *Moses* (a).

Solomon, I say, establish'd the Worship of this God, *Tunc ædificavit Solomon fanum Chamos Idolo Moab, in monte qui est contra Jerusalem* (2). This Temple, which that Prince built to please one of his Wives, was afterwards destroyed.

The *Ammonites* likewise worship'd this Divinity, as appears from the Words of *Jephtha* to the King of that People: *What your God Chemosh, says that Judge of Israel, has given you, belongs to you: Why would you have us not to possess what our God hath given us* (3)?

To know now who this God of the *Moabites* was, is no easy Matter. The Resemblance of his Name to that of *Ammon*, has induced several learned Men to think they were the same; and as the last, according to *Macrobius* (4), was the Sun; *Chemosh* must also have represented the same Luminary, since his Worship was propagated from *Egypt* and *Lybia*, to *Arabia*, where the *Moabites* lived (b). To be sure the Name *Chemosh*, importing, as has been now said, *to make haste, to go fast*, perfectly well agrees to the Sun, of whom the Scripture says, *Exultavit ut Gigas ad currendam viam*. I adopt the Opinion of *St. Jerom*, who says, as we have seen, that this God is the same with *Beel-Phegor*, and that he was worship'd under those two Names by the *Moabites*. I adopt

(1) 1 *Kings* xi. 7.

(a) *Væ tibi, Moab, peristi popule Chamos; dedit filios ejus in fugam, & filias in captivitatem regi Amorreorum Sohon. Numb. xxi. 29.*

(2) 1 *Kings* xi. 7. (3) *Jud. xi. 24.* (4) *Sat. Lib. i. cap. 21.*

(b) *Quamvis Æthiopium populis, Arabumque beatis*

Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Ammon. Pharf. l. 9.

adopt likewise the Conjecture of *Vossius*, who alledges that the *Chemos* of the *Moabites* and the *Κῆμος* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, or the God of Revels, are the same (1).

ARTICLE V.

Beel-Zebut.

Beel-Zebut, the God of the *Accaronites*, is one of those whom the Scripture most frequently mentions. This Name signifies either the *God Fly*, or as *S. Augustin* will have it (2), the *Prince of the Flies*: But we know not, as *Selden* and *Grotius* remark (3), if this was the Name which the People of *Accaron* gave to that Idol, or if the *Jews* called him so by Way of Derision, much after the same Way as the Prophets changed the Name of *Bethel*, which signifies the House of the Lord, into *Beth-aven*, which imports the House of Iniquity, because there *Jeroboam* had set up one of his golden Calves. 'Tis probable however, that that People called their false God by this Name, either because his Temples were exempt from flies, or because he had Power to drive them away from Places they frequented. Accordingly we learn from *Pliny*, that the *Cyrenians* offered Victims to the God *Achor*, for their Deliverance from those Insects, which sometimes occasioned contagious Distempers in their Country. This Author remarks (4) that they died after offering Sacrifice to that Idol: *Quæ protinus intereunt, postquam libatum est illi Deo*. These two were not the only People who acknowledged a *Fly-destroying God*, since the *Greeks*, the most Superstitious of all Men, had likewise their *Jupiter* and their *Hercules Myades*, or *Myagron*, or *Fly-Hunter*. If we believe *Pausanias* (5), the Origine of the Worship they paid to that Divinity was this; *Hercules*, being molested by those Insects while he was about

to

(1) De Idol. l. 2. c. 8.

(2) Tract. in Joan.

(3) De Diis Syriis.

(4) L. 10. c. 18.

(5) In Eliac.

to offer sacrifice to *Olympian Jupiter* in the Temple, offered a Victim to that God under the Name of *Myagron*, upon which all the Flies flew away beyond the River *Alpheus*. *Pliny* even asserts that it was the constant Practice as often as they celebrated the Olympic Games, to sacrifice to the God *Myodes* lest the Flies should disturb the Solemnity.

Be that as it will, *Beel-Zebut* is called in Scripture, the Prince of Devils, which shews us that he was one of the principal Divinities of the *Syrians*. When *Abasias* sent to consult him, the Prophet *Elias* thus expostulated with his Servants: Is there not a God in *Israel*? Why then go to consult *Beel-Zebut* the God of the *Accaronites* (1)?

ARTICLE VI.

Berith, or Baal-Berith.

This God would be wholly unknown were it not for a Passage in the Book of *Judges* (2), where it is said, that after the Death of *Gideon* the *Israelites* forsook the Lord, and made a Covenant with Baal, that he might be their God: *Percusseruntque cum Baal fœdus, ut esset eis in Deum*; the Hebrew Text imports, and they set up Baal-Berith over them, that he might be their God. We read also in the same Book (3), that this God had a Temple in *Sichem*, whence the Inhabitants of that City took seventy Pounds of Silver and gave to *Abimilech* the Son of *Gideon*. The Interpreters of Scripture have offered many Conjectures to help us to the Knowledge of this God. Father *Calmet* (a) thinks he was the same as *Derceto*, or *Dagon*, or *Diana-Britomaris*, and that his Worship passed from the Island of *Crete* to the *Philistines*, and from thence had been propagated to *Sichem*: But this is not the Course the Fables took. The Worship of the *Pagan* Gods, as has been so often said, having taken its Rise
in

(1) 2 Ki. iii. (2) C. viii. ver. 33. (3) C. ix. 4.

(a) See his Dissertation upon the Gods of the *Philistines*.

in the Eastern Countries, passed into the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, and from thence into *Greece* and the adjacent Countries. Thus we shall once more have Recourse to *Sanchoniathon*: That Author, or rather *Philo* of *Byblos*, his Interpreter, tells us, that *Elion* and *Berith*, were two Divinities of *Phenicia*. The first of these Names imports *the most High*, and is sometimes attributed to the true God, by the sacred Writers: *Bel* or *Baal*, signifies the Lord: *Beruth*, which has a very plain Affinity with *Berith*, signifies *the Covenant*; thus *Elion-Beruth*, or *Baal-Berith*, will be the true God, or the Goddess of the Covenant: Accordingly, we are told in Scripture, that the *Israelites* made a Covenant with that God, as we have seen in the Passage which I have quoted.

The Ancients, we know, had several Gods who presided over Covenants, and it seems every one was free to choose whom he pleased, to be the Guarantee of what he was going to promise. However, the *Greeks* and *Romans* commonly made choice of *Jupiter*, who was therefore surnamed *Jupiter over Oaths* (1). *Pausanias* (2) informs us that in the City of *Olympia* was to be seen *Jupiter* brandishing the Thunderbolt in his Hands, ready to discharge it against those who violated their Oaths. Nothing was more noted among the *Romans*, than the Form of swearing by *Jupiter Stone*: *Quid igitur jurabo?* says *Apuleius* (3); *per Deum Lapidem, Romano vetustissimo more*.

But who then was this God of the Covenant? this is impossible to find out: For *Bochart* does not satisfy us, when he says (4) *Berith* is the same with the Goddess *Beroe*, of whom *Nonnus* makes mention, calling her the Daughter of *Venus* and *Adonis*, or according to others, of *Tethys* and *Oceanus*. We shall be but little wiser for knowing that this God or Goddess gave her Name to the City *Berith*, where she resided.

ARTICLE

(1) Dion. Hal. l. 4.

(2) In Eliac.

(3) De Deo Jove.

(4) Can. L. 2. c. 17.

ARTICLE VII.

Kiun, or Rempham.

All the Knowledge we have of *Kiun*, or *Rempham*, is owing to a Passage of the Prophet *Amos*, where it is said: *You have born the Tabernacle of your God Moloch, and Kiun your Images, and the Star of your Gods whom ye have made* (1). Saint *Luke*, rehearsing a Discourse of St. *Stephen*, calls this God, after the Septuagint, the *Star of your God Rempham*. This Passage has put Interpreters to the Rack, upon Account of the Difference there is between the *Hebrew* Text and that of the Septuagint. I shall not enter here into a Discussion of their Arguments, but leave the Reader to consult themselves: Nor shall I examine whether *this Star Rempham* was the same with that of *Venus*; with worshipping whom the Prophet upbraids the *Moabites*, as S. *Jerom* alledges (a), in Regard that the *Saracens* always worship'd that Planet, which they called *Cobar*; or if it was the Moon, as some Authors maintain; or lastly *Saturn*, which is more probable; since *Kaiwan*, which is much the same Word with *Kiun*, signifies *Saturn* among the *Persians*; and *Ram*, whence comes *Rempham*, imported among the *Phenicians*, *High, exalted*; which agrees to *Saturn*, who is the highest of the Planets (b). Where we may make this transient Remark, that when I alledge the Prophet *Amos* speaks here of *Saturn*, I mean, in so far as he was a natural Divinity, representing the Star since called by his Name, and whose Worship was very ancient.

ARTICLE

(1) *Amos* v. ver. 26.

(a) *Sidus Dei vestri, quod Hebraice dicitur Cobab, id est Lucifer, Saraceni nunc usque venerantur.* S. *Jerom* upon the 5th Ch. of *Amos*.

(b) See *Selden*, *Grotius*, and the other Interpreters, and *Thomassin*, *Leç. des Poët. Tom. 2. Liv. 1. c. 13.*

ARTICLE VIII.

Of other Gods less known, whereof mention is likewise made in Scripture.

The better to understand what I have to say in this Article, we must know that the *Cutbeans*, whom *Salmanazar* sent to re-people *Samaria*, after the Dispersion of the Tribes, brought thither several of their Idols, whose Worship the *Israelites* frequently embraced, as they are taxed by the Prophets upon several Occasions. A Passage from the second Book of *Kings* (1), makes us acquainted with a vast Number of them; as follows.

“ Every one of those Nations (whom *Assaradon* had sent to people the Cities of *Samaria*) “ made
“ Gods of their own, and put them in the Houses of
“ the high Places which the *Samaritans* had made,
“ every Nation in their Cities wherein they dwelt.
“ The Men of *Babylon* made *Succoth-Benoth*, the
“ *Cutbeans* *Nergel*; and the Men of *Havath* made
“ *Ashima*; and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*:
“ but those of *Sepharvaim* burnt their Children in
“ the Fire to *Adramelech* and *Anamelech*.” A short Commentary on this Place; will bring us to the Knowledge of all these Divinities.

First, The Terms *Succoth-Benoth*, signify the Tents of the Virgins; which made *Selden* (2) think the Scripture in this Chapter had an Eye to the Temples of *Venus*, or *Astarte*, that were at *Babylon*, and in which the Virgins, according to *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, prostituted themselves to Strangers (a). The Prophet *Jeremiah* speaks of this detestable Custom, in the Letter which he wrote to *Babylon*, and he informs us that these young Virgins repaired thither with Garlands on their Heads, and retired into little Chambers

(1) C. xvii. v. 29.

(2) De Diis Syriis.

(a) The *Syrians* represented that Goddess under the Figure of a Hen with her Chickens.

bers, or sat in the high Way, severely reproaching those whose Beauty did not allure the Embraces of Passengers (*a*).

Secondly, The *Nergel* of the *Cutbeans* was probably the sacred Fire worship'd by the ancient *Persians*; which corresponds to his Name, the Import whereof is a *Fountain of Fire*.

Thirdly, *Cbamanin* was also an Idol that represented the Sun, whose Worship, as has been said, was abolished by *Josias*.

Fourthly, The *Asima* of the People of *Emath*, was represented under the Figure of an He-goat, and was probably the same with the God *Pan* of the *Egyptians*.

Fifthly, The *Nibbaz* of the *Avites* was *Nebo*, that great Divinity of *Babylon*, who, according to *Grotius* (1), had been some Prophet of the Country, conform to the Etymology of his Name, which, as we learn from *S. Jerom*, signifies *one who presides over Prophecy*. Could the *Caldeans*, a People entirely devoted to *Astrology*, fail to deify one who had excelled in that Art? most of the *Babylonish* Kings bore the Name of that God, joined to their own, *Nabo-Nassar*, *Nabo-Polassar*, *Nabu-chodonosor*, &c.

Sixthly, *Tartak*, according to some Authors, was the same with the *Typhon* of the *Egyptians*: The *Syrians* honoured him with a peculiar Worship, and his Festival bore the Name of *Sacred*.

Seventhly, As to *Adramelech* and *Anamelech*, if they were not ancient Kings of the Country, as their Names incline me to believe, since the former signifies (2) a *powerful King*, and the Latter a *magnificent King*, I would be inclined to think they were the Sun and Moon; for I cannot be of their Opinion who take *Adramelech* for *Juno*, because that God was represented under the Figure of a Peacock, a Bird consecrated to the Spouse of *Jupiter*; for

(*a*) This Letter is at the End of the Prophecy of *Baruch*.

(1) In 2 Ki. c. xvii.

(2) *Grotius* in 2 Ki. c. xvii.

for to say it once more, it was very late before the *Syrians* received the Divinities of the western Nations, and long after the latter had adopted those of the East.

Eighthly, In fine, the *Syrians* and their Neighbours worship'd several other Divinities, of whom we hardly know any Thing certain; for we must not give Ear to the *Rabbins* who have devised thousands of Conjectures on this Occasion, all of them frivolous and ridiculous, such was one *Nibbas*, who is thought to be the same with the God *Anubis*. The Emperor *Julian*, after having renounced Christianity, was zealous for restoring the almost neglected Worship of this ancient Divinity: He even caused his Image to be engraved upon his Coin, holding a *Caduceus* in one Hand, and an *Egyptian Scepter* in the other.

Such also was *Moazin*, whose Worship the wicked *Antiochus* restored. *Daniel* is the only one who speaks of this God, and what he says of him is very obscure. That Prophet in one of his Visions, where he foretells what was one Day to befall the Kings of *Syria*, speaks of a Prince, who is thought to be *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who was to forsake the God of his Fathers, and to substitute in his Room a God whom they did not know: *Deum autem Moazim in loco suo venerabitur, & Deum quem ignoraverunt patres ejus colet Auro & Argento, & Lapide pretioso . . . Et faciet ut maneat Moazim cum Deo alieno quem cognovit* (1). The Version of *Theodotion* has kept the same Name given to that God by the *Vulgate*, but other Versions have only the God of Forces or Fortifications, which has made several Interpreters believe *Moazim* was the same with the God *Mars*, since his Name is compounded of *Dazas*, which imports *Strong*; which perfectly agrees to the God of War, whom the *Jews* called *Modin*, by a Change of Letters, which is common enough with them.

The Author of the critical History of Worships, after having delivered the Opinion of Interpreters upon

(1) Ch. xi. v. 37, 38 and 39.

upon this Passage, thinks for his own Part that *Mozim* means the *Romans*, whom *Antiochus* appeased by Gifts, and by resigning to them the Provinces which he possessed on this Side Mount *Taurus*; and that the *Roman* Eagles were that God unknown to his Fathers, whom he worship'd, that is to whom he was obliged to submit by a Treaty of Peace, whereof the *Romans* reap'd all the Advantage. This Opinion, which that Author supports by solid Reasons, is not without Probability (1).

To conclude, the Scripture makes mention of several other Gods, which are only known by the Names of the Cities where they were worship'd; such as the Gods of *Emath*, *Arphad*, *Sepharvaim*, *Avia*, *Seir*, *Eva*, and several others, whose Worship made a Part of those Abominations with which the Nations are so often reproached, and sometimes the *Jews* themselves, especially the *Israelites* who followed the Superstition of *Jeroboam*, and afterwards adopted most of the Divinities of their Neighbours. M. *Fourmont* has omitted none of all those Gods, on whom I shall not farther enlarge, that I may not fill this Work with Etymologies, frequently controverted, and always of but little Use. The Author I now quoted has however some very happy ones, which may be seen in his Work (2).

C H A P. VII.

Of the Gods of Tadmor or Palmyra.

AS the celebrated City of *Palmyra* was in *Syria*, I shall here subjoin the History of the Gods who were worship'd therein. The City *Tamor* or *Tadmor*, so called upon Account of the Palm-trees which the Soil produces (3), was built, as we learn from *Josephus*, by *Solomon*, in the most northern Part

(1) P. 4. C. 3. p. 705.

(2) T. 1. L. 2. Sect. 4.

(3) *Tamar* in Hebrew a Palm.

Part of *Syria* (*a*). The *Greeks* and *Romans*, not knowing its ancient Name, have always called it *Palmyra*. 'Tis not my Design to give a History of this City, which frequently changed Masters, and was at Length entirely subjected to the *Romans* by the Emperor *Aurelian*, in the Time of the famous *Zenobia*. At this Day nothing of it remains but Ruins; but from these same Ruins one can judge what its Magnificence must have been; and it may be affirmed that there is no City in the World where are to be seen more Remains of ancient Grandeur, and at the same Time a more frightful Picture of Desolation. As *William Hallifax*, an *English* Lord, had carefully examined all those Ruins, you may consult what he says of them in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the Year 1695. and in the Letter he wrote to *Edmond Barnard*, which *Camille le Brun* has inserted in his *Travels* (*b*).

Tadmor, which, doubtless, at the Time of its Foundation, followed the *Jewish* Religion, suffered itself to be drawn away at Length by the Superstitions of *Paganism*; but we cannot mark out the Time when it became idolatrous: We can only say it worship'd at first the Gods of the *Syrians*, especially *Belus* or the Sun, for whom it had a magnificent Temple, whereof Lord *Hallifax* gives the Description to this Purpose: “ The whole Compass of this Edifice is
“ a Space of Ground of 660 Feet Square, each Side
“ being inclosed with a high and beautiful Wall,
“ adorned with Pilasters within and without, to the
“ Number of 62 on each Side, as may be judged
“ from what of it is yet remaining; for the *Turks*,
“ who have been long Masters of that Country,
“ have destroyed or mangled almost all, whether
“ Sculpture, Bas-reliefs, Inscriptions, &c.”

VOL. II.

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The

(*a*) The Scripture tells us only that *Solomon* built a City without giving its Name.

(*b*) Tome II. of the *Rouen* Edition, p. 281. You may also consult the Dissertation of *Abbe Renaudot*, printed in the second Volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*. p. 509.

The Author now quoted, tells us that this Temple was destroyed by *Jebu*, and converted into a Draught-House, as we read in the second Book of Kings (1); and if all that Place, continues he, was the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*, the Comparison which the Scripture uses is very just.

But the *English* Traveller is not accurate in what he says on this Head, as I have observed in the Edition I have given of *Corneille le Brun's* Travels. The Scripture makes use of no Comparison upon this Occasion; it is only said there: *Et protulerunt Statuam de fano Baal, & combusserunt, & comminuerunt eam. Destruxerunt quicque ædem Baal, & fecerunt pro eo Latrinas usque in Diem hunc.* Besides there is nothing said in that Chapter of the City *Tadmor*, we are only told there that *Jebu* persecuting the Remains of the House of *Abab*, went to *Samaria*, where after having feigned a Design to worship *Baal*, he gathered together all the Priests to celebrate a Feast to him, and ordered them to be slain in the very Temple of their God. 'Tis true the sacred Text adds, that after this Expedition his Soldiers went into the City of the Temple of *Baal*: *Et ierunt in Civitatem Templi Baal*, whence they brought forth the Statue of that God which they burnt, and made a Draught-house of his Temple; but it remains to be proved that this City was *Tadmor*; for *Baal* was worship'd in several other Cities of *Syria*. And what Appearance is there that *Jebu* would send his Troops to the Distance of more than 60 Leagues, and into a Country which did not belong to him, to destroy a Temple which the Inhabitants would have defended with the Hazard of their Lives? *Vatablus* maintains that the City whither *Jebu* sent Troops, was not far from *Samaria*; which is very probable, and there is Reason to think that this City was *Balba*, which, according to *Herbelot*, is the Heliopolis of *Syria*,

(1) 2 Ki. x. 27.

Syria, where *Belus*, that is the Sun, had a magnificent Temple (*a*).

But waving this, the *Palmyrians* adored *Belus*, or the Sun and Moon, after the Manner of the other *Syrians*, but they gave particular Names to these two Divinities, as appears from a fine Monument that was formerly in the Gardens called *Horti Car-penses*, and is at this Day in those of the Princes *Justi-niani*, near Saint *John* of *Latran*.

This Bas-relief was publish'd in 1685. by *M. Spon* (1) with the Inscription that accompanies it, which is in *Palmyrian*, a Language we don't understand, and also in *Greek*, probably to the same purpose. *Gruter* before had quoted the Inscription (2), without adding the Figures to it, but as *Montfau-con* got a more exact Copy of it, with better Fi-gures than those that are in the other Antiquaries, that is the one we shall make use of, tho' it differs a little from that of *Spon*: The Translation of it is as follows:

“ Titus Aurelius Heliodorus Adrianus of *Palmyra* son to *Antiochus*, offered and consecrated at his own Expence, to *Aglibolus* and *Malachbelus*, the Gods of his Country, this Marble and a Sign or small silver Statue, for the Preservation of himself, his Wife and Children, in the Year five hundred and forty seven, in the Month *Peritius*.”

This Bas-relief, which is what they call an *ex voto*, represents the Frontispiece of a Temple, supported by two Columns, on which are two Figures of young Persons, between whom is a Tree which some Anti-quaries take for a Pine; but I am persuaded that 'tis rather a Palm-tree, which suits better with the City *Palmyra*, whose Name was taken from it. On the right Side of that Tree is the God *Aglibolus*, under the Figure of a young Man habited in a Tunick tuck'd up from the Waist, so that it reaches only

F 2

down

(*a*) See the Travels of *M. de la Roque*, and the Dictionary of *M. Bruzen de la Martiniere*, upon the Word *Balbe*.

(1) Miscel. Erud. Ant. p. 1.

(2) p. 86.

down to the Knee ; and over it he has a Kind of Cloak ; holding in his left Hand a little Stick made in form of a Roller. The right Arm, wherein he probably held some other Thing, is broke off. On the other Side is the God *Malachbelus*, representing likewise a young Man, dressed in a military Habit, with a Cloak about his Shoulders, a radiant Crown upon his Head, and having behind him a Crescent, whose two Horns jut out on each Side.

The Inscription sufficiently informs us indeed that *Aglibolus* and *Malachbelus* were two *Syrian* Divinities, since they are called Gods of his Country who had consecrated to them that Monument, Πατέροις Θεοῖς, and *Palmyra* was in *Syria* ; but what Gods did they represent ? Let us hear the learned *Spon*, whose Opinion has not been contradicted. Some Authors, says he, will have it, that those two Figures represented the Summer and Winter Sun ; but as one of the two has a Crescent behind him, 'tis more credible they are the Sun and Moon. Nor is there any thing strange to find the Moon represented by a young Man, since 'tis certain that frequently both Sexes were given to the Gods, and there was the God *Lunus*, as we have already observed, after *Spartian* and other Authors (*a*).

As to *Aglibolus*, there is no Doubt but he was the Sun, or *Belus*, for the *Syrians* might very probably pronounce this Name so, as others called *Baal*, *Belenus*, *Bel*, or *Belus* ; the Change of the e, into o, is but a small Matter in the different Dialects of a Language ; but the Word *Agli* is unintelligible, unless we admit the Conjecture of the learned *Malazal*, who makes this Word to signify *the Light sent from the Sun* ; which he confirms by the Authority of *Heſychius*, who reckons among the Epithets of the Sun, that of Ἀγλαπτός : Now 'tis no Wonder that the *Greeks* pronounced *Aglibolos*, instead of *Egletes Belos*.

Farther

(1) Among *Seguin's* Medals, there is one representing the God *Lunus*, with the *Armenian* Cap.

Farther, that the *Palmyrians* worship'd the Sun, is a Fact not to be doubted. *Herodian*, after describing the happy Success of *Aurelian*, who made himself master of *Palmyra*, tells us he built at *Rome* in Memory of that Victory, a stately Temple, where he put the Spoils of the *Palmyrians*, and among other Things the Statues of the Sun and of *Belus*.

As for *Malachbelus*, as this Word is compounded of two others, *viz.* *Malach* which signifies King, and *Baal* which imports Lord, and as this God is represented with a Crescent and Crown, 'tis certain he represents the Moon, or the God *Lunus*. The Scripture frequently Designs the Moon by the Epithet of Queen of Heaven; the Prophet *Jeremiah*, condemning the Custom of offering Cakes to that Goddess, expresses himself thus: *Placentas offert Reginae Cæli*; or as he says in another Place: *Sacrificemus Reginae Cæli, & libemus ei libamina*; *Let us sacrifice to the Queen of Heaven, and offer Libations to her*.

We may see in the same Author, that the Date of the Inscription, being according to the *Era* of the *Seleucidæ*, falls towards the End of *Severus's* Reign, the Year of *Christ* 254, and that the *Macedonian* Month called *Peritius*, answers to our Month of *February*: But these Discussions belong not to Mythology.

According to the *Abbé Renaudot*, there is among the Inscriptions of *Palmyra* the Name of *Jupiter* the Thunderer; but these perhaps are only of the Time when the *Romans* were Masters of it. In fine, that People, superstitious to the last Degree, doubtless received all the Gods whom their Conquerors worship'd, and carried Flattery so far as to pay divine Honours to *Alexander* and *Hadrian* when they came to *Palmyra*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Gods Cabiri.

TH O' these Gods were known in *Greece* from the earliest Ages, yet as their original is *Pbenician*, I thought it proper to give them a Place in the Class of the *Syrian* and *Pbenician* Gods.

Nothing is more celebrated in Antiquity than the *Cabiri* and their Mysteries; tho' at the same Time nothing is more uncertain than the Origine of these Gods. If we credit *Herodotus* (1) it was the *Pelasgi* who, having settled in *Samothracia*, introduced thither the Worship of the *Cabiri* and their Mysteries, which they taught afterwards to the *Athenians*, among whom they pitched their Residence after quitting that Island. But that Author does not inform us from whom these same *Pelasgi* had got the Knowledge of these Gods, and of their Mysteries; there is even somewhat unintelligible in his Account (a). For, according to him, those *Pelasgi* being in *Greece*, as yet were ignorant of the Names of the Gods, about whom they went to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*, who answered them they were to learn their Names from the *Barbarians*, that is, the *Egyptians*. And yet he says in the same Place, that they had taught the *Samothracians*, and then the *Athenians* to worship the *Cabiri* and to celebrate their Mysteries; and he speaks upon this Occasion, of the Obscene Manner in which the *Athenians*, conformably to the *Samothracians*, represented *Mercury*.

But whatever be in that, the *Pelasgi*, an unsettled and vagrant People, had learned from Strangers the Worship of the Gods we are now speaking of: But whether was it from the *Egyptians* or *Pbenicians* they had

(1) L. 2.

(a) See the Beginning of the sixth Book, whence I quote this Passage.

had this Knowledge? What Sort of Gods were the *Cabiri*; how many were they in Number; what were those Mysteries, so celebrated in Antiquity? Were the *Cabiri* the same with the *Corybantes*, the *Dactyli*, &c? These are so many Questions we must examine. If we may believe *Sanckeniaton*, the *Cabiri* were Natives of *Phenicia*: That Author speaks of them in two Places of the Fragment we have quoted; he makes them to be descended from *Sydik*, and confounds them with the *Dioscouri*, the *Corybantes* and the *Samothraces*. From *Sydik*, says he, came the *Dioscouri*, likewise called *Cabiri*, *Corybantes*, *Samothraces*. In the second Place where he mentions the same Gods, he tells us that *Chronos* gave two of his Cities, namely *Byblos* to the Goddess *Baalit*, and *Beryta* to *Neptune* and the *Cabiri*, &c. It appears therefore from that ancient Author, that the *Cabiri* were the Sons of *Sydik* (a), and that they dwelt at *Beryta* of *Phenicia*; and as the Descendants of this *Sydik*, whoever he was, were deify'd, 'tis highly probable the *Cabiri* were so too, and that it was in the City now named, they first received religious Worship. 'Tis therefore certain that the *Cabiri* were *Phenician* Gods; their very Name is a Proof of it, as I shall shew by and by. *Damascius* (1) speaking of *Esculapius*, one of the Sons of the same *Sydik*, expressly says: *Esculapius*, who was at *Beryta*, is not an *Egyptian*, but *Phenician* by Birth; for among the Sons of *Sydik*, who were stiled *Dioscouri* or *Cabiri*, the Eighth was called *Esminus* or *Esculapius*.

In the mean time, however probable this Opinion may be, I judge it necessary to insert here what ancient Authors have thought about the Origine of these Gods. If we may credit *Heredotus* (2), the *Cabiri* were Sons of *Vulcan*, the most ancient of the *Egyptian* Gods. As the Passage where that Author says so has been ill translated by *Laurentius Valla*, *M. Altori*, otherwise an able Antiquary, is mistaken

F 4 in

(a) See the Fragment, L. II. Article of the *Theogonies*.

(1) In *Photius*.

(2) L. 3.

in the Dissertation he has made upon the *Cabiri*, pretending from the Authority of that Historian to destroy the Opinion of *Pberocydes*, and of *Nonnus*, who made *Vulcan* the Father of the *Cabiri*. *Cambyſes*, ſays *Herodotus*, having enter'd into the Temple of *Vulcan*, paſſed ſeveral Railleries upon the Statues he found there, and ordered them to be burnt, then he adds according to *Valla's* Tranſlation; *Sunt enim & hec illis Vulcani Similia, a quo ſe hi Homines aiunt eſſe Oriundos*: Whereas it ought to have been render'd; *cujus ipſos (id eſt Cabiros) eſſe Filios dicunt*; from whom (*Vulcan*) they ſay the *Cabiri* are deſcended. *M. de Ruyſer*, was alſo miſtaken in this Place, by tranſlating from *Valla's* Latin Verſion.

Here then are three ancient Authors, *Herodotus*, *Pberocydes*, & *Nonnus*, who give *Vulcan* for the Father of the *Cabiri*: With this Difference however, that the two laſt aſſert it, while the firſt ſays only it was the Opinion of the *Egyptians*. *Aceſilaus* the *Argive*, whole Sentiment is quoted by *Strabo* (1), alledges that the *Cabiri* were not the Sors, but the Grandſons of *Vulcan*, and that *Camillus*, whom others reckon in the Number of the *Cabiri* themſelves, was their Father. The Authors whom I have now quoted tell us further, that their Mother was called *Cabira*, and *Pberocydes* adds that ſhe was the Daughter of *Proteus*.

Strabo, who has made a large Collection of the Sentiments of the Ancients about the Gods now in Queſtion, adopts none of them; and the Article where he ſpeaks of them, tho' otherwiſe curious, wants that critical Niceneſs which raiſes the Dignity of the Subject. But paſſing that, 'tis certain the *Cabiri* were Gods come from the Eaſt; and as *Herodotus* delivers the Opinion of the *Egyptians*, without ſeeming to adopt it, we may hold to what *Sanctiathen* ſays of them, and from him 'tis unconteſtable that *Phenicia* is the Place, and *Beryta* in particular, where we muſt ſearch for the Origin of theſe

(1) L. 10 324.

these Gods, and of the Worship that was paid them. The *Phenicians*, who settled in several Islands of the Mediterranean and *Archipelago*, brought with them the Mysteries of these Gods especially into *Samothracia*, where they became very famous afterwards ; and the *Pelasgi*, who dwelt there at that time, having come into *Greece*, made them known to the *Athenians*. Their Name is not originally *Greek*, it comes from the *Hebrew* and *Arabick*, since in those two Languages, as the learned *Bochart* remarks (1), *Cabir* imports *great, powerful*. *Varro* (2), and after him *Tertullian* (3), were undoubtedly acquainted with this Etymology, since they call the *Cabiri*, *the powerful Gods* ; *Deos potentes* ; which likewise agrees with the Epithet given them by *Orpheus* in his Hymn to the *Curetes* (4), and with that of *great Gods*, as they are commonly stiled (a).

If we would know in the next Place how many *Cabiri* there were, and what their Names, we shall find great Diversity of Opinions among the Ancients. As the Sons of *Sydik*, according to *Sanchoniathon*, were denominated *Cabiri*, we must admit eight of them, if we follow his Opinion, since *Esculapius* was his eighth Son. *Strabo* reckons only three *Cabiri*, and tho' he subjoins three Nymphs *Cabaridæ*, that does not encrease the Number of these Gods, since they had either Sex indifferently given them. *Tertullian* likewise restricts their Number to three : *Tres arcæ trinis Diis parent magis potentibus ; eosdem Samothracæ existimant*. Some Authors admit only two *Cabiri*, to whom they also give different Names ; for some call them *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, and others *Cælus* and *Terra*. The old Scholiast upon *Appollonius* (5) assures us that *Mnaseas* reckoned three *Cabiri*, which he call'd *Ἀσχιερός, Ἀχιονερός & Ἀχιονερός*. Lastly, *Dionysiodorus* adds

(1) Chan. L. 1. c. 12.

(2) De Ling. lat. l. 4.

(3) De Spect.

(4) ἐνδυνάτους

(a) *Selden*, Synt. 2. c. 4. derives the Origine of their Name, from *Cabar*, an *Arabian* God, whose Worship, according to *Hornius*, after *Nonnus*, pass'd from *Arabia* into *Samothracia*. See *Hornius* Hist. Phil. L. 2. c. 4.

(5) Upon the first Book of the Arg.

adds a fourth, namely, *Camillus*, or *Mercury*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*.

Bochart, who of all the Moderns has given the most happy Interpretation of these Names, derives them from the *Phenician* Language, and thinks the first denotes *Ceres*; the second *Proserpine*; the third *Pluto*; and the fourth *Mercury*: The Arguments he brings for his Opinion are in the XII Chapter of the first Book of his *Canaan*. *Reland*, who has made a learned Dissertation upon the *Cabiri* (1), admitting the Names of the four to be as I have given them, concludes they were the Gods of the Dead. That *Ceres* was the Earth, who receiv'd them; *Pluto* and *Proserpine* the infernal Regions, where they came to dwell; and *Camillus* or *Mercury*, the God who conducted them thither.

That the Reason why the *Greeks* seldom give the *Cabiri* any other Name than that of the *Samothracian* Gods, is because their Worship having been propagated from East to West, was especially establish'd in the Island of that Name, and in *Imabros* which is not far from it, as we learn from *Stephanus*, and as may be proved from its having been the Custom of those Times for most Princes to travel thither, and for themselves to be initiated into the awful Mysteries of these great Divinities. Accordingly we learn from *Diodorus* (2), that *Cadmus* went into that Country, and there married *Harmonia* or *Hermione*, after having participated in those Mysteries. *Orpheus*, *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and some of the *Argonauts* likewise made a Journey thither, to fulfill a Vow they had made in time of a great Storm, as shall be said in another Place (3). *Agamemnon*, *Ulysses*, and the other Heroes of the *Trojan War*, were desirous to receive the same Honour, as we have it from Historians (a). *Macrobius* informs

us

(1) Differ. Miscel.

(2) Lib. 5.

(3) History of the *Argonauts*.(a) See *Diodorus*, *Apollonius*, *Plutarch* in *Alexander*, *Suidas*, &c.

us (1), that *Tarquinius*, the Son of *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, was also initiated into those Mysteries, as likewise *Philip* the Father of *Alexander* the Great, and several others. The *Athenians* who, according to *Herodotus*, were the first who receiv'd the Mysteries of *Samothracia*, sent their Children thither to partake of the same ; and in this they were imitated by the other People of *Greece*. *Terence* in his *Phormio* (2) alludes to this Custom. “ When the Mother is delivered, says he, how many Presents must be made which she appropriates to herself. One when the Child is born ; another on the Day of celebrating the Nativity ; a third at the Ceremony of Initiation, &c.” *Donatus*, expounding this Passage of the Poet, says he alludes to the Custom of sending the Children at a certain Age to *Samothrace*, there to be initiated, as we are told by *Apollodorus*.

What led them to this Practice was not only the Notion they had of receiving great Assistance from the Gods *Cabiri* in dangerous Expeditions, especially when expos'd to Storms, as we learn from the Scholiast on *Apollonius*, but likewise the high Reputation those were in who had participated in those Mysteries, as *Diodorus Siculus* asserts.

We learn from the Ancients what were the Ceremonies in use upon this Occasion. The Person to be initiated was seated on a Throne, had a Crown of Olive set upon his Head, his Belly bound with a purple Ribband, and the rest of the initiated danced around him (a).

The Mysteries of the *Cabiri*, and of the *Samothracians*, were in high Veneration ; and since those Islanders had learned the Worship of the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians* (b), 'tis not improbable that all were prohibited

(1) Sat. l. 3. c. 4.

(2) Ac. 1. Sc. 1. v. 15.

(a) See *Plato* Dial. of *Enthydemus* ; *Dion Chrys.* Orat. 12. *Proclus* l. 6. c. 13. &c.

(b) As the *Greeks* were unacquainted with their Original, they gave out that *Jupiter* had instituted those Mysteries in Honour of one of his Sons ; or of one *Elion*, as he is called by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Admonit. ad Gentes*.

hibited to enter their Temple, at least their Sanctuary, except the Priests ; as *Herodotus* tells us it was with regard to that of the *Cabiri* in *Egypt* (1) ; and it seems they took particular Care not to expose the Images of those Divinities to the profane View of Spectators, as the *Egyptians* had done to *Cambyfes*. Accordingly *Pausanias* having mentioned the *Cabiri* of *Greece*, makes Apology for being obliged to be silent with Respect to their Mysteries. *Stephanus* (a) informs us that there was in the Island of *Samothrace* a Cave called *Zerintbus*, consecrated to the *Cabiri*, wherein, if we believe *Lycophron* (b) and *Suidas*, they offered up Dogs to *Hecate*. That Goddess, who was often confounded with *Proserpine*, *Ceres* or *Terra*, was of the Number of the *Cabiri*, as has been said. But what made those Mysteries still more venerable is, that the Priests in their Ceremonies used a strange obsolete Language, as we learn from *Diodorus* (c) ; and there is no Doubt but it was that of the ancient *Phenicians* who had settled in that Island, and brought thither the Worship of the *Cabiri*. Accordingly we read in *Hesychius*, that the Priests of those Gods were called *Coes*, a Word derived from the *Hebrew* *Cohen*, which imports a *Priest*.

This undoubtedly is the true Account of the Gods *Cabiri* and their Worship ; and I cannot be of *Vossius*'s Mind (2), who thinks we are to understand by that Name only the Ministers of the Gods, as the *Curetes* and the *Dactyli* of *Crete*, and the *Corybantes* of *Phrygia*. And yet what that learned Writer says

(1) L. 3.

(a) *Stephanus, de Urbibus*. The Scholiast upon *Nicander* says the same, as also *Nonnus* in the Description of *Samothracia*, L. 13. of the *Diorysiacks*. *Ovid* speaks to this Purpose L. I. of his *Tristia*.

Inde levi vento Zerinthia littora nactis,

Threiciam tetigit fessa carina Samon.

(b) *Zerintion Antrum immane Canicidæ Deæ*. *Lycopron* in *Cass.* vers 77. ex Correctione *Bocharti*, loc. cit. See the Scholiast on that Poet, who proves the *Canicida Dea* to be *Hecate*.

(c) *Habuerunt autem Indigenæ Linguam veterem sibi propriam, cujus in Sacrificiis hodieque multa Servantur. Diod. lib. 5.*

(2) *De Idol.* L. 1. c. 57.

says is not without Foundation : For *First*, the *Cabiri* were frequently called *Camilli*, which imports *Ministers*. *Secondly*, The Priests of *Cybele*, or the *Corybantes*, were also denominated *Cabiri*, from a Mountain of that Name in *Phrygia* : But I could not but give into the Testimony of all Antiquity, which reckons the *Cabiri* in the Number of the most venerable Gods, and distinguishes them very plainly from the Ministers who had the Charge of their Worship ; nor could I help differing from *Strabo* (1) who is for confounding the *Curetes*, as some Authors have done, with the *Corybantes* and the *Cabiri*.

We are also to observe that they who reckon *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Jasion* and *Dardanus*, in the Number of the *Cabiri*, are certainly mistaken ; and what may have led them into this Error is, that these Heroes had got themselves initiated into the Mysteries of those ancient Divinities ; and the last had perhaps brought their Worship into *Phrygia*, with that of *Cybele*, who was the same with *Terra*, or *Proserpine*, and the Chief of the *Cabiri*, as we learn from *Varro* (2). The Worship and Ceremonies of that Goddess passed from thence into *Italy*, whither *Eneas* brought them with his Household Gods, who according to *Macrobius* and *Varro*, were the same with the Gods *Cabiri* (3) : And this Opinion wants not Probability, since, as shall be said when we come to the *Pataici*, the Figures of all those Divinities very much resembled those of the *Penates*.

Nothing was more celebrated in Antiquity than the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, or of the *Cabiri*, as appears from the Zeal that People had to be initiated into them ; but the Authors who were able to instruct us in the Ceremonies that were there practised, withheld by I know not what religious Awe, dare not enter particularly into the Subject. By good Fortune they have only concealed from us the Knowledge of those scandalous Rites that accompany'd

(1) L. 10.

(2) L. 10.

(3) See *Macrobius*, Sat. L. 3.

company'd those Mysteries, over which we should willingly draw a Veil, tho' they had discovered them to us: *Herodotus* gives us sufficiently to know the Nature of them, since, in that Passage where he says that the *Pelasgi* had brought the Mysteries of those Gods to *Athens*, he says they had taught the *Athenians* to represent *Mercury*, one of the *Cabiri*, in a Manner obscene and quite indecent. Accordingly the Night-time was chosen for celebrating those Mysteries, as *Cicero* has it: *Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque quæ Lemni Nocturno aditu occulte coluntur* (1).

The Ancients owned other *Cabiri*, some of whom, as shall be said immediately, were the Sons of *Vulcan*, and others the Sons of *Mercury*. *Mercury* himself, according to *Herodotus* (2), was of the Number of those Gods, as also *Ceres*, who was surnamed *Cabiria*, *Proserpine*, *Cybele*, *Prometheus*, &c. For the *Greeks* who reduced every Thing to their own Religion, had a quite different Opinion of the *Cabiri* from the *Egyptians*, from whom they had the Knowledge of them. The Tradition of the *Thebans* imported, as *Pausanias* has it (3): “ That
 “ there had once been a City among them, and
 “ Men called *Cabiri*; that *Prometheus*, one of them,
 “ and his Son *Etnes*, having had the Honour to
 “ lodge *Ceres*, the Goddess committed to them
 “ a *Depositum*, and let them know what Use they
 “ were to make of it: The Thing itself is what I
 “ am not at Liberty to divulge. But this much we
 “ may take for granted, that the Mysteries of the
 “ *Cabiri* are founded upon this present which they
 “ had from *Ceres*.”

“ When the *Epigoni* had taken *Thebes*, says the
 “ same Author, the *Cabiri* having been expelled by
 “ the *Argives*, the Worship of *Ceres Cabiria* was
 “ interrupted for a long Time. Sometime after
 “ *Pelarge* the Daughter of *Potneus*, and *Ismlas* her
 “ Husband restored it, but at the same Time they
 trans-

(1) De nat. Deor. L. 1.

(2) See below.

(3) In Beot. c. 25.

“ transferred it to a Place called *Alexiars*, without
 “ the ancient Limits where it had been instituted.
 “ Forthwith *Telondes* and the other *Cabiri* whom the
 “ War had dispersed, met together in this Place.
 “ To conclude, the Religion of the *Cabiri* and
 “ the Sanctity of their Ceremonies never have been
 “ violated with Impunity.”

Thus far *Pausanias*, who would seem to confound the Ministers of the *Cabiri* with the Gods themselves who bore that Name: But *Greece* is not the Place where we are to search into the true Original of those Gods. 'Tis to *Egypt* we must have Recourse, since we read in *Herodotus* (1) that they were the Sons of *Vulcan*, the eldest of their Gods, and that they had a Temple at *Memphis*. Accordingly, this Author having given an Account of *Cambyse's* Behaviour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adds that he enter'd likewise into that of the *Cabiri*, to which none but the Priest was allowed to have Access; and that after having made a Jest of those Gods, he ordered them to be burnt.

The *Pelasgi*, who doubtless were acquainted with these Gods by Means of the *Egyptians*, or which comes to the same, by the Priestesses of *Dodona*, establish'd their Worship in *Samothrace*, and from thence among the *Athenians*; but no doubt they blended their Mysteries with several Obscenities unknown to the *Egyptians*, since the same *Herodotus*, in the Passage where he says the *Greeks* had received from the *Egyptians* most of the Ceremonies of their Religion (2), intimates that we were to except their scandalous Manner of representing *Mercury*, which they got from the *Pelasgi*, who after having put it in Practise in *Samothrace*, communicated it to the *Athenians*, whence it was afterwards propagated to the rest of *Greece*. “ They who are initiated, says
 “ he, into the Mysteries of the *Cabiri*, which the
 “ *Samothracians* celebrate, and which they have
 commu-

(1) L. 3. c. 7.

(2) L. 2. c. 51.

“ communicated to the *Pelasgi*, know well enough
 “ the Truth of what I advance.”

There was no Place in the World where the Worship of the *Cabiri* became more famous than in *Samothrace*, where the *Pelasgi* had establish'd it. There it was that those hideous Mysteries were celebrated, which got their Name from the same Island, and were called *Orgies* too. The Obscenities that accompany'd those Mysteries must needs have been very abominable, since, as we have already seen, the Ancients who were led to mention the *Cabiri* and their Worship, protest that they durst not reveal them. *Pausanias* (1), after having told us that the Temple which the *Cabiri* had in *Beotia* was only seven Stadia from the sacred Grove of *Ceres*, *Cabiria*, and *Proserpine*, subjoins, *The Reader will pardon me if I don't satisfy his Curiosity about the Cabiri, nor as to the Ceremonies of their Worship, and of that of Cybele, &c.* *S. Clemens of Alexandria*, in order to combat *Paganism* with more Advantage, thought fit to reveal a Part of those horrid Rites ; but as what he says can answer no such Purpose now, I cannot be blamed for suppressing it.

Arnobius informs us (2) that in the Celebration of those Mysteries, they slew one of the initiated ; probably to offer him in Sacrifice to the *Cabiri*: *Oblivioni etiam Corybantia sacra donentur, in quibus sanctum illud Mysterium traditur ; Frater trucidatus a Fratribus.* *Firmicus* seems to have copied *Arnobius* when he tells us that in the Mysteries of the *Corybantes*, Murther was honoured, it having once happened that one of the initiated was slain on that Occasion by two of his Brethren. *Whoever*, continues he in another Place, *has a Mind to shed the Blood of his Brother, may participate in the Mysteries of the Corybantes.*

(1) In *Beot.* c. 25.

(2) L. 5.

bantes (*a*). But without pretending to justify those Mysteries, I am of Opinion that the Fact related by *Arnobius*, and after him by *Firmicus*, refers to an Accident that had happened in the enthusiastick Fury of some of the initiated who had killed their Brother. And indeed there is nothing like this to be found in the ancient Historians. This only is certain, that Persons guilty of Homicide, went to *Lemnos* to be expiated from that Crime, as we learn from *Hesychius* (1). But waving this, the Festival of the *Cabiri*, instituted at first at *Lemnos*, was adopted by the Inhabitants of *Imbros*, and then pass'd into *Greece*, especially to *Thebes*, where it became very famous (*b*).

In fine, the last Question we are to examine is whether we are to confound the *Cabiri* with the *Corybantes*, the *Curetes*, the *Idæi Dactyli*, and the *Telchines*: And here we must freely own that many Ancients do not distinguish them from one another. *Strabo*, in the Passage I have quoted, gives the Sentiment of *Scepsius* and of some other Authors, who maintain it; and among the Moderns, *Vossius* and M. *Alteri* have followed the same Opinion. For my Part, I think we are to distinguish them, and my Reasons are these. First, *Sanctioniathon*, *Herodotus*, *Pherecydes*, and *Nonnus*, who speak of the *Cabiri* and give their Genealogy, make mention neither of the *Corybantes*, *Dactyli*, nor *Curetes*. According to all the Ancients the *Cabyri* were of the Number of the great Gods: Now, no such Thing is said of the *Corybantes* or of the others now mentioned. The Account which the best Authors give of the *Dactyli* is, that they were Natives of the Island of *Crete*; that they were the first who found out the

VOL. II.

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Art

(*a*) In sacris Corybantium parricidium colitur; nam unus Frater a duobus interemptus est Qui Fraternalis desiderat Sanguinem, Corybantium sequatur institutum, Firmicus de cor. prof. Rel

(1) On the Word Κόνε.

(*b*) See Meursius, Græcia Fer. L. 4. on the Word KABEIPIA.

Art of forging Iron, after the burning of mount *Ida*: An Event which makes one of the *Epochs* in the *Parian* Marbles; in fine, that they were five in Number, as their Name, derived from the Fingers of the Hand, undeniably proves. Sure this Notion of them is nothing like what is given of the *Cabiri* by *Sanchoniathon*, *Herodotus*, and the other Ancients whom I have quoted.

The Account given of the *Curetes*, that they had the Care of *Jupiter* in his Infancy, who made it their Business to hinder his Cries from being heard, by clashing upon their Spears, and dancing about him, by no Means agrees with what Antiquity relates of the *Cabiri*.

As for the *Corybantes*, these were Priests of *Cybele*, who in the Mysteries of that Goddess leap'd and danced about her, and made a wild kind of Noise with their Arms. The *Telchines* were accounted a Sort of Wizards, who travelled the Country to tell Fortunes, and to attract the Admiration of the Populace, who are always apt to admire what carries an Air of marvellous.

But, it will be said, the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, or of the *Cabiri*, are frequently called the Mysteries of the *Corybantes*, as we have seen in the same Authorities I have made use of. This is the very Thing that possibly has misled the Authors I am now confuting. The *Corybantes* were the Ministers of those Mysteries, not only at *Lemnos* and at *Imbros*, but also throughout all *Phrygia* and elsewhere: What wonder then that they have been indifferently called the Mysteries of the *Cabiri*, or the Mysteries of the *Corybantes*? 'Tis therefore certain that we must not confound the *Cabiri* with the *Corybantes*, the *Dactyli*, &c. nor mistake for those Gods who were so highly respected in Antiquity, the Ministers of their Worship; Ministers who by their Conduct made themselves extremely despicable. We shall speak at more Length of these *Corybantes* in the History of *Cybele*, whose Ministers they were.

But

But what shall we think of an ancient Inscription quoted by M. *Altari*, whereby it appears that the *Cabiri* were confounded with the *DioscURI*? Caius, the Son of Caius an Acarnanian, who was made Priest of the great Gods *DioscURI Cabiri*, erected this Monument in the Year when *Dionysius* was Archon after *Liciscus*. I said, and 'tis another Question yet to be examined, that the *Cabiri* were sometimes confounded with the *DioscURI*, and with the *Anaces* or *Anactes*; a Sentiment adopted by the Antiquary now quoted, and which he endeavours to prove from the Passage in *Cicero* I have cited in this Chapter: But still I am of Opinion they are to be distinguish'd from one another, as their Genealogies prove. According to *Cicero*, the *Anaces* and the *DioscURI* were Sons of *Jupiter* the Ancient: The *Egyptians* gave those Gods *Vulcan* for their Father; and the *Phenicians* *Sydik*. I know that, according to several learned Moderns, this *Sydik* was the same as that ancient *Jupiter*; but what ground had they to think so? for my Part I know none. Besides the Author whom I have now quoted, names those three *Anaces*, *Tritopatreus*, *Eubuleus*, and *Dionysius*, but we see the Ancients give quite different Names to the *Cabiri*, as we shall shew at greater Length in the following Chapter.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Anaces or Anactes.

SEveral Authors, among whom are *Plutarch* (1) *Theodoret* (2) and others, reckon among the Gods of this Order, none but *Castor* and *Pollux*, the two *Dioscorides* or Sons of *Jupiter* (3), whose History shall be given when we come to the *Argonauts*, whom they accompany'd to the Conquest of the golden Fleece; But *Cicero*, more exact in

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this

(1) In *Thesco*.

(2) *Græcarum Affect.* l. 8.

(3) *Διοσκυροι*.

this Matter, speaks of three Sorts of *Anaces*: The first were the Sons of an ancient *Jupiter*, King of *Athens*, and of *Proserpine*, their Names *Tritopatreus*, *Eubuleus*, and *Dionysius*; the second were the Sons of the Third *Jupiter* and *Leda*; these were *Castor* and *Pollux*. The last were *Aleo* and *Melampus Emolus*, the Sons of *Atreus* (a). Some Ancients reckon a much greater Number of them, since they confound them with the twelve great Gods. Accordingly *Pausanias* tells us that *Hercules*, after having pillaged *Elis*, to be avenged of *Augias*, set up six Altars to the twelve great Gods or *Anactes*, so that there were two of these Gods for each Altar. The ancient Scholiast upon *Pindar* names some of these *Anactes*; but the Passage where he speaks of them, is too much corrupted for one to draw any Certainty from it.

Authors are not agreed about the Etymology of the Name given these Gods. *Plutarch* thinks it was given to the *Tyndarides*, either upon Account of their having procured Peace (b), or because they had been placed among the Stars; which makes *Horace* say, *Sic Fratres Helenæ lucida Sidera* (1), or for other no better Reasons (c).

Take the Passage from *Plutarch*, according to Mr. *Dacier's* Translation. “ *Castor* and *Pollux* being Masters in *Athens*, demanded only to be initiated. “ They were therefore admitted into the Fraternity “ of the great Mysteries, after having been before “ adopted

(a) *Διοσκύροι* etiam apud Græcos multis modis numerantur. Primi tres, qui appellantur Anaces, Athenis ex Jove Rege antiquissimo & Proserpina nati, Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, Dionysius. Secundi, Jove tertio nati & Leda, Castor & Pollux. Tertii dicuntur a nonnullis Aleo & Melampus Emolus, Atrei Filii, qui Pelope natus fuit. Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. III.

(b) Sed hic, (Plutarchus) arbitratur posse etiam ex eo Nomen videri, quia procurarint *ἀνοχάς* sive inducias; vel ab *ἄνω*, hoc est super, quia in Cælis inspiciuntur. Vossius de Idol. L. I. C. xiii.

(1) L. 1. Od. 3.

(c) Putabat Eustathius in Odyss. L. I. *ἀναχὰς* vocatos, quia Græce *ἀναχᾶς* dicunt pro *ἐφορτισιῶς*, Curiose. Vossius. Loc. cit.

“ adopted by *Aphidnes*, as *Hercules* had been by *Py-*
 “ *lius*. They had divine Honours paid to them,
 “ and were designed *Anaces*, either from having put
 “ an End to the War, or because they had taken so
 “ great Care of the *Athenians*, that altho’ the City
 “ was full of Troops, yet no Body in it had received
 “ the smallest Injury ; for this Word is derived from
 “ a Term which signifies *to protect, to be careful*, and
 “ perhaps from thence Kings have been called *Anaetes*,
 “ as being Protectors, or Fathers of their People.
 “ There are some however who tell us, that this
 “ Name was given to the *Tyndaridæ* upon Account of
 “ their Constellations, which appear in the Heavens ;
 “ for the *Athenians* call *Anecas* and *Anecathen*, what
 “ others call *Ano* and *Anothen*, *Above (a)*.” What-
 ever be in that, *Castor* and *Pollux* were indeed
 very justly taken into the Number of the Gods *Anaetes*,
 for the Reason which I shall give afterwards ; but they
 were not the sole nor the most ancient Gods of that
 Name, which was not known to the *Greeks* till the
 Arrival of the *Phenicians*, among whom the Des-
 cendants of *Anak* (who had reign’d at *Arbè*, or *Hebron*,
 as we see in *Joshua (b)*, were famous, as we shall
 observe in the History of the Giants. *Inachus* was
 of that Race. There is even a great deal of Pro-
 bability that *Inachus* was not the proper Name of
 him who conducted the first Colony into *Greece*, and
 that it was given him only in Allusion to *Anak* ;
 but we shall discuss this Point more particularly in
 another Place. Further, I am persuaded that *Anaetes*
 was not a Name given to all Kings in general (al-
 tho’ in the *Greek Language* that Word properly im-
 ports

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(a) M. Dacier in his Note upon this Passage of *Plutarch*, adopts the Etymology which derives the Word *Anaetes*, from that which signifies *to take Care*, and proves it by some Authorities ; but it is more likely that it was a Foreign Word with Respect to *Greece*.

(b) *Deditque eis Josue Urbem Arbè Patris Enac, ea est Hebron.* Jos. xv. v. 13. And elsewhere he says: *Nomen autem Hebronis olim fuerat Cariatharbe: Hic fuerat Homo inter Enacinos maximus.* Jos. xiv. v. 15.

ports *Kings* (a); but to such of *Inachus's* Descendants as distinguish'd themselves by their illustrious Deeds.

Vossius is also firmly of Opinion, that the Name of the Gods *Anaëtes* was originally from *Phenicia*; but he thinks it had been brought into the West by *Cadmus*, or by the *Canaanites*, whom *Joshua* by his Conquests had obliged to quit *Phenicia*, and who had retired into *Greece*; and he adds, that the *Spartians* who called themselves Allies of *Israel*, as we learn from *Josephus* (1), were a Colony of the *Canaanites*, who were mostly descended from *Abraham* by *Hagar* and *Keturah*: And this is the Reason why the most famous of the *Greek Anaëtes* were *Castor* and *Pollux*, Natives of *Sparta*, the *Lacedemonians* having given them that Name to honour the Memory of *Anak's* Descendants, of whom they had heard so many wonderful Stories. 'Tis certain the *Greeks* had some Knowledge of this *Anak*, who is mentioned in the sacred Books, and knew he had been a Man of an extraordinary Stature, and the Father of the Giants. What *Pausanias* relates of the Giant *Asterius*, is a Proof of it. Over against *Miletus*, says that Author (2), is the Island *Ladé*, which separates itself into two other small Islands, one of them called, *Asterius*, because *Asterius's* Tomb is there. He was the Son of *Anax* who is said to have been the Son of the Earth. The Body of *Asterius* is no less than ten Cubits in Length. I shall only add, that it is no strange Thing to hear the *Greeks* giving out that *Anak* or as they called him *Anax*, was the Son of the Earth; this was the Original they ascribed to those of whom they had only an imperfect Knowledge. This, I think, is the most probable Account of the Gods *Anaëtes*, so noted among the *Greek Poets*.
We

(a) *Anaces, Reges*. *Homer* gives this Name to most of his Gods and Kings, to denote the Care which they took of their People; and we find it upon several Medals: It comes from the Word ἀνασσω. *Regno*.

(1) *Ant. l. 12.*

(2) *In Att. c. 35.*

We come next to the Gods *Pataici*, who have the same Original.

C H A P. X.
Of the Gods Pataici.

THE *Pataici* or *Patæci*, for this Name is either Way pronounced, were, according to *Hesychius* (a), *Phenician* Gods, whose Statues used to be set up upon the Sterns of Ships. If we credit *Herodotus* they had a great deal of Resemblance, as to their Figures at least, to little Pygmies; and they were so ugly that they provoked the Scorn of *Cambyzes*, when he enter'd into the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Egypt*. The Account given of them by that ancient Historian is as follows. “ *Cambyzes* having one
“ Day enter'd into the Temple of *Vulcan*, offered
“ a thousand Insults and Indignities to the Image
“ of that God, because it resembled those Gods whom
“ the *Phenicians* call *Pataici*, and which they set
“ upon the Prows of their Ships. By the Way, I
“ would inform those who have not seen them, that
“ they are made like *Pygmies*. He enter'd also into
“ the Temple of the *Cabiri*, to which none are al-
“ lowed Access, but the Priest; and he ordered all
“ the Statues that were there to be burnt, after hav-
“ ing made a Jest of them; for they resemble those
“ of *Vulcan*, from whom they say the *Cabiri* are
“ descended.” Upon which we may remark, *First*,
That the Statues of the Gods *Pataici* and of the
Cabiri, had a great Resemblance to one another,
and that among the *Egyptians* *Vulcan*, the most
ancient of their Gods, was represented as they were,
as were also, in latter Ages, the Gods *Penates* a-
mong the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Secondly*, That *He-*
rodotus is mistaken, when he says the *Phenicians* set

G 4

up

(a) Παταίκοι, *Dii Phænices, quos statuant ad Putres Navium.*
Hesychius Verbo Παταίκοι, Suidas, Harpocration, and Phavorinus
say the same Thing.

up their Gods *Pataici* upon the Prows of Ships, whereas it was upon the Sterns, as *Hesychius*, *Suidas* (a), and after them *Scaliger* and *Bochart* (b) agree ; and neither the *Phenicians* nor the *Greeks*, to whom this Custom was communicated, ever inverted that Order. Accordingly they always placed upon the Stern the Image of one of these Gods, who was reckoned the Patron and Protector of the Ship, which makes *Perfius* say (1), *Ingentes de puppe Dei*, and *Ovid*,

Accipit & pictos Puppis adunca Deos (2).

Whereas they put nothing upon the Prow but the Figure of some Animal or of some Monster, which derived its Name to the Ship ; which is thus express'd by *Ovid*.

Navis & a picta Casside nomen habet.

For this reason they had a Custom of adorning the Stern with Flowers and Garlands, as the Place consecrated to the Divinity by whom it was protected, as we learn from *Virgil* :

Puppibus & læti Nautæ imposuere coronas (3).

Which was never practiced as to the Prow, where was only to be seen the Figure of some Animal which had no Title to such Homage.

If you ask the Origine of this Name, I answer, our most learned Authors derive it either from the *Hebrew*, or the *Phenician*. The learned *Scaliger* will have it to be from the *Hebrew* Word *Patach*, *insculpere* to engrave ; but *Bochart* (c) derives it from *Batach*, *confidere* to put trust or to confide in ; either of which Etymologies perfectly agrees to the Use which the *Phenicians*, and after them the *Greeks* made of the Gods *Pataici*.

I shall

(a) Παταίζου *Pheniciis* in *Puppibus* collocati.

(1) Sat. 6.

(2) Epist. *Parid.*

(3) *Geor. Lib.* 1.

(b) *Aliud Tutela, aliud παρασπονία insigne Navis ; illius Locus perpetuus in Puppe, hujus in prora fuit.* *Bochart. Chan. L. II. C. iii.* *Scaliger* says the same Thing. *Can. Chron.*

(c) *Bochart, Chan.* 1. 2. c. 3. proves that the *Phenicians* and *Hebrews* often changed the P into B, and pronounced *Batach* instead of *Patach*, and *Bataici* instead of *Pataici*.

Consult upon this Article *Selden, de Diis Syriis. Synt.* 2. c. 16.

I shall only add further, that the Usage of giving Ships the Names of Animals represented upon the Prow, was very ancient ; accordingly we see *Virgil* names those which composed *Æneas's* Fleet, the Centaur, the Whale, &c.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Gods Palici.

MACROBIUS (1), in that Passage of his *Saturnalia*, where he makes an Encomium on *Virgil's* Erudition, who had the Art of interspersing his Works with several Pieces of the *Greek* History, quotes among other Passages of that great Poet, the Verses in the ninth Book of the *Eneid* :

. *Symetia circum*
Flumina, ubi placabilis ara Palici (2).

And says no *Roman* Author has described these Gods so known in *Sicily* ; that *Æschyles*, the *Sicilian* Poet, in his Tragedy intitled *Ætna*, is the first who has given their Original, to this Effect (a).

It was near the River *Symetba*, in *Sicily*, that *Jupiter* fell in Love with a Nymph call'd *Ætna*, others name her *Tbalia*, who, to conceal from *Juno* the Knowledge of her Intrigue, and to escape her Vengeance, entreated her Lover to hide her in the Bowels of the Earth ; which Request she obtained ; and when the Time of her Delivery was come, there sprung from the Earth two Children, who were called *Palici*, as you would say, *sprung from the Earth into which they had been convey'd* (b). These two Children were afterwards deify'd.

But this is a mere Fable founded upon the Equivocations of the Name of these Divinities. This was the ordinary Resource of the *Greeks*, when they would trace

(1) L. 5. 19.

(2) *Æn.* 9. v. 585.

(a) *Macrobius* in this Chapter confirms all that is said of the *Palici*, by Testimonies not only from *Æschyles*, but also from *Callias*, *Philemon* and *Xenagoras*.

(b) *Palici*, ἀπο τῆ παλιν ἰκίσθαι *Macrobius* loc. cit.

trace the Original of their Gods, they invented Stories upon the frivolous Foundation of the Etymologies of a Language which they did not understand: And the Fable which we are here explaining, is a manifest Proof of it, since the Worship of the Gods *Palici* came from *Phenicia*, as their Name leaves no room to doubt. 'Tis very probable that it comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Palichin*, which signifies *Venerable*, as *Bochart* proves (a); which the Poet *Æschyles*, from whom *Macrobius* has borrowed the Fable, seems to insinuate, when he said *Jupiter* ordered the Gods *Palici* to have the Title of *Venerable* given them. *Hesychius* also confirms the happy Conjecture of *Bochart*, since he says *Adranus*, whose Name is likewise *Phenician*, was Father of the *Palici*; for I can hardly think the Reader will give into the ridiculous Error of some of the Learned, who are of Opinion that it ought to be read in *Hesychius*, *Adrian* instead of *Adranus*, as if that *Roman* Emperor, who was not deify'd till forty Years after the Coming of *Christ*, could be the Father of these ancient Divinities, whose Worship was celebrated in *Sicily* many Ages before he was born; and give his Name to the River *Adranus*, which went by it long before.

This *Adranus*, in short, whom *Hesychius* makes to have been the Father of the *Palici*, contrary to the Opinion of *Æschyles*, who asserts they were *Jupiter's* Sons, is a God unknown out of *Sicily*; thus there is reason to think that he was the same *Adramelech*, who is mentioned in the Books of *Kings*, and whose Name imports a *Magnificent King*, and that his Worship, as also that of the *Palici*, was brought into that Island by the *Syrian* or *Phenician* Colonies, who settled there; This is what we learn from *Bochart* (1); and his Conjecture appears highly probable. For, in fine, we are to prefer to the Opinion of *Hesychius*, who gives *Adranus* for the Father of the *Palici*,

(a) Chan. l. i. c. 28. This Word comes from *Pelach*, *colere*, *venerari*.

(1) Loc. cit.

Palici, that of *Æschyles* who makes them to have been the Sons of *Jupiter*, and must needs have known the Antiquities of his Country, better than the *Greek Lexicographer* whom I have quoted, as being a *Sicilian* by Birth.

But let that be as it will, the *Palici* were very much honoured in *Italy*, and *Diodorus* assures us (a) they had a Temple near the City *Erice* (b), revered both for its Antiquity, and for the wonderful Things that happened in it. Accordingly we are told by *Macrobius* (1), after *Æschiles* and *Diodorus*, that there were near this Temple two small Lakes of boiling and sulphurous Water, always full without overflowing, which were called *Delli*, and held in the highest Veneration by the credulous People, who imagined that they were the Brothers of the *Palici*, or rather that this was the Place whence they themselves had sprung, when their Mother delivered them. *Nec longè inde lacus breves sunt, sed immensum profundum, aquarum scaturigine semper ebullientes, quos incolæ Crateras vocant, & Nomine Delloſ appellunt, fratresque eos Palicorum æſtimant, & habentur in cultu maximo* (2). *Ovid* likewise describes them. It was near these two Pools that solemn Oaths used to be made, and there Controversies were determined that could not otherwise be easily decided. Those who were called to take this Oath, purify'd themselves; and after having given Security to pay, if the Gods condemned them, they approached the Pools, and swore by the Divinity who presided over them. If their Oath was sincere, they went off unhurt; but Perjurers were punish'd upon the Spot, as all Authors who have mentioned it, are agreed,

*Perque lacus altos & olentia Sulphure fertur
Stagna Palicorum, ruptâ ferventia Terrâ* (3),
*Et qui præſenti domitant perjura Palici
Pectora supplicio* (4). tho'

(a) *Fanum hoc tum Antiquitate, tum religiosa Veneratione, quod in eo multa vera & stupenda eveniunt.* *Diod. Lib. 11.*

(b) It stood upon a Mount of that Name, which is at this Day *Traiano Vecchio.*

(1) *Loc. cit.*

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) *Ovid Me. 1. 5. 405.*

(4) *Sileus Italicus.*

tho' they are not quite agreed as to the Nature of the Punishment. *Macrobius* will have it that they fell into one of the Lakes and were drown'd : *Quod si fideliter faceret, discedebat illæsus ; si vero subesset jure jurando mala conscientia, mox in lacu amittebat vitam falsus Furator* (1).

Polemon asserts that they died suddenly ; *Aristotle* and *Stephanus* say they were consumed by a secret Fire ; and according to *Diodorus* there were some of them that lost their Lives (a).

Whether these different Punishments were real, or only feigned to terrify Perjurers, as would seem from the Diversity of these Opinions ; 'tis certain that none approach'd those Pools and the Altars of those implacable Gods (b) without a great deal of Terror, and the Place was a secure Sanctuary for oppressed Slaves ; their Masters being obliged before they could get them back, to promise to treat them with more Humanity, which they religiously observed for Fear of bringing some terrible Punishment upon themselves. We must not omit to observe that the ancient Inhabitants of *Sicily* called these two Lakes *Delli* (2), from an *Arabick* Word, which imports to make Discovery ; because the Oaths taken there discovered the Truth ; or, as is more probable, from the *Hebrew* Word *Daal* to draw out. I am inclined to adopt this Etymology, because it seems to agree better with what *Aristotle* says upon the Oaths we have mentioned. According to that Philosopher, they wrote the Oath which they made to those Gods in the Form of a Note, which floated above if the Party swore to a Truth ; but they sunk to the Bottom of the Water, when he perjured himself. As the Custom of those Oaths came from the East, as also the Worship of the Gods *Palici*, 'tis very probable it was an Imitation

(1) *Macrobius*. *ibid.*

(a) *Solinus*, *Priscianus*, and *Isidorus* tell us the same thing of a Fountain in *Sardinia* ; but they have confounded that Island with *Sicily*, which is not far from it, as *Salmasius* judiciously remarks.

(b) So *Macrobius* calls them.

(2) See *Macrobius* from *Callias*.

tation of what is written in the Book of *Numbers*, concerning the Tryals of the Water that was given adulterous Women to drink; and the Punishments, mentioned by the Authors I have quoted, were nothing else perhaps but a Tradition of what befel those who were guilty of the Crime whereof they were accused (a).

But here we must add that the Temple of the *Palici* was not only venerable upon Account of all that I have been now saying, but also for the Prophecies that were deliver'd there from time to time. *Macrobius*, after *Xenagoras*, tells us that, *Sicily* being distress'd with Famine, they consulted the Oracle of the *Palici*, and were answer'd, that if they sacrificed a certain Heroe, whom Authors don't name, the Famine would cease; which accordingly happened. The *Sicilians*, in Acknowledgment of this Blessing, heap'd Fruits and Presents upon the Altars of those propitious Deities; and this, according to *Macrobius*, is what makes *Virgil* say:

————— *Pinguis ara Palici* (b)

*Qua gratiâ Siculi omne genus frugum congesserunt
in aram Palicorum. Ex qua Ubertate ara ipsa Pin-
guis vocata est* (1).

The Superstition was afterwards carried so far as to offer up to those Gods human Victims. But this barbarous Custom was at Length abolish'd; and the *Palici* contented themselves with common Offerings: 'Tis to this the ingenious Poet I have now quoted is alluding, when he says,

————— *Placabilis ara Palici* (c).

Stephanus mentions the City and Fountain of the *Palici*, and *Forestus*, a celebrated Historian of *Sicily*, informs us that the two Lakes, which we have spoke of, are at this Day called *Nephti*.

In

(a) Trials by Fire and Water were long in Use, especially in *France*, even after the Establishment of Christianity.

(b) Loc cit.

(1) Mac. loc cit.

(c) Ibid.

In this Article I have chiefly had recourse to *Macrobius*, who seems to have taken what he says of the *Palici* from the *Sicilian* Authors; for besides the Poet *Æschyles*, he cites likewise *Xenagoras* and *Callias* who had written the History of *Sicily*.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Gods of the Persians.

IF we may give credit to *Thomas Hyde*, a learned *English* Gentleman, who has composed a Treatise concerning the Religion of the ancient *Persians* (1); a Work full of the most profound Erudition, the Religion of that People, of whom he tells us some Remains are still to be found in *Asia*, under the Name of *Pharxis* or of *Guebres*, was much more refined than that of their Neighbours, nor did they worship vain Idols like them. They acknowledged only one supreme Being, of whom Fire was the Symbol; and tho' they gave a religious Worship to that Element, yet it was only relative to the Divinity whom it represented. This Religion, which is called *Magism*, is still subsisting in that Nation (2).

But however learned the Remarks of that Author are, 'tis certain that Antiquity has ever reckoned the *Persians* a People who adored, not only the Fire and the Sun, but also other Divinities. *Herodotus* (3) says the *Persians* believed the Fire to be a God, and that their Reason for not burning their dead, was that they would have thought themselves guilty of Sacrilege, if a dead Body had been consumed by a God. *Plutarch* (4), speaking of the two Principles *Oromazes* and *Arimanius*, the one good, and the other bad, adds that the *Persians*, according to the Law of *Zoroaster*, worship'd *Mithras*, and invoked him as the Mediator between those two Divinities. Besides,

(1) De Rel. vet. Pers. eorumque Magorum. Oxon. 1700 in 4to,

(2) See what has been said of it in the third Book.

(3) L. 5. c. 16.

(4) De Isid. & Osiri.

Besides, if this *Mitbras* was the Sun, as we shall prove hereafter, 'tis certain they adored that Luminary, to whom they offered Horses in Sacrifice, as *Justin* tells us from *Trogus Pompeius*: *Solem unum Deum esse credunt, & Equos ei Deo sacratos ferunt* (1). The same Author relates in what Manner *Artaxerxes Mnemon* obliged *Aspasia*, with whom he and his Son were both in Love, to become Priestess of the Sun. *Herodotus*, whom we have just quoted, says the same Thing of the *Massagetes*, a neighbouring People to the *Persians*. There is therefore no doubt but that the Fire, or the Sun was adored as a God by that ancient People. He who is invoked as a Divinity; the Object of religious Worship, of Vows, Supplications, and Prayers, is a God: Now the *Persians* invoked the Sun, offered Sacrifices to him, addressed their Prayers to him, and had Priests set apart for his Service. If the Authorities I have now quoted are not sufficient to prove it, I might join to them that of *Quintus Curtius*, who tells us that *Darius*, upon the Point of engaging with *Alexander*, to inspire his Troops with Courage, invoked the Sun, *Mitbras*, and the Fire. *Solem, Mithram, sacrumque & divinum invocavit Ignem* (2).

The *Persians* therefore worship'd the Fire as representing the Sun, who was their great Divinity: But in order to give an abstract of their ancient Religion, we must quote all that is said of them by *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, the two Ancients who seem to have been best acquainted with that ancient People. “ This, says the former of these Authors (3), is
“ what I have learned concerning the religious Ce-
“ remonies of the *Persians*. They believe 'tis not law-
“ ful to have either Statues, Temples or Altars, and
“ look upon those who use them as foolish; and
“ that because they don't think, as the *Greeks* do,
“ that the Gods have a human Shape. They have
“ a Custom of sacrificing to *Jupiter* upon the highest
“ Mountains,

(1) L. 1. c. 10.

(2) Q. Cur. L. 4. c. 13.

(3) C. 131.

“ Mountains, calling *Jupiter* the vast Expansion of
 “ the Heavens. They sacrifice to the Sun, the Moon,
 “ the Earth, the Fire, and the Winds ; and these
 “ are the only Gods to whom they offered Sacrifices
 “ from the earliest Ages, besides these they have
 “ learned from the *Assyrians* and *Arabians* to sacri-
 “ fice likewise to *Urania* : The first of those two Na-
 “ tions call this *Venus Mylitta*, the second, *Alitta*,
 “ and the *Persians* call her *Mitra* (1). In their
 “ Sacrifices they erect no Altars, kindle no Fire,
 “ and use neither Libations nor Cakes ; But when one
 “ is to offer Sacrifice, he leads his Victim to a Place
 “ clean and pure, and implores the God to whom
 “ he is to offer, having upon his Head a Tiara en-
 “ circled with Myrtle. None is permitted to offer
 “ Sacrifice for himself alone ; he must pray for
 “ all the *Persians*, and especially for the King.
 “ When the Sacrificer has offered the Victim, and
 “ cut it into pieces, he lays it upon the most tender
 “ Grass, especially upon what they call trefoil. The
 “ Parts of the Victim being thus disposed, the
 “ *Magus*, who assists in the Sacrifice, sings the
 “ Theogony, which the *Persians* look upon as a
 “ Sort of Incantation ; and they are not permitted
 “ to sacrifice without a *Magus*. Some Moments af-
 “ ter, he who offered the Victim carries off the
 “ Flesh, and applies it to what Use he pleases. Of
 “ all the Days of the Year, that which they observe
 “ with most Solemnity is the Day of their Nativity.
 “ Then the Rich roast an Ox or a Horse, a Camel or
 “ an Ass, for a publick Entertainment ; but the
 “ poorer Sort content themselves with giving some
 “ paultry Sheep.”

The same Author adds in the 138th Chapter of
 the same Book, that the *Persians* have also a high
 Veneration for the Rivers, into which they neither
 durst spit, nor let fall their Urine. 'Tis, no doubt,
 for the same Reason they are forbid to extinguish
 Fire with Water, using nothing but Earth for that
 Purpose,

(1) *Herodotus* writes this Name without the Aspiration.

Purpose, as you may see in Mr. *Hyde's* Treatise, cited at the Beginning of this Chapter.

Strabo, who had travelled into *Cappadocia*, a Country pretty near to *Persia*, is very full upon the Religion of that ancient People (1); and what he says of them ought to have the more Weight with us, that he agrees in every Thing with the Author I have been copying. “ The *Persians*, says he, have neither
“ Statues nor Altars, but offer Sacrifice in high
“ Places. They believe the Heavens to be *Jupiter*;
“ they worship the Sun, whom they call *Mithras*, (2)
“ also the Moon, *Venus*, the Fire, the Earth, the
“ Winds and the Water. The Place where they
“ sacrifice must be pure, the Victim to be offered
“ is crown'd (3), and they pray over it by Way of
“ further Consecration (a). When the *Magus* has cut
“ it into Pieces, each of the Company takes his
“ Part of it, and they leave nothing for the Gods,
“ believing that they require from them only the
“ Soul of the Victim; we are told however, adds
“ he, that sometimes they throw a Part of the Fat
“ into the Fire. They sacrifice chiefly to the Fire
“ and Water; to the Fire, dry Wood, whose Bark
“ they take off, after having covered it with the
“ Fat of Lard, and poured Oil upon it. They
“ kindle it, not by blowing, but by making wind
“ with a Kind of Fan. If any one blew, or threw
“ any Filth into it, he was to be punish'd with
“ Death. Their manner of sacrificing to the Wa-
“ ter, continues *Strabo*, was thus. When they come
“ near a Lake, a River, or a Fountain, they make
“ a Ditch, and there strangle the Victim, taking
“ great care that the Blood spurt not out as far as
“ the Water; for then all would be defiled. After
“ this mixing the Flesh with Myrtle and Laurel,
VOL. II. H “ the

(1) L. 15. p. 732. (2) *Herodotus* gives the same Name, otherwise writ, to *Venus Urania*.

(3) A Circumstance not mentioned by *Herodotus*.

(a) *Casaubon* has restored the true reading, by substituting Prayers, *Preces*, for the Word Imprecations, which *Xilander* had used in his Translation.

“ the Priests order them to be burnt ; and after some
 “ Prayers they pour Oil and Milk mix’d with Honey,
 “ not upon the Fire nor the Water, but upon the
 “ Earth. While the Priests are saying Prayers,
 “ which last a considerable Time, they hold in
 “ their Hand a bundle of Tamarin. In *Cappa-*
 “ *docia*, where are to be found a great Number of the
 “ *Persian Magi*, who are called *Pyretbi*, they strike
 “ not the Victim with a Knife, but knock it down
 “ with a Club.” This Author, as we see, con-
 founds the Religion of the *Persians*, of whom he had
 heard, with that of the *Magi* of *Cappadocia* whom
 he had seen, and with whom he had conversed.
 What I am going to quote from him concerning the
 Fire-Temples, only respects the last.

• The Fire-Temples, which he calls *πυρατρία*, were,
 • according to him, large Inclosures, in the middle
 whereof was an Altar. There the *Magi* preserved
 the Fire with the Ashes, and went thither every Day
 to offer up their Prayers with the Bundle before men-
 tioned in their Hands, and their Head covered with
 Mitres, whose Strings hung down over their Faces and
 Lips. This especially was the Practice in the Tem-
 ple of *Anaitis* and *Omanus*; for these two Divini-
 ties had their Temples, and the Statue of the Latter
 was carried with a great deal of Pomp and Cere-
 mony. This, says *Strabo*, is what I have seen my-
 self (1). What he adds afterwards about the Vene-
 ration which that People had for Water, wherein
 they durst not even wash their Hands, far less the
 Bodies of the Dead, nor throw any Filth into it, this
 he owns he had from others.

But not to insist on this, we may observe by the
 by, that *Strabo* seems to contradict himself in the
 Passage we have now quoted; for after he had said
 in the Beginning, that the *Persians* had neither Tem-
 ples, nor Statues, he mentions afterwards both the
 Temple, and Statues of *Amanus* and *Anaitis*; but we
 may

(1) See what is said of *Omanus* and *Anaitis* in the following Chapter.

may justify him, by saying that the first Part of his Narration is to be understood of the ancient and primitive Religion of the *Persians*, who had then neither Temples, nor Statues; and that the last Part respects the Times when they had altered the Purity of the ancient Worship. The first Part seems to be copied from *Herodotus*; in the Latter the Author delivers what he himself had seen four hundred Years after: Now 'tis no Wonder if in that Interval the ancient Religion of that People had undergone some Change. The Fact itself is not to be doubted, since *Clemens of Alexandria* (1) asserts, upon the Authority of *Berosus* (2), that the *Persians*, after a long Course of Years, had begun to pay divine Worship to human Statues; a Practise which was introduced by *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Darius* and Father of *Ochus*. It was he, continues that Author, who first erected at *Babylon*, *Ecbatana*, and *Susa*, the Statue of *Venus Tanais*, and by his own Example taught the *Persians*, the *Bactrians*, and the People of *Damas* and *Sardes*, that this Statue was to be worship'd as a Goddess.

'Tis true this Author seems to contradict *Herodotus*, who reports, as we have seen above, that the Worship of that Goddess was known in *Persia* in his Time, even when there were no Statues of the Gods in that Country; but 'tis very possible that this Worship had been introduced before, and that the Prince, whom *Clemens of Alexandria* names, added to it Statues of that Goddess, as *Strabo* has said of those of *Omanus* and *Anaitis*. But let that be as it will, I believe it was very late before the *Persians* had Temples and Altars: Hence doubtless the Fury which *Xerxes* exerted against the Temples of *Athens* which he burnt: 'Tis indeed very credible that he intended to revenge himself upon the *Athenians*, by destroying whatever they held most sacred; but would he not also revenge the Injury done to the Gods, whom he

H 2

thought

(1) In *Protrep.*

(2) B. 5. of his *Chald.*

thought affronted by the Nature of that Worship which was paid to them in *Greece*?

The *Greek* Philosophers reasoned a great deal upon this ancient Religion of the *Persians*; and tho' I will not warrant their Allegories, yet I cannot choose but take some Notice of them. After this Manner then did *Celsus* discourse of it, as we learn from *Origen* (1). We see, says he, in the Doctrine of the *Persians*, and in the Mystery of their *Mithras*, the Symbol of two celestial Periods; namely, that of the fix'd Stars, and Planets, and that of the Passage which the Soul makes thro' the Latter. This Symbol is a high Ladder, which reaches even to the eighth Gate. The first of these Gates is of Lead, the second of Pewter, the third of Brass, the fourth of Iron, the fifth of mixt Metal, the sixth of Silver, the seventh of Gold. The *Persians* attribute the first to *Saturn*, Lead denoting the Slowness of that Planet in performing its Revolution: The second to *Venus*, to which they compare the Softness and the Lustre of Pewter: The third, which is firm and solid, to *Jupiter*: The fourth to *Mercury*, because Iron and *Mercury* are good for general Use, and of vast Service to the World: The fifth, which is of a mixt and unequal Nature, to *Mars*; The sixth, which is of Silver, to the Moon; the seventh of Gold, to the Sun. But is not all this too subtle and refined for the Genius of the ancient *Persians*?

According to the Doctrine which *Zoroaster* had taught, *Plutarch*, explaining the ancient Opinion of the two Principles, the one good, which was Light, the other bad, the Principle of Darkness, says, the ancient *Persians* added a third which they termed *Mithras*. They invoke, continues that Author, the God *Pluto* and Darkness, after this Manner. Having pounded in a Mortar the Plant called *Omomi*, they intermix with it the Blood of a Wolf just sacrificed, and carry this Composition into a Place of obscure Darkness, where the Sun never shines. Besides
this,

(1) L. 6. contra Celsum.

this, they have a Notion that some Trees and Plants belong to the good Principle, and others to the Bad ; and that among the Animals, the Dogs, the Birds, and the Hedge-hogs, are subject to the Dominion of the former of these two Principles ; and that all such Animals as live in the Water, belong to the latter. *Oromazes*, according to them, continues *Plutarch*, is sprung from the purest Light, and *Arimanius* from Darknefs ; and these two Principles have always been at War with one another.

Such are the Testimonies of the Ancients with Respect to the Religion of the *Persians*. We might add others to them, but these are sufficient. Only we are to remark, that, notwithstanding the Variety that we find among them, they all agree at least in this, that this ancient People paid Adoration to the Sun and Fire. This is even what the learned *English* Author, mentioned at the Beginning of this Chapter, allows ; but at the same Time he asserts, that all these Authors are mistaken, when they say that the ancient *Persians* had Temples and Statues ; but that learned Gentleman has not allowed himself to consider, that admitting the Worship of the *Guebres* at this Day to be as refined as he would have it, yet the primitive Religion of that ancient People may possibly have received several Changes, as we have proved, and may have been improved in after Ages by some of the *Magi*. The Changes that had befallen that same Religion from *Herodotus* to the Time when *Strabo* lived, fully prove that others may have happened to it. But this whole *Persian* Mythology will be better unfolded in the History of the God *Mithras*, whom I shall speak of at full Length.

ARTICLE I.


M I T H R A S.

Mithras, an ancient God of the *Persians*, was not well known in *Europe*, till his Worship was brought to *Rome*; which happened according to *Plutarch* (1) at the Time of the *Piratick War*. *A. U. C.* 687. 'Tis from this *Epoch*, but more especially from the Time of the second and third Century of the Christian *Æra*, that the Worship and Mysteries of this Divinity were celebrated at *Rome*. *Van Dale*, who contends that the Worship of *Mithras* was not known in *Greece* and *Rome* till after the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, had undoubtedly not considered this Passage in *Plutarch's* Life of *Pompey*.

'Tis beyond doubt that the *Romans* took *Mithras* for the Sun, and worshipp'd him as such; this is evident from the Inscriptions that are upon Monuments representing this Divinity; *Deo soli invicto Mythræ: to the invincible God Mithras the Sun*. This Epithet invincible is frequently given to the Sun upon other Monuments, and it denotes that Luminary to be the first and as the Lord of all the rest. It would be needless to cite the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, who assert that this God represented the Sun: All of them agree to it; and their Sentiment being conformable to what we learn as to this from the Inscriptions transmitted to us by Antiquity, leaves no room to doubt of it. *Herodotus* however, whom we have quoted above, alledges that among the *Persians*, *Mithras*, whose Name he writes without the Aspiration, was *Venus Urania*, and subjoins that they had received his Worship from the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, the former of whom called him *Mylitta*, and the latter *Alitta*. But we follow the common Opinion, which makes that God the Sun, which is incontestible, as to the *Greeks* and *Romans* at least.

'Tis

(1) Life of *Pompey*.

'Tis a Misfortune that the Monuments of *Mithras* we have remaining, and which are very numerous, were all done in *Italy*, and that we have no *Persian* Figure of that God: For I don't think he is to be found among those which *Chardin*, and after him *Cornelle le Brun* copied at *Chilminear*, which is reckoned to have been the ancient *Persepolis*. Some Antiquaries, however, think he is to be seen in three of those Figures, representing three Men with long Beards standing upright, having upon their Heads a kind of Bonnet, resembling a *Turban*  at the Top. These three Priests plunge a Dagger into the Belly of three Animals, thought to be a Lyon, a Griffin and a Horse; as to the two first there is no Dispute; as to the third, it appears plainly from the Head and Feet to be a Horse, but the Tail is different from that of that Animal.

If the God *Mithras* was thus represented by the *Persians*, the *Romans*, who derived from them his Worship and Mysteries, must needs have considerably changed the Manner of characterizing him; for we have now extant several Monuments of that Divinity; which bear little or no Resemblance to that which we have now describ'd. Those Monuments were mostly dug up at *Antium*, now *Nettuno*, and have been learnedly explained by Mr. *Della Torrè*, since Bishop of *Hadria* (1). We find some others in the *Justinian* Gallery, and in other Antiquaries; and together with these some Inscriptions in *Gruter*. All these Images resemble one another, only with this Difference, that some bear more Figures than others.

The first, which also appears the most compounded, was in the House of *Octavio Zeno*. It represents a young Man with a *Phrygian* Bonnet, a Tunick and a Cloak which rises out fluttering from the left Shoulder. This young Man holds his Knee upon a Bull that is stretch'd on the Ground, and while he holds

HI 4 him

(1) Monum. vet. Antii, Romæ 1700 in 4to.

him muzzled with the left Hand, with his Right he plunges a Dagger into his Throat (*a*).

On the right Side of this Monument are two Youths, whose Habits and Caps are like those of *Mitbras*, who is upon the Bull. Each of these young Men holds a Torch, the one rais'd up, the other with the lighted End directed downwards to the Ground. A Dog comes up to the Throat of the Bull, as to lick the Blood that flows from the Wound. Near the Dog is a Serpent stretch'd at its full Length and without Action. A Lyon couchant by the Serpent, appears there likewise without any determined Action. Under the Belly of the Bull is a Scorpion grasping the Privities of the Bull in his two Claws. Before the Head of this Animal is a Tree, to which is fastned a lighted Torch, whence hangs the Head of an Ox. Behind *Mitbras* is a Tree with a Scorpion, and a Torch, whose lighted End is turn'd downwards. Higher up over against the Head of *Mithras* is a Raven.

The upper Part of this Bas-relief is also very singular. 'Tis a Series of Figures upon the same Line, whereof the first is a radiant Sun with Wings, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, which appear in violent Agitation, and look towards the four quarters of the World: Near the Chariot is a naked Man, round whom a Serpent twines with four Wreaths from Foot to Head. After this you see, three flaming Altars, and between those Altars three large square Vials; then another naked Man, intertwined like the first, by a Serpent: This last has Wings, and a Pike in his left Hand: The next Thing is four Altars, with as many Vials. The Moon in her Chariot drawn by two Horses, that appear exceedingly fatigued, closes the Scene. She stands erect in her Chariot with Wings, and the Figure of a Crescent upon her Head.

I have

(*a*) See this Figure and the others in *Montfaucon's Antiquities*. Tom. 1. p. 373 of the *French*. And in the Work of M. *Della Torre*.

I have described this Bas-relief most minutely, because it contains almost whatever is upon the rest. In all of them you have a young Man cutting a Bull's Throat, with some Symbols, tho' in smaller Quantity ; only with this Difference, that upon one of the other Bas-reliefs, which is that of the *Villa-Borghesa*, upon the Thigh of the Animal we have this Inscription, *Soli Deo invicto Mithræ*, and near the Place where *Mithras* plunges the Dagger into him, these barbarous Words *Nama Sebezio*. Thus, by explaining this Figure, we shall come to an exact Knowledge of what is represented upon the rest, which may be seen in the Antiquaries.

The bare Description of the Figures, that represent *Mithras*, evidently declares that they refer to the Sun; to his Power, and to his Influences. *Statius*, in an Invocation which he addresses to that Luminary, and his learned Commentator, have very well comprehended this Mythology.

*Adsis, O memor Officii, Junoniaque arva
Dexter ames ; seu te roseum Titana vocari,
Gentis Achemenice ritu, seu præstat Osirim
Frugiferum ; seu Persei sub rupibus antri,
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram* (1).

“ O Sun, be propitious to me——whether
“ you chuse to be invoked under the Name of
“ refulgent *Titan*, or of fructifying *Osiris*, or under
“ that of *Mithras*, when, in the Caves of *Persia*,
“ he presses the Horns of the Bull, disdaining to
“ follow him.”

Lucretius (2), explaining this Passage, says, the *Persians* were the first who worship'd the Sun in Dens and Caves, and that to denote the Eclipses of this Luminary : That the Bull, whose Horns *Mithras* holds with one Hand (which tho' it is, in some Monuments, yet it is not in that which we have described) denotes the Moon, who scorning to follow her Brother, goes before him, and hides his Light ;
but

(1) Theb. l. 1. in fin.

(2) In lib. 1 Th.

but the Sun, by that violent Action, shews his Superiority over that Planet : Some of the Ancients were of Opinion that the Bull signified the Earth, and that the Dagger which *Mitbras* plunges into his Throat, intimated that the Sun by his Rays penetrated the Surface of the Earth, and render'd it fruitful. That the Sun was look'd upon by the Ancients as the Lord and Ruler of all the heavenly Bodies, and that they believed he regulated their Courses, is a Thing undeniable, as we shall demonstrate afterwards by Testimonies from *Cicero* and *Macrobius*, if indeed there be any need of proving it. But that the Moon, upon Account of her Crescent, was represented by the Bull's Horns, is what cannot be proved ; far less that the Bull figured the Earth, and that the Action of the Sun, plunging a Dagger into her, is a Symbol of those Beams that diffuse Fruitfulness over all ; these are Allegories too forced and that have no Foundation. I know all that *Thomas Hyde*, *M. Della Torre*, and some Antiquaries have said upon this Subject, and think it quite unnecessary to copy them ; but when the whole is laid together I shall give my Sentiments of all these Monuments of *Mitbras*, who undoubtedly was the same as the Sun, not only among the *Persians*, but also among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

The last, by whom the Worship of this God was carried farther than by others, had instituted Mysteries to his Honour, as shall be said afterwards ; and it was in the Celebration of these Mysteries, that *Mitbras* was honoured under the different Symbols which the Monuments represent. There is no doubt but they designed to figure thereby the Course of that Luminary, his Power and his other Operations. I consider therefore the Monuments that we have of that God, not as a Representation of the real Sacrifice of a Bull that was offered up to him, but as a kind of celestial Planisphere design'd to denote the Sun's Force, by painting him in the Attitude of a young Man, thrusting a Dagger into the Throat of one of the strongest and fiercest Animals. This, no doubt, is
the

the Reason why they engraved upon Bas-reliefs the Signs and Constellations. We see, in the Work of Mr. *Hyde*, upon one of these Monuments, the Crab, the Scorpion, the Serpent, the Dog, the Dolphin, the Arrow, and the Dragon, several Constellations very well designed, and also the Lion and several other Signs of the *Zodiack*, as likewise the Planets, at least their Symbols.

Accordingly, the Arrow may there represent *Mars*; the *Caduceus*, *Mercury*; the Thunder and the Eagle, *Jupiter*; the Scythe, tho' somewhat less discernible, *Saturn*; and the Bird which resembles a Pigeon, *Venus*. These five Planets joined to the Sun and Moon, that are at the Head of the Bas-Relief, form the seven Planets; and indeed it is evident, that they were designed to be represented in this Planisphere, with the Signs of the *Zodiack*, and some of the Constellations. It was therefore the Heavens, over which the Sun Rules, with Regard to us, that were designed to be represented in the Bas-relief which I am now explaining.

But what is the Import of this Action of *Mithras*, who, under the Figure of a strong robust young Man, is killing the Bull, as appears in all these Monuments; or who, in another quoted by Mr. *Hyde* (1), stands upon that Animal, holding a Dagger in the right Hand, and a Globe in the other? My Notion of it is this. The Sun, after having run over the southern Signs, without Strength and Heat during the winter Season, recovers a new Vigour when he approaches our Tropick, at the Beginning of Spring; he first passes thro' the Ram, and entering into the Sign of the Bull begins to put forth his Strength which is mark'd by cutting the Bull's Throat. Then it is indeed that Nature assumes new Vigour; for, according to *Macrobius*, the true Spring is what *Virgil* describes, when the Sun enters into the Sign of the Bull:

Vernum.

(1) De Rel. vet. Pers. 113.

*Vernum tempus jam obtinet, cum, dicente Virgilio,
Candidus auratis aperit cùm Cornibus Annum
Taurus, &c.*

This, to mention it by the by, is the Reason of putting upon the Leg of the same Bull, the Inscription, *Deo Soli invicto Mithræ*; an Inscription repeated upon the Altars of that God, and upon other Monuments that represent him, with some little Variation, as *Soli invicto Mithræ, Numini invicto Soli Mithræ ara, &c.* All this pointed out that the Sun who subdues that Sign, was from that Time to diffuse Heat and Fruitfulness over all, and to raise Mankind to the Hope of a plentiful Harvest, as *James Gronovius* observes in his Explication of these Figures. This Fruitfulness is designed yet more plainly upon one of these Marbles, where the Tail of the Bull has at its Extremity Ears of Corn. The other Figures that accompany these Monuments of *Mithras* are easy to be explained. The Crab, gnawing the Privities of the Bull, denotes his Eagerness, his Haste, to thrust out that Sign, the Sun being to travel thro' him very soon after. The Serpent stretched out below the Figure of the Lion, is *Serpentarius*, which occupies so great a Space in the Heavens. The other Signs of the *Zodiack* are there, to point out that the Sun is to run thro' them during the Summer. The Lion, which was one of the particular Symbols of *Mithras*, (as appears from an Antique, whereon he is represented under the Figure of a Lion, with his Star, and this Inscription, *Leo Mithriacus*) ought especially to be there, as he is indeed, because the Sun is in his greatest Strength when he enters into that Sign; and in the Marble which we are explaining he is above the Crab, because in Reality the Sun enters into that Sign when he leaves this. The other Stars and Constellations are there also, as they ought to be in a celestial Globe (*a*).

The

(*a*) Besides *Mithras's* Lion, we have now been speaking of, we find other Figures of that God with the Symbol of the same Animal, and one of them very singular, which Father *Montfaucon* has

The two young Men, whose Habit and Head-dress are like those of *Mithras*, the one of them holding his lighted Torch aloft, while the other turns his towards the Ground to extinguish it, are certainly, as Antiquaries are unanimously agreed, the Symbols of the Sun rising and setting, and 'tis needless to insist longer upon this. The same Way are we to explain the two Torches; the one lifted up, and the other lowered to the Ground, which in one of the Monuments of *Mithras* are fastened to two Trees, the one before, and the other behind the Bull slain. As little is it to be doubted that the two Stars that are upon the Head of the young Men, we have been speaking of, in a Marble explain'd by *Gruter* (1), are the Morning and Evening Star, as says that learned Antiquarian upon one of those Marbles quoted by *Thomas Hyde* (2). The young Man holding the Torch aloft, is standing, and he ought to be in that Attitude, since he is to carry Light over the Earth. He who is extinguishing his Torch, is sitting, and appears quite overcast with Sorrow, to signify that his Light is going to disappear; and that Men are in Pain and Uneasiness while the Earth is wrap'd up in Clouds and Darkness.

Of the two Trees, to which the Torches are fastened, the one upon the right Side of the rising Sun has only Leaves, while the other, by the setting Sun, is loaded with Fruits; by which are represented the Spring Time and Autumn.

The Sun in his Chariot, at the Top of the Marble, whose Horses appear panting, marks the Sun at Noon, and in all his Strength; as the Moon, likewise in her Chariot, (whose Horses seem so tired and spent that one of them is even lying down) signifies that

has quoted in his Travels to *Italy*, representing *Mithras* under a human Form, with a Lion's Head, having four Wings upon the Shoulders, and holding a Torch in either Hand, one of them more elevated than the other. The Lion, in short, was so common in the Mysteries of that God, that they were sometimes nam'd *Leontia*.

(1) P. 24.

(2) Rel. vet. Pers. p. 113.

that she is eclipsed by the Sun, and obliged to hide her Head.

The two Figures entwined with Serpents, point out the Obliquity of the Ecliptick ; which may be confirmed by a singular Monument, whereof *Montfaucon* has given a Draught, on which you see the Signs of the *Zodiack* cut by a Serpent, which wreaths itself around it with many Spires (1).

The Altars and Vials, that form a Kind of Cornice at the Top of the Marble, informs us of what Use they were in the Mysteries of *Mithras*, that were always accompany'd with Sacrifices.

The Raven that is to be seen upon the same Monument, is to be considered as a Bird consecrated to the Sun, or to *Mithras*, as we are assured by all the Ancients it was. Even the Priests of *Mithras* were stiled *Coraces*, that is *Ravens*, and *Hierocoraces*, or sacred Ravens, because this Bird was consecrated to that God ; as also they were called *Leontici*, because the Lion was his particular Symbol, as has been now said.

The other Figures of *Mithras*, exhibited by the Antiquaries, may be easily explained. *Montfaucon* in his Travels through *Italy* has two of them very remarkable. The one, whereof something has been said in the preceeding Note, represents a Man with a Lion's Head, whom a Serpent, after having twined about his Neck and Shoulders, overtops by the whole Head : *Superat Capite & cervicibus altis* (2). This Figure has four Wings, two whereof fall down to the Earth, and the other two are raised towards Heaven. Out of the Lion's Mouth proceeds a long Fillet that hangs waving in the Wind. The other Figure is mounted upon a Globe ; the Serpent wreaths around it from the Bottom of the Globe, till it surmounts the Head, and then winding about to the Face, thrusts its Head into the Mouth of the Figure. This Figure has also four Wings disposed in like Manner with the Former, that is, two let down and two

(1) Ant. Epl. T. 1.

(2) Virgil *Æn.* l. 2.

two elevated; but instead of Torches it holds two Keys in its Hands. These two Figures are unquestionably the God *Mitbras*. Several Authors assure us he was represented with a Lion's Head, as we learn from *Tertullian* (1) and from *St. Jerom* (2). *Lactatius* too, whom we have mentioned before, tells us that *Mitbras* in a *Persian* Habit, had a Lion's Head, adorned with a Tiara, and that he grasp'd the Horns of a Bull with his two Hands; upon which 'tis proper to remark by the by, that altho' we find Figures of this God with a Lion's Head, as are the two which I explain, yet he is not so represented on the Monuments where he is killing the Bull.

But to proceed, the other Symbols of these two Figures may be thus explained. The four Wings denote the Rapidity of the Sun's Course; the two that are lifted up to Heaven, point out his rising, and the two that are let down his setting: The Serpent entwining those Figures, signifies the Obliquity of the Ecliptick, whence that Luminary never deviates; the Keys in the Hands of one of the Figures, denotes that the Sun opens and shuts the Gates of Day, and is Lord of Nature: In fine, the Globe beneath its Feet marks the World, round which that Luminary revolves, scattering his Light and benign Influences over our whole System.

We may Remark, before we go farther, that upon a Marble in the *Justinian* Gallery, and upon two others, the one whereof is quoted in *Mr. Della Torre's* Work, and the other in *Beger*, the Figures of *Mithras* cutting the Bull's Throat are winged, as also the Figure of the young Man bearing a lighted Torch; which only confirms what we have advanced, that thereby was intimated the Rapidity wherewith the Sun makes the Round of the World. There are also some other Variations as to these ancient Monuments, which are perhaps owing to nothing but the Caprice of the Artist. Thus sometimes the
young

(1) *Apolog.*

(2) *Ep. ad lætam.*

young Men who bear the lighted Torches, have them both turned up, sometimes again both turned downward: Sometimes too he of the two who we said represents the rising Day, is behind the Bull, while the other representing the setting Sun is before.

This I think is the most probable Explication of all the Symbols that accompany the Figure of *Mithras* (*a*); unless you will rather choose to say, that this God appears in the middle of the Figures, mounted upon a Bull whose Throat he is cutting, while the two other young *Mithras*'s are there, the one before, the other behind, to denote the Rising, the Setting, and Mid-day or the Time when the Sun is in his greatest Strength: Which is very well expressed by his Action upon the Bull, one of the strongest and boldest Animals.

I shan't dissemble however that there are Mythologists who will have the Bull to point out the Moon, and the Sun holding that Animal by the Horns, his seeming to force that Planet to follow him; as *Statius* seems to have had in his Eye in this Verse.

Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.

Or, which comes much to the same, that by this Symbol were meant that the Sun is the Ruler of all the heavenly Bodies, and the Regulator of their Motions. *Martianus Capella*, speaking of the Sun, says:

Nam medium tu curris iter, dans solus Amicam

Temperiem superis, compellens atque coercens

Sydera sacra Deum, cum legem cursibus addis (1).

Cicero, speaking of the same Luminary, calls him the Conductor and prime Ruler of all the rest: *Dux, Princeps & Moderator Luminum reliquorum* (2): Which *Macrobius* thus explains, Sat. c. 20. “The
“ Sun, says he, is called the Ruler of the rest, be-
“ cause by him their Courses are regulated; so that
“ when

(*a*) You may consult the Work of M. della Torre, who explains all these Symbols of *Mithras* very learnedly.

(1) De nupt. Phil. l. 2.

(2) Somn. Scip.

“ when they are removed from him to a certain
 “ Distance, he forces them to return the Way they
 “ came, and approach towards him.”

Of all the Marbles that represent *Mithras*, there is only one, (that which is taken from the *Borghese Vineyard*) that has the Inscription *Deo soli invicto Mithræ*, wherein there is no Difficulty; but there are above it, upon the Bull's Neck, near the Place where *Mithras* is stabbing him with the Dagger, these two Words, *Nama Sebesio*, that have put all the Antiquaries to the Rack. The more reasonable own them to be quite unintelligible; however, that my Readers may not be deprived of the Conjectures of the Learned, I shall deliver some of their Notions upon this Subject. *Gruter* has only remark'd that they were two *Persian* Words, but has not explain'd them. *Bulengerus* (1) contends for our reading *Nannæ Sebesio*, and immediately after *Deo Mithræ*: And consequently he concludes that the Word *Nanna*, is a *Persian* Name of *Mithras*.

But allowing that it was easy to write an *M* instead of two *NN*, and that consequently *Nama* had been put for *Nanna*, yet it will not be a Name of *Mithras*, but rather one of *Diana's* Epithets, who was surnamed *Nannea*, and goes under this very Name in the Book of *Maccabees*: And as several Mythologists alledge that the Bull upon the Bas-reliefs, I am now explaining, designs the Moon, who was the same as *Diana*, the Inscription would consequently run thus, *To Nannea, and to the Sun the invincible Mithras*; But what shall we then make of the Word *Sebesio*, which was never given to *Diana*, but either to *Jupiter*, or more especially to *Bacchus* or *Dionysius*, who was the Sun?

The learned Bishop of *Hadria* whom I have so often named in this Article, and who was the first that publish'd this Inscription, after having owned it to be a profound Riddle, has however explained it very learnedly. Saint *Epiphanius*, says he, (2)

VOL. II.

I

observes

(1) De Mag. L. 1. c. 4.

(2) C. 4. p. 194.

observes (1), that the *Pharisees* had expressed in *Hebrew* the Names of the Gods of *Greece*, and he quotes by Way of Example that of the Sun, whom they called *Hamma* and *Semes*, wherein Father *Pata-vius* is agreed with him. Now 'tis easy to see the Resemblance of *Hamma* or rather *Chamma* to *Nama*, and that of *Semes* to *Sebes*, whence the *Sebasius* or *Sebesius* has been formed: Thus these two Words come out to be the Name of the Sun, with his Epithet *Sebasius*, written after the Manner of the *Persians*, and repeated upon the Thigh of the Bull, *Deo soli*, &c. The learned Prelate confirms his Conjecture from this, that the *Basilidians* had introduced into their Mysteries, whereof those of *Mitbras* made a Part, several barbarous and foreign Words: And 'tis indeed true, as shall be said afterwards, that the Mysteries of *Mitbras* were never more celebrated than in the Time of those Hereticks.

The Author of a Treatise upon the *Cistophori* (2), after having given the various Opinions of the Learned upon these mysterious Words, adheres to those who, by the Word *Sebesius*, thought we were to understand the same as *Sabasius*, an Epithet given to the Sun; but thereby he only explains half of the Inscription.

I should not mention the Opinion of *Olaus Rudbek*, which is altogether void of Probability, but that it gives Occasion at the same time for this Remark, that we must always be on our Guard against those, who upon embracing a System, use all their Endeavours to reduce every Thing to it. Accordingly this learned Man, who was fond of referring to *Sweden* his own Country, and to the Countries about, all the Antiquities of *Greece*, thought to find the Explication of the barbarous Words of the Inscription, in the ancient Language of the *Scythians*, and according to him they signify, *the Name of the Ox is Goddess Earth* (3). Those perhaps who
fancied

(1) L. 1. Her. 16.

(2) Father *Panel* the Jesuit.

(3) Atl. 3. pat.

fancied that these two Words were the Name of him who consecrated to *Mithras* the Marble on which they are, are hardly more reasonable than this *Swedish* Author.

Some learned Men have taken these two Words to be *Persian* ; and, had they been pleased to explain them, they might have saved the Antiquaries no small Trouble ; for nothing is more suitable than Words of that Language, upon a Bas-relief representing the God of the *Persians* ; but Mr. *Thomas Hyde*, who has composed a very learned Treatise upon the Religion of that ancient People, and who was so skilled in the Knowledge of Languages, has not however ventured to give any Explication of this Circumstance.

Maffei, not satisfied with these Conjectures, offered a new one in the Academy of Belles-Lettres. First of all he remarks the Place where the Words in Question stand : They are not after the Inscription *Deo soli invicto Mithræ*, where however there was room enough to insert them ; they must not therefore be read continuedly, as if they were new Epithets given to the Sun besides that of Invincible. They are upon the Neck of the Bull, and just in the Place where the Blood flows plentifully from the Wound which *Mithras* gives him : Their Design who wrote them in this Place was therefore to point out, either the Name, or the Property of the Thing near which they are engraved. What then is their Meaning ? *Nama Sebesion*, in good *Greek*, imports *August Spring*, *New Liquor*, *Sacred Fluid*. Could any Thing be put there more suitable to figure the Action of *Mithras*, who is cutting the Bull's Throat ? It may be objected, says M. *Maffei*, that the last Letter is wanting in the Word *Sebesion* : But that is because there was not room enough for it, or that it is defaced ; or, in fine, that it was written upon the Knife itself, near which is the last Letter save one, but in so small a Character that it cannot be read. For, in fine, adds he, if it were there, the Word would incontestably be

Greek. But, continues he, tho' it be true that the Word *Nama* is *Greek*, and signifies a Liquor that flows, can we in like Manner be assured that *Sebesion*, which is not to be found in any Lexicon, belongs likewise to the same Language, and signifies *Sacred, August*? May we not say, answers he, that this Word is form'd from the Verb $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\omega$, *veneror, adoro, colo*? From thence has come $\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. We find in *Suidas*, the Word $\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ *cultus*, perhaps we ought to read $\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, whence 'tis easy to derive the *Sebesion*. To admit the Verbs, and not to admit the Noun which is derived from them, would be to admit *veneror*, and reject *venerabile*.

Such is *Maffei's* Opinion as to this Inscription. For my Part, I am persuaded that these two Words, *Nama Sebesio*, belong not to the *Greek* Tongue; the latter especially is visibly the Epithet *Sabastus*, given to *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, who in the ancient Mythology was the Sun, whom the *Persians* named *Mitbras*. That this Name was given to that God, is a Fact not to be deny'd. To be convinced of it, we need but read *Aristophanes*, in his Play called *the Wasps*; *Dicodorus Siculus*, Book third; *Lucian*, in the Dialogue intitled *the Counsel of the Gods*; *Suidas*, in the Word *Zaboi*; *Cicero*, and a Number of other Authors. The same Epithet is also sometimes given to *Jupiter*, because that God, according to *Macrobius*, likewise represented the Sun. 'Tis not therefore from the *Greek* Language that this Word is derived: We must search for the Root of it in foreign Languages, and accordingly we find it in the Sabaoth of the *Hebrews*, which signifies *Militia, exercitus*. This Epithet is frequently given to God, who assumed to himself the Name of *God of Hosts*: $\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma \Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$, *Domini Sabaoth*, the Lord of Hosts, because he indeed is the Lord of the whole Armies in Heaven and Earth, and of every Creature. The eastern Nations, who worship'd *Bacchus* as a great Conqueror, or rather who looked upon that God as the Sun, who rules over the other Luminaries,

minaries, and over the whole World, gave him the same Epithet, which belongs to none but the supreme God: And from thence it pass'd into *Greece* and *Italy*, either, as *Gerard Vossius* alledges (1), by Means of the *Thracians*, and by *Orpheus* who had himself learned it from the *Egyptians* or *Syrians*; or by Means of the Colonies that came from these two Countries into *Greece* and *Italy*.

That this Word was quite barbarous with Respect to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is what cannot be doubted, after the Testimony of *Aristophanes*, who, in one of his Comedies, said they ought to banish out of their Cities the strange Gods, and among others *Sebasius*. This Comedy, 'tis true, is lost; but the Authority of *Cicero* who had read it, supplies that Loss; Here is what that Orator says of it (2): *Aristophanes, the most facetious of all the Poets of the ancient Comedy, agreeably rallies the new Gods, and the Worship paid them by night, and would have Sabasius and some other strange Gods banish'd the City for ever. Novos vero Deos, &c, in his colendis, nocturnas pervigilationes, sic Aristophanes, facetissimus Poeta veteris Comediae, vexat, ut, apud eum, Sabasius, & quidam alii Dii, peregrini judicati, e Civitate ejiciantur.* This doubtless is the true Signification of the Epithet (a) *Sabasius*. The *Persians* give it to their *Mithras*, who was the Sun, as the *Greeks* to *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, who among them represented the same Luminary; and the *Romans*, who had received the Worship of that God from the *Persians*, and the Names which they gave him, made use of that of *Sabasius* or *Sebasius* which is found upon the Marble now in Question. And what tho' we find the Name differently spell'd in the Ancients, since it was derived from a Language they understood not? But if you chuse rather with the learned *Bochart* (3), to seek for the Root of *Sabasius*

I 3

(1) De ort. & progr. Idol. l. 2. p. 140.

(2) De leg.

(a) The same Name was also given to *Jupiter* as appears by this Inscription: *Q. Nunnius Alexander donum dedit Jovi Sabasio.*

(3) Chan. L. 1. & 18.

sus in *Saboe*, a *Hebrew* Word signifying to be drunk, and which consequently of right belong'd to the God *Bacchus*, I shall not oppose it: This Epithet will then have the same Signification as that of *Methymnius* which is also given to *Bacchus*, and it will make nothing for *Maffei's* Explication. As to the Word *Nama*, it is certainly one of the Names of *Diana* or of the Moon, who, according to *Herodotus*, was adored by the *Persians*, and by ancient Authors was named either *Nana* or *Anaitis*. We ought not to puzzle ourselves with the Fault of the Engraver, who has put *Nama* for *Nana*. Those Faults are common to Artists, and M. *Maffei* has also occasion for this Resource, for his *Sebesion*, where the last Letter is wanting.

What undoubtedly led him to frame this Explication is, that these two Words happen to be immediately adjoining to the Blood that flows from the Wound which the Bull has received; but, in order to give it some Probability, the Marble ought to have been the Expression of a real Sacrifice, whereas it is only the Emblem of the Sun's Power over the Earth; a celestial Planisphere, whereon are in part the Stars, the Constellations, and the Signs of the *Zodiack*, in the middle whereof the Sun presides, as the most powerful and the Lord of all the Rest, as has been already said. This is the Notion which the learned Mr. *Hyde* had of these Representations; it was, says he, designed to represent the System of the World, such as *Zoroaster* imagined it to be, and which the *Greeks* and *Romans*, from whom we have received these Bas-reliefs, had themselves taken from the *Persians*: *Mitbræ figuræ quas exhibemus, videntur esse tales, quas Mathematicæ effinxerat olim Zoroastres, quæ non fuerunt cultus ergo, sed ut per eos Philosophicæ & Mysticæ repræsentaretur Systema hujus Mundi* (1).

I know *Cælius Rhodiginus*, upon those Verses of *Statius* which we have quoted, ending with these Words, *Torquentem cornua Mithram*, seems to say the

(1) *Hyde* p. 115.

the Poet alludes to the Sacrifice of a Bull that was offered up to *Mitbras*, *Mithræ simulacrum*, says he, *Leonis rictum præ se ferebat cum tiara, utraque manu bubula premens cornua, qui Bos mox immolandus.*

But this Author is mistaken, since 'tis certain, from the Testimony of all the Ancients who have spoke of *Mitbras*, that they offered Horses to him, and not Oxen or Bulls (1). The only Example that can be cited in Favour of it, is drawn from *Stobeus* (2), after *Agatharcides* of *Samos*, who in his *Pericks* reported, that *Agefilaus*, the Spy of the *Greeks*, having slain *Mardonius* instead of *Xerxes*; and having been taken and carried before that Prince, while he was offering up a Bull to the Sun, he obliged him to thrust his Hand into the Fire that was upon the Altar: After it was burnt off, *Agefilaus* presented the other, but *Xerxes*, struck with this Instance of unshaken Courage and Resolution, would not carry his Revenge any further, but dismiss'd him. But besides that we may be sure the Religion of the ancient *Persians* was much changed in the Time of that Prince's Reign; this Example does not destroy the general Custom, of sacrificing only Horses to *Mitbras*, and far less proves the Action of that God, who is plunging a Dagger into the Bull's Throat, to be the Expression of a real Sacrifice, where the Blood of the Victim would have been shed. Are the Gods represented as themselves sacrificing the Victims which are offered to them? This itself may convince us that these Characters express not a real Sacrifice, but the Sun's Force that subdues the fiercest of Animals.

We have also in the *Justinian* Gallery a *Bacchick Mitbras*, of a very singular Nature, and quite different from the rest. It is a young Man naked, without Arms, with the *Persian* Bonnet, holding in his right Hand a Cluster of Grapes, towards which he turns his Eye. He is accompanied with two young *Mitbras's*, one of whom holds the Torch aloft, the

I 4

other

(1) *Philos. in Vita Apol. Thya.*

(2) *Pag. 7.*

other lowers it towards the Ground. He has by him a Bow, an Arrow, a Quiver, and apart is the Dagger, wherewith in the other Bas-reliefs he slays the Bull, together with the Word *Nama*. Now in this Place sure it cannot signify Blood, nor any other Sort of Liquor.

Upon this Principle, I reckon we may explain the *Nama Sebesio*, by supposing *First*, That the Artists in transcribing the former have put an *M*, instead of two *NN*. Which may easily have happened to a barbarous Word, which was not understood even by those who ordered the Work on which it is, since Workmen have often given false Spelling to the Words of a Language that was in use in their own Time. *Secondly*, That to do the more Honour to the Gods, it was judged necessary to give them the same Name that they got in the Countries whence they came. *Thirdly*, We learn from the Ancients that *Diana*, who was the same as the Moon, had several other Names, as shall be said in the Article where we speak of that Goddess; among others that of *Anaitis* and *Nanna*. *Fourthly*, That there is to be seen, as hath been said, upon Bas-reliefs both the Figure of a Man, who is *Mithras* or the Sun, and that of a Woman, who is the *Venus cœlestis* or *Diana*, each of whom is plunging the Dagger into the Bull's Throat. These Things being supposed, nothing hinders us to be of Opinion that the barbarous Names of the Sun and Moon, were designed to be put upon the Marble I have been speaking of, and that the Inscription ought accordingly to be read: *To Nanna, and to Sebasius, or Mithras, the invincible Sun, that is to the Moon and to the Sun.* That from *Anaitis* or *Nannea*, they formed *Nanna* or *Nama*, is a Thing not very hard to believe. Greater Changes have yet happened to *Sabasius* the Epithet given to *Bacchus* or to the Sun, since this Name is found written by the Ancients, sometimes *Sebesius*, *Sebasius*, and even in *Macrobius*, *Sebedius*.

Further, this Explication is different from that of *Bulengerus*, which I have quoted, in so far as that

Author

Author supposes the Word *Nama* to have been one of *Mithras's* Names, whereas it is unquestionably that of the *Venus cœlestis*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, or of the Moon, who, as *Strabo* says, was worshipp'd by the *Persians* under the Name of *Anaitis*.

But be that as it will, 'tis proper to observe, that among the Bas-reliefs of *Mithras*, there are three; the one taken from the *Justinian Gallery*, the other from *Beger*, and the third quoted by *M. della Torre*, where, instead of the young Man slaying the Bull, is a Woman with Wings performing that Operation. In two of these Marbles, are the two young Men bearing Torches, to denote the Morning and the Evening; in that of *Beger*, there is but one Altar. These three Monuments don't represent *Mithras*, and I see there neither the Signs, nor the Constellations that are upon the others. We must therefore return to the Sentiment of *Herodotus*, who tells us that the *Persians* worship'd, under the Name of *Mithras*, celestial *Venus*, whose worship came to them from the *Affyrians*: For 'tis she undoubtedly, and not a Victory, as *Beger* was of Opinion, that is represented upon these three Bas-reliefs. Hence we may conclude that the *Romans*, who had received from the *Persians* the Knowledge and Worship of *Mithras*, used also in their Mysteries the Types and Representations of the celestial *Venus*, worship'd by that ancient People.

We are to observe in the first Place, that the Bas-reliefs we have been now explaining represent Dens and Caves, which are mostly very discernible, because it was in Dens and Caves they celebrated the Mysteries of *Mithras*, which we shall speak of immediately.

Secondly, That the Worship of *Mithras*, before it came to *Greece* and *Rome*, pass'd from the *Persians* into *Cappadocia*, where *Strabo*, who had travelled thither, says he had seen a great Number of *Magi*.

Thirdly, That the same Worship had also made its Way into *Media*, since *Lucian*, in his Dialogue of

of the Counsel of the Gods, says *Mithras* was a *Median* God: *This Mithras, says he, who wears a Candys (a) and a Tiara, who cannot speak Greek, nor understands even when you drink to his Health.*

Fourthly, That when the *Persians* said *Mithras* was born of a Stone, they meant either the Fire that proceeds from two Flint-stones struck against each other; *semina Flammæ abstrusa in venis Silicis*, or that this was the Way they came by the First use of Fire: Which coincides with the Fable related by *Plutarch* (1), who tells us that *Mithras*, born himself of a Stone, and desiring to have a Son without the Commerce of Women, had lain with a Stone, whereof he had a Son named *Diorphus*, or Light.

Fifthly, The Fable importing that *Mithras* was a Stealer of Oxen which he led into *Caves*, signify'd, as *Porphyry* has it (2), that the Sun whom they look'd upon as the Author of the Fruitfulness of all Nature, produced this Fruitfulness in a secret Way. For as Robbers, says that Author, carefully hide the things they have stolen, just so the Heat of the Sun, the Source of Fruitfulness, effectuates it only in a secret and invisible way. But 'tis time to speak now of the Mysteries of this God.

Though his Worship had been brought to *Rome* in the Time of *Pompey*, yet the Mysteries of that God were not well known till about the second Century of the vulgar *Æra*. As the *Persians* had no Temples, but celebrated the Mysteries of *Mithras* in Caves, as they had learned from their Legislator *Zoroaster*, who first, according to the Testimony of *Porphyry*, chose for that Purpose a Den watered with Springs and cover'd with Turfs, so the *Romans*, after their Example, celebrated the same Mysteries of that God in Dens and Caves; and though this

(1) De Flum.

(a) *Lucian* Designs by this Word the Cloak that *Mithras* sometimes wears upon his Shoulders, in the Marbles we have explained.

(c) De antro Nymph.

this did not appear from the Marbles themselves which we have now remaining, where *Mithras* is represented in a Cave, with the Symbols I have explained; and though all Antiquity were not agreed about this Matter, as they really are (*a*), yet the Inscriptions now extant, would leave no room to doubt of it. Accordingly we still see the Names of some of those who had consecrated Caves to that God: *Deo soli inuito Mithræ Sosimus spelæum constituit. Spelæum Tib. Claudius voti compos dedit.*

The Priests who were initiated into the Mysteries of that God assumed several Names. Thus we find in the Writings of the Ancients (1), they were called *Coraces*, or *Ravens*, *Hierocoraces*, *sacred Ravens*, *Leones*, or *Leontini*, *Lions*; and the Priestesses *Leænæ Lionesses*; for *Mithras* had his Priestesses too, as appears from that Passage in the second Book of *Justin*, where 'tis said *Artaxerxes* consecrated *Aspasia* to the Worship of that God. All these Priests were the Figures of the Animals whose Names they bore: The *Leontini* alone, as *Porphyry* seems to insinuate, had a Right to assume the Figures of any Animal they pleased. Hence the Mysteries themselves were called *Coracia*, *Leontica*, *Gryphia*, *Persia*, *Heliaca*, &c.

There were stated Days for the Celebration of these Mysteries as for the other Festivals, as appears from an Inscription cited by *Chifflet* (2), where we are told that *Nonius* and *Victor* celebrated the *Persica* on the Day before the Nones of *April* (3); the *Heliaca*, on the 16th of the Kalends of *May* (4), and the *Gryphia* on the 8th of the Kalends of the same Month (5). Another Inscription informs us that the *Leontica* were celebrated on the 16th (6) of the Kalends of

(*a*) Consult the Book of M. della Torre, who quotes many Authorities to this Purpose, among which we find those of *Tertulian*, *S. Justin*, *Jul. Firmicus*, *S. Paulinus*, *saint Jerom*, &c.

(1) See *Porphyry de abst.* c. 6. 18. *Jerom. Epist. ad Lætan.* c. 51.

(2) *De Gemm. Abra.*

(3) The fourth of *April*.

(4) Sixteenth of *April*.

(5) Twenty-fourth of *April*.

(6) Seventeenth of *March*.

of *April*, and the 5th (1) of the Ides of *March*; and the *Coracia* the 6th (2) of the Ides of *April*: Whence we are to conclude, not only that those Festivals had their stated Days, but also that the Ceremonies of them were different. For why would they have born different Names, on the different Days when they were celebrated? In the second Place, that it was the Priests named *Coraces*, who presided over the *Coracia*; the *Leontini* over the *Leontica*, and so of the Rest. Those Priests celebrated the different Mysteries, with the Habits that distinguish'd their Priesthood, that is to say, whereon were painted the Animals whose Names they assumed, or that were made of their Skins: Which must needs have presented a ridiculous Spectacle, and very becoming the Extravagance of the Mysteries of Paganism; as we are given to understand by *Archelaus*, Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, in upbraiding *Manes*, who had himself celebrated the Mysteries of *Mithras*, that he had there play'd the Part of a Buffoon (3).

'Tis almost inconceivable to think what Pains, Tortures and Hardships one was obliged to undergo in order to be initiated into the Mysteries of this God. He who aspired at this Honour was tryed by such severe Impositions that he often sunk under them, and died in the Execution. *Nonnus* says he was to pass through four and twenty Sorts of Trials. That they might not scare those who presented themselves to be initiated, says that Author, they began with such Pieces of Probation as had the least Difficulty. First of all they made them bath themselves, then they were obliged to throw themselves into the Fire; next they were confined to a desert Place, where they were subjected to a rigid Fast, which, according to *Nicetas*, lasted fifty Days. After this, continues the Author last quoted, they were whip'd for two whole Days, and for twenty more they were put into Snow: And
having

(1) Ninth of *March*.(2) Eighth of *April*.(3) See M. *della Torre* from whom I have taken all these particulars.

having undergone all these Trials, they were at Length admitted to the Mysteries of *Mithras*. Among the other Ceremonies of Initiation, they lodged a Serpent in the Person's Bosom who was to participate in the Mysteries of this God; and *Arnobius* tells us that this Serpent was of Gold. This Animal we know, that renews its Vigour every Year, by changing its Skin, was one of the Symbols of the Sun, whose Heat is renewed in the Spring, when he visits the northern Signs.

Farther, these Mysteries were no less impious than abominable, since human Victims were there offered up, as *Porphry* insinuates (1). 'Tis true the Emperor *Adrian* abolish'd the Custom of sacrificing Men, but *Commodus* restored it, since, according to *Lampridius* (2), he polluted the Mysteries of that God by Homicide: *Sacra Mithriaca Homicidio vero polluit*. 'Tis True we cannot conclude, from this Passage, that the Homicide was a real Sacrifice (a); but the Fact which *Socrates* relates in his ecclesiastick History (3), leaves no Room to doubt but that human Victims were offered up to *Mithras*, since that Author tells us that the Christians of *Alexandria* having discovered a Cave a long Time shut up, wherein, according to Tradition, had formerly been celebrated the Mysteries now in Question, as was confirm'd by the Name of the Place called *Mithrius*, there they found dead Mens Bones and Sculls which they convey'd

(1) L. 2. de abst.

(2) In ejus Vita.

(a) I say we cannot conclude from this Passage, that *Commodus* had offered up a Man to *Mithras*: Since among the other Tryals of the Initiated, there was one whereof I have made no mention, tho' *Tertullian* takes Notice of it, and that was to affright him who desired Admission into the Mysteries, by presenting to him the Point of a Sword, as if he was really going to be stabb'd, so that it might happen that *Commodus* actually put the Person to Death. This doubtless is what happened upon this Occasion, and what makes *Lampridius* add immediately after the Words I have quoted, *cum illic*, (that is in these Mysteries) *aliquid ad Speciem Timoris, vel dici, vel fingi soleat*.

(3) L. 2. c. 2.

vey'd thence, to show them to the People of that great City.

These Mysteries, I say, were no less impious than abominable. Accordingly, to gain them the more Credit in the first Ages of Christianity, the Time when they were most in Vogue, they would needs imitate therein the holy Rites of the Christians, chiefly Baptism, and the Mystery of the Eucharist; and for that Purpose they threw Water upon the Initiated, and presented them with Bread and Wine; in order, said they, to regenerate them, and give them a new Life. I shall cite in Proof of it *Tertullian* only, tho' we are told the same Thing by many other Authors: *Per lavacrum*, says he, *Mithra signat illic in Frontibus Milites suos, celebrat Panis Oblationem, & Imaginem Resurrectionis induit, &c* (1).

We may remark before we be done with this Article, on which I have been pretty full, that the principal Feast of *Mithras* was that of his Nativity, which a *Roman* Kalendar placed on the 8th of the Kalends of *January*, that is the 25th of *December*, a Day on which, besides the Mysteries that were celebrated with the greatest Solemnity, were likewise exhibited the Games of the Circus, that were consecrated to the Sun, or to *Mithras*. 'Tis true the Kalendar does not name this God, but only says, 8 *Kal. Jan. n. Inviæti*, that is to say, the Day of the Nativity of the Invincible; but the Learned have very well judged from the Epithet of *Inviæti*, so often applied to him in Inscriptions, that *Mithras* is here intended.

We must not however imagine from this particularity either that they affected to celebrate that Festival the same Day that the Church celebrates that of the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*; far less say with Father *Hardouin* that the Christians in the West, upon Account of that Feast, transferred to the same Day that of Christmas, which, according to him, they celebrated before in the Month of *September*. For the learned Bishop whom I have so often quoted in
this.

(1) L. 1. de Baptismo, ch. 5.

this Chapter, demonstrates that the Feast of *Jesus Christ's* Nativity was always fixed by the *Latin* Church to the 25th of *December*. The only Reason the *Romans* had for fixing the Day of the Nativity of *Mithras* to the same Day, was taken from *Physiology* and *Astronomy*. They intended thereby to signify that the Sun, after having been at a Distance from our Hemisphere since the autumnal Equinox, approached towards it, and comes after the Winter Solstice to fructify and warm this other half of the Globe. For 'tis by no Means to be doubted, after what I have said in explaining the Bas-reliefs of *Mithras*, that there were many Physical and Astronomical Ideas intermix'd with the Attributes of that God.

In fine, we may observe that the Worship of *Mithras* made great Progress in after Ages, and pass'd into several Countries. This *Strabo* asserts as to *Capadocia*, as has been already said: It was also known in *Greece*, and *Pompey* brought the Knowledge thereof to *Rome*, whence after having spread thro' *Italy*, it was propagated to the other Provinces of that vast Empire. This is what the Marbles and Inscriptions that we find in so many different Places, undeniably prove. For not to mention those that have been discovered at *Antium*, at *Naples*, at *Milan*, and in several other Cities of *Italy*, as may be seen in *Gruter*; nor that, which according to *M. Spon* (1), was dug up at *Lyons*, others have been found among the *Daci* (2), in *Pannonia*, where *Aurelius Justinianus* rebuilt a Temple of that God; among the *Norici*, a People in the Neighbourhood of *Carinthia*. What we said, but a few Moments ago, from *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, proves that the *Egyptians*, and the People of *Alexandria* in particular, worship'd the same Divinity. *S. Epiphanius* speaks of a Priest of *Mithras* in the Island of *Crete* (3); Thus 'tis not to be doubted but that the Worship of this God was very extensive. It likewise continued very long, and was not destroyed when the Empe-

rors

(1) Recher. d'ant, Diff. 3.

(2) Gruter. p. 34.

(3) Hær. 42.

rors embraced Christianity, since we have Inscriptions, where mention is made of those who celebrated these Mysteries in the Time of *Valens*, and of young *Valentinian*, Anno 376, as appears by the Consulates that are there specify'd (1). At Length this Worship was quite abolish'd by Means of *Gracchus* Prefect of the City *Rome*, the Year of *Jesus Christ* 378, as is proved by the learned Bishop of *Hadria*.

ARTICLE II.

Of some other Gods of the Persians; of those of the Parthians, Cappadocians and Armenians.

The Gods of the People now named, except those of the *Persians*, are very little known to us, and the Ancients speak of them only occasionally: It is even highly probable that these People had received their Religion from the *Persians*, wherein each of them had made some Changes of their own. Accordingly, the Goddess *Anaitis*, and the Gods *Ananus* and *Anandratus*, whom we shall speak of in this Chapter, and who were worship'd by the *Medes*, *Lydians*, and *Armenians*, came originally from *Persia*, as *Sirabo* asserts.

But before we enter into the History of these Gods, something must be said of the Goddess *Sakea*, because I take her to have been the same as *Anaitis*. Among the Divinities of the *Pagans*, there is none so little known as this Goddess. The Ancients make no Mention of her; but as they mention a Feast called *Σακεία Sacea*, celebrated both by the *Persians* and *Babylonians*, as shall be said afterwards, the Interpreters of Scripture think they have found the Name of that Goddess in *Jeremiab* (2): The Prophets Words are these. *Thus saith the Lord, take the Wine Cup of this Fury at my Hand, and cause all the Nations to drink it. ————— And Sefack the King shall drink it with them.* And he adds in another

(1) See *M. della Torre*, p. 244.

(2) Cap. xxv. v. 15, 26.

another Place : How is *Sesak* taken ? How is *Babylon* become the Astonishment of all Nations ?

All the Interpreters, who agree that in these two Passages *Sesak* denotes both the City and the King of *Babylon*, are persuaded that this *Sesack* was one of the *Babylonish* Divinities; and that *Jeremiah* designed to represent the City itself by the Name of that Divinity ; a Thing common enough with the Prophets, as we have proved from that Passage of *Isaiab*, where it is said (1) : *Bel is bowed down, Nebo stcopeth* : For there is no Doubt but the Prophet intended by these Expressions to point out the Fall of *Babylon*, and that of the *Moabites*. *Grotius* is even of Opinion that *Mizak*, or *Mesback*, the Name of one of *Daniel's* Companions, was compounded of the Name of this Divinity ; which appears probable enough, since it was pretty common, as was noticed before, to join the Names of the Gods to those of the Kings, and of private Persons too. This same Custom was in Use among the *Jews*, as appears from the Names of *Jehonatas*, *Jehosaphat*, *Ezekiel*, and some others.

This is all that can be said to prove the Existence of this Divinity : As for the Festival *Sacea* or *Sakea* 'tis better known. This Festival lasted five Days, and during the whole Time of its Celebration, the Masters served their own Slaves, as in the *Saturnalia*. *Berosus* and *Ctesias*, who had been a long Time in *Persia*, mention this Festival, as we learn from *Athenæus*. “ *Berosus*, says this Author, (2) tells us, “ in the first Book of his History of *Babylon*, “ that on the Sixth of the Month *Lous*, they celebrate “ in that City the Festival called *Sakea*, which lasts “ five Days, during which the Masters obey their “ Slaves ; one of them whom they call *Zoganes*, is “ dress'd in the Robes of a King, and acts as if “ he was really the Master of the Family.” *Ctesias* speaks likewise of this Festival in the second Book

VOL. II.

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of

(1) C. 46. v. 1.

(2) L. 4

of the History of *Persia*. *Chrysoſtom* (1) undoubtedly makes mention of the ſame Feſtival, which he calls the Feſtival of Sackcloth. *Don't you remember, ſays he, the Feaſt of Sackcloth celebrated by the Perſians; in which they take a Man condemn'd to Death, ſet him upon the King's Throne, and after having made him taſte all Sorts of Pleaſures, ſtrip him of his Royal Apparel, then ſcourge, and then hang him?*

Strabo is the only Ancient who ſeems to lead us to the true Original of this Feſtival, and at the ſame Time teaches us to what Divinity it was conſecrated: And as he muſt needs have been fully inſtructed in the Cuſtoms and Religion of the People who celebrated this Solemnity, having himſelf been born in *Cappadocia*, I ſhall deliver what he ſays of it (2).

“ Among the *Scythians* who lived near the *Caspian*
 “ Sea, there were ſome called *Sacæ*. Theſe *Sacæ*
 “ made Excuſions into *Persia*, and penetrated
 “ ſometimes ſo far into the Country, that they
 “ came even to *Bactria* and *Armenia*, and made
 “ themſelves Maſters of a Part of that Province,
 “ which they called after their own Name *Sacaſene*,
 “ whence they advanced next into *Cappadocia*,
 “ which borders upon the *Euxine* Sea. One Day
 “ as they were celebrating a Feſtival, the King of
 “ *Persia* having attack'd them, gave them a total
 “ rout. The *Perſians*, to perpetuate the Memory
 “ of this Victory, raiſed a heap of Earth upon a
 “ Stone, whereof they formed a ſmall Mountain
 “ which they ſurrounded with Walls, and built in
 “ the adjacent Ground a Temple which they con-
 “ ſecrated to the Goddeſs *Anaitis*, and to the Gods
 “ *Amanus* and *Anandratus*, who are the Genii of
 “ the *Perſians*; and in Honour to them they inſti-
 “ tuted a Feſtival called *Saca*, which is ſtill cele-
 “ brated among thoſe who inhabit the Country of
 “ *Zela*; for this is the Name they give to that
 “ Place.”

The

(1) *Orat 4. de Reg.*

(2) *L. 11.*

The same Author, who compiled different Relations, gives another Account of this Fact a few Lines after, attributing to *Cyrus* this Victory, and the Institution of this Festival. They who contend for its having been celebrated by the *Babylonians* in the Time of *Jeremiab*; and before *Cyrus*, alledge that this second Account given by *Strabo* cannot be sustained; but is not this what we call begging the Question? I am rather of Opinion that the Prophet gives the Name of *Sesak* to the King of *Babylon*, and to the City, for some Reason whereof we are ignorant; that there never was a Divinity of that Name; and that she in whose Honour the *Sakea* were celebrated, was the Goddess *Anaitis*, whom we have mentioned at the Beginning of this Chapter. The Truth is, the *Persians* were hardly known before the Time of *Cyrus*, and therefore 'tis to that Heroe we must attribute the Victory over the *Sacæ*, mentioned by *Strabo*.

But in what class of Divinities are we to reckon *Anaitis*, *Amanus* or *Omanus*, and *Anandratius*, whom the Author I have now quoted makes mention of in several Places of his Work, and reckons in the Number of the Gods of the *Persians* and *Cappadocians*? There is no doubt but they were physical Gods, for we don't find that the *Persians* admitted any other at first. We have seen that their first Divinities were the Fire, the Sun, the Moon, the Water and the Earth, and that they knew no animated Gods in the earlier Times. Thus the most learned Mythologists have taken *Omanus* for the Sun, and *Anaitis* for the Moon. However, *Gerard Vossius* is not of their Mind. *Omanus*, says he (1), is always joined by *Strabo* with *Anaitis*, who is undoubtedly *Venus* or *Diana*; thus that God is not the Sun whom the *Persians* worship'd under the Name of *Mithras*; But the Symbol of that God, that is the perpetual Fire, which the *Persians* preserved with so much Care in their Fire-Temples,

K 2

(1) De Idol. l. 2. c. 9.

Temples, as the true Representation of the Sun, which is the Fire by way of Pre-eminence.

But with all due Respect to that learned Author, his Remark is not just: It proves, on the contrary, that if *Anaitis* is *Diana* or the Moon, as she really is, *Omanus* must be the Sun, who perhaps went under that Name, as well as that of *Mitbras*, among the old *Persians*, or rather among the *Cappadocians*, who had derived from them almost all the Tenets of their Religion. I add among the *Cappadocians*, for *Strabo*, as we have already observed (*a*), confounds the Gods of these two Nations. *Plutarch* makes it evident that *Anaitis* was the same with the Moon, since he says in the Life of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, that *Aspasia* his Concubine was appointed by that Prince to be Priestess of *Diana*, whom the Inhabitants of *Ecbatana* call *Anaitis*, that she might pass the rest of her Days in Chastity and Retirement. Were there need of further Proofs in Confirmation of this Truth, I might quote *Pausanias*, who informs us (1) that the *Lydians* had a Temple to *Diana* under the Name of *Anaitis*.

'Tis true *Strabo* mentions some Things concerning that Goddess that agree better to *Venus* than to *Diana*, or the Moon; since he speaks of her thus: “ The
 “ *Medes* and *Armenians* have a high Veneration for the
 “ Gods of the *Persians*; and the latter especially
 “ worship *Anaitis* in a very peculiar Manner, to
 “ whom they have built a Temple in *Acilisena*, and
 “ in other Places. They consecrate to that Goddess
 “ their Slaves, both Men and Women; which is not
 “ very surprizing: But, which is much more so, the
 “ Chief of the Nation consecrate to her their Daugh-
 “ ters; who, after they have prostituted themselves in
 “ Honour of that Goddess, enter into a married
 “ State, and no Body makes the least Scruple of
 “ wedding them.

This

(*a*) See the Beginning of this Chapter.

(1) In Lac.

This Custom has surely a great Affinity with what was the Practice in the Temples of *Venus*; but 'tis not surprizing that the *Armenians* and *Cappadocians* made some Alteration in the Worship of a Goddess, the Knowledge of whom they had from the *Persians*; far less that they confounded the Worship of *Diana* and *Venus*, that is, of the two Planets that went by these Names. Still 'tis certain that *Omanus* and *Anaitis* were natural Gods, as were all those of the primitive Idolaters.

But I must not finish this Article, without relating a Passage in History with respect to the Goddess we are now upon: I borrow it from *Pliny* (1). “ In
“ an Expedition which *Antony* made against *Arme-*
“ *nia*, the Temple of *Anaitis* was pillaged, and her
“ Statue, which was of Gold, broke in Pieces by the
“ Soldiers, which enrich'd many of them. One of
“ them who had settled at *Boulogna* in *Italy*, had
“ the good Fortune to receive *Augustus* one Day into
“ his House, and to give him a Supper. Is it true,
“ says that Prince to him during the Repast, that
“ he who first struck the Goddess, presently lost his
“ Sight, was disabled in all his Limbs, and expired
“ upon the Spot? If that were so, replied the Soldier,
“ I should not have had the Happiness to see *Au-*
“ *gustus* with me now, since I was the Man who
“ gave her the first Blow, which was an advantageous
“ Blow to me; for all I possess in the World is ow-
“ ing to that Goddess; and 'tis upon one of her
“ Limbs, my Lord, you sup at Present.”

After all these Reflections, as we have no Knowledge of *Amanus* and *Anandratus* but from *Strabo*, and are only told by that Author that they were Genii among the *Persians*, Περσικῶν Δαιμόνας, 'tis needless to make vain Enquiries, or to offer Groundless Conjecture about them.

The Goddess *Bellona* was also highly worship'd at *Cappadocia*, especially at *Comana*. There were two principal Cities of that Name; the one in

(1) L. 32. c. 23.

Cappadocia, and the other in the Kingdom of *Pontus*; they were both consecrated to that Goddess, and observed much the same Ceremonies in the Worship they paid her. The Temple which she had at *Comana* of *Cappadocia* endued with a great deal of Ground, was served by a vast many Ministers, under the Authority of a Pontiff, a Man of great Esteem, and of such Dignity, that he stoop'd to none but the King himself, and was commonly taken from the royal Family: His Office was for Life. *Strabo*, who mentions the Worship paid by the *Cappadocians* to that Goddess (1), tells us that at the Time of his travelling into that Country, there were more than six thousand Persons, Men and Women together, consecrated to the Service of the Temple of *Comana*.

As this Author adds (2), that *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* were thought to have introduced into *Cappadocia* the Worship that was paid to *Diana* in *Tauris*, whence they came, 'tis probable the *Bellona* now in Question, was the same as *Diana*. What confirms my Conjecture is, that the same Author, speaking of the City *Castaballa* in *Cilicia*, says (3) there was a Temple of *Diana Perasia*, where the Priestesses, said they, walk'd Bare-foot upon the burning Coals without receiving harm, and that this was believed to be the Scene of *Orestes's* Adventure with *Diana*, surnamed *Tauropolis*, and that she got the Designation of *Perasia* because she had pass'd the Sea at that Place (4). I shall not at present examine what Course *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* took, when they left *Tauris*, to return to *Greece*; but I believe we may take it for granted that they landed in *Pontus*, where they establish'd the Worship of *Diana*, chiefly in the City of *Comana*, whence it pass'd to the other City of that Name, in *Cappadocia*, and from thence into *Cilicia* and the neighbouring Provinces.

To confirm this Conjecture, the same *Strabo* asserts (5) that *Apollo* was worship'd thro'out all *Cappadocia*,
as

(1) L. 12. c. 135, & 137. (2) p. 525.

(3) p. 537. (4) See this History Vol. II. (5) p. 537.

as was *Jupiter* in a peculiar Manner by the People called *Venafini* (a), among whom was a magnificent Temple, three thousand Priests, and a High-Priest, whose Authority was almost as great as that of the *Pontiff* of *Comana*: But as the People now named, had received the Worship of those Gods from the *Greeks*, I reserve the Account of them for the rest of this and the following Volumes, where I shall discourse of the Gods of *Greece* and the other western Nations.

'Tis not known whether the *Parthians*, who succeeded the *Persians*, had the same Religion with them. 'Tis probable they borrowed several of their Tenets and added new ones of their own. We only know they used to deify their Kings; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us, (1) that *Arsaus*, after Death, was placed among the Stars, that is to say, they, after the Example of other Nations, had their natural and their animated Gods.

The great Divinity of the *Armenians*, as of the *Persians*, was the Sun, to whom they offered, like them, a Horse in Sacrifice, as we learn from *Strabo* (2).

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Gods of the Scythians, and some other northern Nations.

TH O' the northern Countries were peopled by a great Number of different Nations, the *Greeks* who were but little acquainted with them, comprehended them all under the general Name of *Scythians*, or of *Celto-Scythians*. By the Former they

K 4

understood

(a) These *Venafini* were, according to *Strabo*, in *Morimene*. *Pomponius Mela* probably speaks of these People under the Name of *Morrani*; and *Isaac Vossius* thinks they were the *Mariandinyans*. See the Remarks upon the 2d Chapter of his first Book of Geography.

(1) Lib. 23.

(2) p. 567.

understood all those who possess'd the northern Parts of *Asia*; and by the Latter, those who were in the North of *Europe*. The Religion of those People, who were mostly rambling and unsettled, would be quite unknown, were it not for *Herodotus* who teaches us some Particularities about it: But then we know not to which of the *Scythians* in particular we are to attribute what he says.

That Historian, after having spoke at some Length of those People and their Conquests, comes to their Customs and religious Ceremonies (1). “ They offer
 “ no Sacrifices, says he, but to the following Gods.
 “ First, to *Vesta*; then to *Jupiter*, and *Terra* whom
 “ they reckon the Wife of that God: After those they
 “ worship *Apollo*, *Venus Urania*, *Mars*, and *Her-*
 “ *cules*, whom all the *Scythians* take to be in the
 “ Number of the Gods. Those who are denominated
 “ the Royal *Scythians*, sacrifice also to *Neptune*.
 “ They call *Vesta*, in their Language, *Tabiti*; *Jupiter*,
 “ *Papeus*; the Earth, *Api*; *Apollo*, *Etofyrys*; *Venus*
 “ *Urania*, *Artimpesa*; and *Neptune*, *Thamimasades*.
 “ They have neither Idols, nor Altars, nor Tem-
 “ ples, except for the God *Mars*. They offer all their
 “ Sacrifices in the same Manner, and with the same
 “ Ceremonies. They present the Victim having the
 “ two Hind-feet bound together: He who is to of-
 “ fer it up stands behind; and after having taken
 “ off his Tiara, he strikes it; and while it is falling,
 “ he begins to invoke the God to whom it is offered.
 “ After this he puts a Cord about its Neck, which
 “ he twists with a Stick, and draws it till it be strang-
 “ led; all this while the Fire is not kindled, nor
 “ yet has he made any Libation. After having head
 “ the Victim, he prepares himself to dress it; but as
 “ the Wood for that Purpose is very scarce among
 “ the *Scythians*, they separate the Bones from the
 “ Flesh, put it into Kettles that resemble the *Lesbian*
 “ Cups, only they are larger, and by the Help of
 “ the Bones they make it boil till it be thoroughly
 dress'd.

(1) L. 3. c. 51.

“ dress’d. When they have no Kettles they put the
 “ Flesh into the Belly of the Beast, and make it ready
 “ with the Bones. Then the Sacrificer throws upon
 “ the Ground a part of the Entrails, as the Firstlings
 “ of the Sacrifice. The Victims are of Oxen and
 “ other Animals, but chiefly of Horses.”

“ These Sacrifices were destined to the Gods I have
 “ named ; but there were peculiar Ceremonies for
 “ *Mars*. As he was the only God who had Temples
 “ among them, their Manner of building them was
 “ to pile Faggots of Vine-Branches one above the
 “ other. These Temples were three Furlongs in
 “ Length, and as much in Breadth ; but they were
 “ not very high. The Roof of them was very
 “ flat, and form’d a perfect Square. In three Sides
 “ of the Temple those Walls of Faggots were per-
 “ pendicular, and on the other side the Wall was
 “ shelving, so that one could go up to it that Way.
 “ On the Top of this Edifice was placed an old
 “ Sword of Iron ; which served for the Statue of
 “ *Mars*, and to this Sword they sacrificed every
 “ Year Sheep and Horses in greater Numbers than
 “ to any of the other Gods. After these they sa-
 “ crificed to him a hundredth Part of all their
 “ Prisoners of War : But this Sort of Sacrifice was
 “ different from the Rest. After pouring Wine upon
 “ the Heads of those who were to be offered up,
 “ they put them into a large Vessel, where they cut
 “ their Throats, and then carried them to the Top
 “ of the Temple, and poured their Blood upon
 “ the Sword which we have mentioned : This is
 “ what pass’d in that Place. Below, before the Temple,
 “ they cut off the right Shoulders with the Arms and
 “ Hands of those unhappy Victims, and toss’d them
 “ up in the Air. Then every one retired, leaving
 “ their Limbs in the Place where they chanced to
 “ fall.”

Such, according to *Herodotus*, were the Gods of
 the *Scythians*, and the Form of their Sacrifices.
Clemens of Alexandria agrees with this Historian,
 that

that these People offered religious Worship to a Sword (1); and *Lucian*, without naming the other Gods that *Herodotus* speaks of, only says (2) they worship'd that Sword, and *Zamolxis* who was their Legislator. But to illustrate what we have now been quoting, 'tis necessary to add some Reflections to it.

The *Greeks*, who were little acquainted with the Religion of foreign Nations, imagined the Gods worship'd by them to be the same with their own; and the smallest Resemblance either in the Name or in the Worship, sufficed to persuade them of it. Thus they heard that the *Scythians*, a warlike Nation, had a religious Veneration for a Sword; and therefore made no doubt but they worship'd their God *Mars* under that Emblem: They knew that they paid a religious Worship to the Fire; and they needed no more to convince them that they worship'd their *Vesta*. They probably found some Resemblance between the Worship which that People ascribed to a God they called *Papæus*, and their *Jupiter*; between that of *Apia* and their Goddess *Tellus*; between *Etofsyrus*, and *Apollo*; *Artimpasa*, and *Venus*; between *Thamimasades* and *Neptune*: And this was foundation enough for their believing them to be the same Gods.

We may say with a great deal of Probability, that the *Scythians*, after the Example of all the other Nations, had for their first Gods, the Stars, the Earth, the Water and the other Elements: For, to say it once more, these were the primitive Gods of the *Pagan* World. To these Gods they had given barbarous Names; but these Names are indifferent, and every Nation gave them such as they pleased. We may therefore conclude that they worship'd the Fire, the Sun, the Earth, the Air, the Water; Divinities which the *Greeks* called *Vesta*, *Apollo*, *Tellus*, *Jupiter*, *Neptunus*. Perhaps too that warlike Nation at first had no other God but the Sword;

(1) In Prot.

(2) In Conc. Deor.

Sword; but in Process of Time adopted those of her Neighbours. For in speaking of the Religion of ancient Nations we must always distinguish the Times. We know not well whence the *Scythians* derived their Original; for doubtless the Reader will not be satisfy'd with that which *Diodorus* gives them (1): “The Fables of the *Scythians*, says he, give Account that they had among them a Virgin, born of the Earth, who had the Head and half of her Body of a Woman, but from the Waist downward the Form of a Serpent. *Jupiter* fell in Love with her, and had a Son by her called *Scythes*, who having risen to great Reputation, communicated his Name to the whole Nation of the *Scythians*.” But still 'tis certain that this People was very ancient. They did not continue always shut up in the Extremities of the North; but departing thence spread themselves over the higher *Asia*, and having conquered the *Medes* in a pitch'd Battle, possess'd themselves of their Country, which they kept for eight and twenty Years, as we learn from *Herodotus* (2). During this their Abode in *Media*, the *Scythians*, no doubt, worship'd the Gods of the *Medians*; for what uses to be most regarded in conquered Nations is their Religion, which Politics forbid to meddle with. The Worship of the Fire especially was very diffusive: This was the great Divinity of the *Persians* and *Cappadocians*, and probably of the *Medes* too; thus 'tis not surprising that *Herodotus* has assured us, of their having worship'd *Vesta*.

True 'tis that learned Historian says (3) that the *Scythians* had a great Aversion to foreign Customs and Ceremonies, and that it cost *Anacharsis* his Life, who was slain by King *Saulius* his Brother, while he was celebrating the Feast of the Mother of the Gods, with the same Ceremonies that the *Cysiceni* used, to accomplish a Vow which he had made when he pass'd to *Cysicum*. 'Tis likewise true that *Scyles*
King

(1) L. 2.

(2) L. 1. c. 104.

(3) L. 4.

King of the *Scythians* lost his Crown, for having attempted to celebrate the *Bacchanalia* after the Manner of the *Greeks*, as we are told by the same Historian (1); but they were not perhaps always so scrupulous, and these same Attempts prove that Endeavours were used to introduce into *Scythia*, both the Customs and Ceremonies of the Neighbouring Nations.

As Idolatry was always accompany'd with several superstitious Rites, there is no doubt but the *Scythians* had a great Number of them, as well as other Idolaters; but History has only preserved those that concerned their Sooth-sayers. “ Besides, says *Herodotus*,
 “ there are among these People Numbers of Sooth-
 “ fayers, who perform their Divinations by Rods
 “ of Willow, whereof they carry Bundles into a cer-
 “ tain Place, and there unite them; then separating
 “ the Rods, they pronounce their Oracles, and there-
 “ after put them together again. As for the *Enarii*
 “ and *Androgyni*, who practise the same Art, 'tis
 “ alledged, continues the Historian, that *Venus* taught
 “ them Divination, which they practise by mixing
 “ between their Fingers Leaves of the *Linden* Tree,
 “ which they cut into three Parts. When the King
 “ of the *Scythians* is sick, he sends for several of these
 “ Sooth-sayers, who tell him that some *Scythian*,
 “ whom they Name, has sworn by the King's Throne,
 “ and perjured himself. Upon which the unhappy
 “ Person, who is alledged to be the Cause of the
 “ King's Sicknefs, by taking a false Oath, is instantly
 “ brought. If he denies the Fact, other Sooth-sayers
 “ are called, and being convicted, his Head is cut off,
 “ and his Effects divided among the Accusers; but
 “ if he is declared innocent, they themselves are put
 “ to Death in this Manner. They fill a Chariot with
 “ Faggots, fasten the Sooth-sayers to it with an iron
 “ Chain; then after having kindled the Faggots
 “ they loose the Oxen that are yoked to the Cha-
 “ riot,

(1) Ibid.

“riot, and leave the Calumniators to perish in the
“Flames.”

The Reader may easily believe that we have now no Monument remaining of the Religion of the *Scythians*, who had no other Statues but the Sword that represented *Mars*, nor Temples but such as were made of Faggots. Some Antiquaries however think they have found out three Statues of the Gods of that People, in the three Busts born by three Camels upon *Theodosius's* Column, that is at *Constantinople*. But tho' it were true, which can hardly be proved, that that Column represents the Triumph of that Emperour over the *Scythians*, it could not be deny'd but their Religion had undergone some Change from the Time of *Herodotus*, a thing not without Example in other Nations, as has been observed with Respect to the ancient *Persians*.

The *Scythians*, as has been said, consist- The Religion
ed of a vast Number of different Nations; of the People
but if we except those who inhabited the of *Tauris*.
Taurica Chersonesus, that is to say the *Peninsula* that
is between the *Euxine* Sea and the *Palus Meotis*,
which is at this Day called the *Crimee*, we are quite
ignorant of their Religion. As for those we know
they paid Adoration to *Diana*, whose Worship was
performed by a Priestess; and to her they sacrificed
all the Strangers who came into their Country; Cir-
cumstances we learn from *Herodotus*, *Euripides* and
several ancient Authors: But I reserve a more particu-
lar Account of them for the History of *Iphigenia*, who
was Priestess of the *Diana Taurica*, under the Reign
of *Thoas*. As the Ancients make no mention of the
Religion of the *Scythians* but upon Occasion of *Iphi-*
genia, and of *Orestes* who came to *Tauris* to carry
off the Statue of *Diana*, we know not if they wor-
ship'd any other Divinities.

There were also in the northern Countries another
People called the *Hyperboreans*, with whose Religion
the *Greeks* were acquainted by the Report of *He-*
cateus, one of the most ancient Historians; but as I
confine

confine myself as far as possible, only to what belongs to Mythology, I shall not enlarge upon the History of that People. You may consult two Dissertations, the one by the *Abbé Gedoyn*, the other by my self, both of them in the seventh Volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* (1).

The *Hyperboreans* were accounted the most religious People in the World. They paid a peculiar Worship to *Apollo*, who for that Reason was surnamed *Hyperborean*, and they sent every Year to *Delos*, an Island in the *Egean* Sea, Offerings that they made him of the first Fruits of the Earth. At first there were two or three Virgins chosen, accompanied by a hundred Young Men of approved Courage and Virtue, who carried these Offerings. *Herodotus* and *Callimachus* are our Vouchers for both these Circumstances. This Custom continued till the Laws of Hospitality were violated in the Persons of those Pilgrims, which made the *Hyperboreans* resolve to convey these Offerings from one Hand to another, as far as *Delos*, by Means of People that were travelling thro' their Country in their Way to that Island, as we learn from *Pliny* (a), who speaks of those young Virgins without naming them, but other Authors inform us of their Names. *Herodotus* mentions four of them, *Opis* and *Erge* or rather *Heca-Eрге*, as *Callimachus* calls her, *Hiperboche* and *Laodice*: *Callimachus* adds a fifth, whom he calls *Loto*.

After that Disaster had befallen those young Virgins, none of whom had the good Fortune to return to her own Country, as we are told by the Poet now named, the *Hyperboreans* took a Resolution to send their Offerings in the Manner as has now been said. They had two Ways of going from their own Country to *Delos*, and both of them are sufficiently described by the

(1) P. 113. and 127.

(a) Virgines ferebant eas frugum primitias, hospitii Gentium per Annos aliquot venerabiles, donec, violata fide, in proximis accolarum finibus deponere sacra eas, instituere, hinc ad conterminos decurrere, atque ita Delum usque, *Plin.* l. 4. c. 12.

the Ancients. *Pausanias* (1) says they gave their Offerings first into the Hands of the *Arimaspes*, that they deliver'd them to the *Iffidons*, who transferred them to the *Scythians*, who carried them to *Sinope*, where were always *Greeks* who conveyed them to *Prasiæ*, whence the *Athenians* took care to transmit them to *Delos*.

The other Course is described by *Callimachus*, who, addressing himself to *Delos* in one of his Hymns, says: *To you the Hyperboreans send their First-Fruits: These First-Fruits that come so far, are first received by the Pelasgi of Dodona, who carry them over the Mountains into Melis, whence they are conveyed by Sea to Eubæa, and thence they are easily transported to your Ports.* To conclude, these Offerings, which the Ancients call the Firstlings of the Fruits, were Sheaves and Bundles of Corn, and to this all Antiquity agree: In the Meantime, *Salmasius* (2) alledges it was what we call in Latin *Partes Præcisæ*, the Parts that are first cut off, as the Firstlings of a Victim; as to which you may consult *Cremius* who refutes him.

But be that as it will, it appears that the *Hyperboreans* had a very particular Veneration for *Apollo*, and if we credit *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Boreades*, the Descendants of *Boreas*, were in Possession of the Priesthood which was united to the Royalty. Where 'tis proper to remark that the Virgins, who were sent at first to *Delos*, were of the royal and sacerdotal Line, since *Callimachus*, who names three of them, *Heca-ERGE*, *OPIS* and *LOTO*, calls them the Daughters of *Boreas*. If it be ask'd now why the *Hyperboreans* were so devoted to *Apollo*, I answer with *Diodorus Siculus* (3), that *Latona* was born in their Country, and consequently it is no Wonder that they honoured her Son with a peculiar Worship. Accordingly, continues that Historian, not only had they instituted Feasts to his Honour, but also consecrated to him a whole City. “ *Apollo* again on his Part, as the *Abbé Gedoyn* has “ it

(1) In Att. c. 31.

(2) Animad in Sol.

(3) L. 2.

“ it (1), reckoning himself a Native of their Coun-
 “ try, vouchsafed to honour them with his Presence,
 “ and took more Pleasure in being with them than
 “ any where else.

“ Hither he resorted, when banish’d Heaven for
 “ his Resentment against *Jupiter*, who had thunder-
 “ struck his Son *Esculapius*, as we learn from *Apollo-*
 “ *nius Rhodius*, who for that Reason calls the *Hyper-*
 “ *boreans a sacred People*. The Opinion of *Apollo’s*
 “ sojourning in the Country of the *Hyperboreans* was
 “ so universal among the *Greeks*, that according to
 “ *Eliau*, or rather *Aristotle*, cited by that Author (2),
 “ *Pythagoras*, whose Wisdom and Virtue was admir-
 “ ed by the *Crotoniates*, was taken by them for
 “ *Hyperborean Apollo*.”

The *Greeks*, who vented several other Fables in Relation to this *Apollo*, said he came from their Country to the Relief of *Delphos*, at the Time when that City was besieged by the *Gauls*, as *Pausanias* relates. *Cicero*, tho’ he mentions not the Motive which brought that God to *Delphos*, yet asserts that he came thither, since in giving the Genealogy of the Gods, as his Manner is, he says: “ The third *Apollo* was
 “ the Son of the third *Jupiter*, and he who is said
 “ to have come from the *Hyperboreans* to *Delphos*.”
Tertius Jove tertio natus & Latona, quem ex Hyperbo-
reis Delphos ferunt advenisse (3).

As these pretended Demigrations of the Gods, like their Birth in certain Countries, denoted, according to *Herodotus*, the Institution of their Worship in those Countries, we may therefore infer from this Fable that the Worship of *Apollo* had been propagated from the *Hyperboreans* to *Greece*, perhaps before the Colonies that came thither from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*. But whence had the *Hyperboreans* themselves received the Knowledge of that God? I answer, as I think I have proved in the Dissertation quoted at the Beginning of this Article, that the
Hyperboreans,

(1) In his Diff. p. 129.

(2) Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 26.

(3) De Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 23.

Hyperboreans, who, in my Opinion, inhabited the Country about the *Phasis*, came Originally from the Colony which *Herodotus* tells us *Sesostris* left there; and consequently that 'tis not to be wonder'd if they themselves worship'd *Apollo*, one of the Gods of *Egypt*, and communicated the Knowledge of him to the *Greeks*, from whom they were at no great Distance. But as this is no more than Conjecture, tho' not without some Foundation, I willingly submit it to the Judgment of the learned World.

The *Iffedons*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Hyperboreans*, had probably no other Gods but their Ancestors, since *Herodotus*, who speaks of their Customs and Religion, says, when any one of them has lost his Father, all his Relations bring him a Number of Cattel; whose Carcases having cut into Pieces, they in like Manner cut the Body of the deceased Father, and having mixed all the Fleashes together, serve them up at an Entertainment, reserving only the Head of the Defunct which they set in Gold, and make it an Idol, offering to it solemn Sacrifices every Year (1).

The *Sarmatians*, after the Example of most other idolatrous Nations, had Gods Gods of the
Sarmates. natural, and Gods animated. The first were the Sun and Moon; *Pogwid*, or the Air; *Tessa*, or *Jupiter*; *Laeto*, or *Pluto*; *Nia*, or *Ceres*; *Marzane*, or *Venus*; and *Zicuonia*, or *Diana*. But we are to observe that they are *Polish* Historians (2), who inform us that these Gods were *Jupiter*, *Pluto*, *Diana*, &c. And no great Credit is to be given to their Testimony, since they may easily be deceived by some slight Resemblance between those Gods and the Gods of *Greece*. This is what most of the Ancients did, when they were to speak of the Gods of other Nations, having, from the smallest Affinity, given them the Names of those of their own Country.

VOL. II.

L

But

(1) Herod. L. 4. (2) Alexand. Guaguinus. Sart. Evr. Paul. Oderb. Vide Voss. de idol. l. 1. c. 29.

But passing that ; besides these natural Gods, the *Sarmatians* had likewise animated ones, among whom were *Lelus* and *Politus*, whom the same Historians will have to be *Castor* and *Pollux* : And tho' the Worship paid by the *Sarmatians* to these two Heroes, was entirely abolish'd, when the Poles, who possess in Part the Country which belong'd to the *Sarmatians*, embraced Christianity, yet they still retain their Names, which they pronounce in Sign of Joy at their Feasts (1).

But, if you ask the Reason of their confounding these two Divinities with *Castor* and *Pollux*, I answer with *Vossius*, the *Sarmatians* might have been acquainted with them by holding Commerce with the People settled on the Banks of the *Danube* ; and since the *Greeks* had erected an Altar in Honour of *Alexander*, and the *Romans* another to *Augustus*, near the *Boristhenes*, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, it was easy for either of them to make the *Sarmatians* acquainted with the two Heroes now mentioned. Thus reasons that learned Author : 'Tis true indeed, not quite satisfy'd with that Conjecture, he would needs insinuate that *Lelus* and *Politus*, among the *Sarmatians* might represent the Heavens and the Earth ; but as he gives no Proof of this, I take the first Account to be the best.

The same Author, upon the Authority of *Paul Oderborne* (2), says that the People who lived near the River *Obi*, worship'd a Goddess under the Name of the *Old Woman of Gold*, and he takes not upon him to determine whether it was *Eve* her self, or *Terra*, that was the Object of their Worship. But, however that be, the Historian now quoted tells us that Goddess delivered Oracles. *Clemens Adamus* (3) informs us as to their Manner of consulting that Goddess. “ When the Country, says he, is afflicted with
“ any Calamity, such as War, Pestilence, or Famine,
“ those Idolaters have Recourse to that Goddess:
“ They

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) In Vita Joan. Basilidis Mosc. ducis.

(3) In Anglorum Naviga.

“ They prostrate themselves before her Idol, and setting a Drum in the midst of the Assembly, with the Model of a Toad in Silver above it, they fall a beating the Drum ; and he of the Company nearest whom the Toad falls when it is made to leap to the Ground by the beating of the Drum, is put to Death : But they bring him to Life again by some Sort of Witchcraft, and then he lays open the Cause of the Calamity that affects the Country.”

Whether the *Getes* or *Dacians* had any Gods of the Physical Gods, is what we cannot determine ; but 'tis certain they paid divine Honours to their Legislator *Zamolxis*, as *Getes, the Daci, and Thracians.* may be seen in *Plato's Dialogue*, intituled *Charmides*, in *Diogenes Laertius* (1), in *Strabo* (2), and in *Lucian* (3).

The *Thracians*, besides the same *Zamolxis* whom they adored as a God, according to *Lucian* (4), raised to the same Rank *Orpheus* and *Linus*, as we learn from *Tertullian* (5.) By *Orpheus*, I mean that famous *Argonaut*, whom I shall speak of more particularly in the History of the golden Fleece. Let it not be said that *Orpheus* was worship'd only as a Demi-God, since *Conon* (6) positively asserts that after the Honours due to Heroes had been paid him (a), near the Tomb wherein his Head was contained, the Place grew insensibly into a Temple, where all the Ceremonies of the Worship of the Gods were performed ; a new Argument for what we have already said (7), that the Heroes sometimes became real Gods.

Temesius of *Clazomenæ* may perhaps be likewise reckoned among the *Thracian* Demi-gods, since *He-*

L 2

rodotus

(1) In *Pyth.*

(2) L. 7. and 16.

(3) In *Deor. conc.*

(4) In *Jove Trag.*

(5) *De Anima* c. 2.

(6) *Narr.* 45.

(a) See in the Beginning of the sixth Volume, what is said concerning the Tombs of the Heroes.

(7) Book 5.

Herodotus tells us (1) that the *Teians* having led a Colony to *Abdera*, whereof he was reckoned the Founder, paid to him the Honours due to Heroes. The same Thing may be said of *Ordrysus*, from whom the *Thracians*, according to Saint *Epiphanius* (2), derived their Original; and of *Plestorus*, to whom, according to the Testimony of *Herodotus* (3), they sacrificed *Oebazus* the *Persian* who had fled to them for Refuge. *Vossius* (4), who grants that this *Plestorus* was of the Number of the Divinities worship'd by the *Thracians*, says he knows not whether he was an animated God or a natural God, but for my Part I take him to have been one of their great Men, of whom however we learn nothing particular in History.

Lastly, The *Massagetes* look'd upon the Sun as their great Divinity, and perhaps as the only one, and sacrificed Horses to him, as we learn from *Strabo* (5).

(1) L. 1.

(2) L. 1.

(3) L. 5.

(4) De Idol. L. 1. 49.

(5) P. 553.





MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

The Western Deities.

*Of the Gods of the Greeks, and Romans,
and other Western Nations.*

A PRELIMINARY.

AFTER having discoursed of the Religion of the *Asiatics*, among whom Idolatry commenced, 'tis Time to pass on to that of the *European* Nations to whom it was communicated by them; and as it made the greatest Progress among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, with them we are to begin.

Never was Religion encumber'd with a greater Number of Gods than that of these two Nations; since besides the Oriental, they admitted a World of others who owe their Original to them, and whose Names we have already seen in the Chapter where we have treated of the Progress of Idolatry (1): But before we enter upon the History of all these Gods, 'Tis necessary to make some Reflections, that will be useful in the Sequel of this Work.

L 3

That

(1) Vol. I.

That a Part of *Asia Minor*, the Isles of the *Archipelago*, and *Greece*, were peopled at first by *Japhet's* Posterity, known by the Ancients under the Name of *Japetids*, is a Fact not to be doubted. As I shall have Occasion to insist upon this Article, when I come to speak of the different Colonies that came into *Greece* (1), I shall take it for granted at present. But at what Period of Time did the Descendants of that *Patriarch* arrive there; what was the Religion they establish'd? These are Questions that cannot now be resolved. Any Accounts we have now extant of those ancient People of *Greece*, are but loose and confused. We only know from *Diodorus Siculus*, that the first *Greeks* were very rude, living without Laws, without Policy, and almost destitute of all Religion. A People straggling and unsettled, who had no other Habitation but the Dens and Forests, and no other Food but Acorns, or to speak more accurately, some wild Fruits and Herbs: This is the Picture given of them by that Author (2).

We may easily conceive that the Religion of those primitive Inhabitants of *Greece*, was, like themselves, not loaded with many Ceremonies, but consisting in rude Simplicity; and that they were unacquainted in those earlier Times with that Multiplicity of Gods whom they came afterwards to adore. Perhaps the first who settled there, even brought with them the Knowledge of the true God, which was not so soon corrupted in the Family of *Japhet*, as in that of *Cham*. These 'tis true are only Conjectures; but they are not without Probability. The primitive Worship however, which *Noah* had received from his Ancestors, was but of short continuance, and the most ancient profane Authors leave no Room to doubt that the first Inhabitants of *Greece* and the neighbouring Isles, were plunged into the thick Darkness of Idolatry.

To have a tolerable Notion of their Religion, we must view it under various Aspects: *First*, Such as
it

(1) At the Beginning of the 6th Vol.

(2) L. 1.

it was in the Time of those first Inhabitants, or at least when the *Pelasgi* came and settled in *Greece*. Secondly, With Regard to the Alterations that were made in it by the Colonies from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*: Thirdly, With Respect to what Changes might be introduced into it by *Homer* and *Hesiod*: Lastly, With Regard to those it really underwent, from the Time of *Pythagoras*, and the *Platonick* Philosophers, till the Triumph that Christianity gained over it.

First, We know little or nothing about the Religion of the primitive Inhabitants of *Greece*. *Herodotus* is the only one has preserved to us some Knowledge thereof. That Author (1) says the *Pelasgi*, who came in old Times to settle in *Greece*, worship'd their Gods without knowing who they were, and without having any Names to them. “ They sacrificed to them, “ says he, and before the Sacrifice they had a Custom “ of making Invocations and Prayers, without giving “ their Gods either Name or Surname, because as “ yet they knew them not. Further, they called them “ by the general Name of Gods, because they be- “ lieved that they governed, and were Lords of all “ Things. They came to know a very long time “ after, that the Names of the other Gods had been “ brought from *Egypt*, but it was very late before “ they learned the Name of *Bacchus*.”

“ At length they went to consult the Oracle of “ *Dodona*, which is reckoned the most ancient one “ of *Greece*, and consequently was the only one in “ that Time. The *Pelasgi* therefore inquired at “ the Oracle, if they should receive the Names of “ the Gods that came from the *Barbarians*, and the “ Answer was that they should receive them and “ make use of them. Accordingly they sacrificed “ from that Time, invoking the Gods by their “ Names; and the *Greeks* afterwards took the same “ Names from the *Pelasgi*. But to know whence “ each of those Gods came, whether they were from

L 4

“ all

(1) L. 2. ch. 50 & seq.

“ all Ages, in short, what is their Form and how
 “ they came to exist, these are Things we are hither-
 “ to in the dark about.”

The same Author, immediately before the Words now quoted, had said that the same *Pelasgi* before they came into *Greece*, where they were intermix'd with the *Athenians*, had dwelt in the Island of *Samothrace* and had taught those Islanders to worship the *Cabiri*. “ Whoever, says he, is acquainted with
 “ the Ceremonies of those Gods, that were also ob-
 “ served by the *Samothracians*, will certainly be of
 “ Opinion that they had learned them from the
 “ *Pelasgi*; for that People, who lived since that
 “ Time among the *Athenians*, had formerly inha-
 “ bited *Samothrace*, and from them the *Samothra-*
 “ *cians* had learned the *Orgies*.”

The same *Pelasgi*, according to our Author, had also taught the *Athenians* their obscene Manner of representing *Mercury*; and they gave Mysterious Reasons for this Usage, which *Herodotus* has not told us.

The same Author, in the Book now cited from which I have taken these Passages, makes one Remark more with Respect to the *Pelasgi*. “ Almost
 “ all the Names of the Gods, says he, came from
 “ *Egypt* into *Greece*. I my self actually found it
 “ to be so, after I had examined the Matter for my
 “ own Information, having heard that they had them
 “ from the *Barbarians*. And for my Part I am
 “ convinced that they really came from *Egypt*:
 “ But if it be objected that neither the Names of
 “ *Neptune*, *Castor*, *Vesta*, *Themis*, the *Graces*, the
 “ *Nereids*, nor of other Gods are there to be found,
 “ I answer with the *Egyptians*, that they never knew
 “ those Gods. And indeed to me it would seem that
 “ those Names were given them by the *Pelasgi* them-
 “ selves, except *Neptune*, whose Name that People
 “ borrowed from the *Libyans*; for none but the
 “ *Libyans* were formerly acquainted with *Neptune*,
 “ whom they have always held in Veneration.”

Here

Here then we see the ancient *Pelasgi* were instructed by the *Barbarians*, in the Names which they were to give the Gods ; who in their Turn instructed *Greece*, at that Time very ignorant, and taught her the Names of the same Gods, and the Mysteries of the *Cabiri*, which they had formerly taught the *Samo-thracians*. This is all we know of the Religion of *Greece*, at the Time of the Arrival of the *Pelasgi* and of their Settlement at *Athens*.

Secondly, The second Article we are to examine, namely, what Changes the Colonies introduced into the ancient Religion of *Greece*, is already determined by the same Author, as we have seen, since he assures us that all the Gods who were there worship'd, except those whom we have named after him, came from *Egypt*. The Colonies who brought the Knowledge of them into *Greece*, did not all arrive at the same Time, as shall be said in the 6th Volume ; and consequently the Changes that happened to the Religion of *Greece*, were gradual, and brought about only in different Ages. *Herodotus* (1), who seems to have carefully examined the Article I am now upon, after the Exceptions I have mentioned, concludes that except the Gods whom he has named, all the rest came from *Egypt* into *Greece*.

This Author comes next to some Particulars with Respect to *Bacchus*, whose Worship was brought into *Beotia* by *Cadmus* and *Melampus*.

“ 'Tis he, in short, speaking of *Melampus* the Son
 “ of *Amythaon*, who made the *Greeks* acquainted
 “ with the Name of *Bacchus*, and taught them the
 “ Ceremonies of the Sacrifices that are offered to
 “ him, and the Manner of representing that God.
 “ 'Tis true he did not explain to them the whole of
 “ this Mystery ; but the *Sages*, who came after him,
 “ gave fuller Insight into it. *Melampus* therefore
 “ invented the Representation of *Bacchus*, and the
 “ *Greeks*, instructed by him, perform the whole
 “ Ceremony, as it is now in Use among them, ac-
 “ cording

(1) Loc. cit.

“ cording to his Precepts. For my Part therefore
 “ I look upon *Melampus* to have been a very knowing
 “ Man, skilled in the Art of Divination, and who
 “ taught the *Greeks* many Things which he himself
 “ had learned from the *Egyptians*, and especially the
 “ Sacrifice of *Bacchus*, into which however he intro-
 “ duced some Alteration: For I would not affirm
 “ that whatever is performed in *Egypt* at the Feast
 “ of that God, resembles the Ceremonies that are
 “ observed upon that Occasion among the *Greeks*.
 “ As little will I say that the *Egyptians* borrowed
 “ from the *Greeks* either that Ceremony, or any
 “ thing else; but rather I am of Opinion that *Me-*
 “ *lampus* had learned every thing that concerns the
 “ Worship of *Bacchus*, from *Cadmus* and other Ty-
 “ *rians* who came with him from *Phenicia*, into the
 “ Country that is called at this Day *Beotia*.”

Here then we have the Worship of *Bacchus*, or
Dionysius, introduced into *Greece* by *Cadmus* and
Melampus. We know likewise from other Authors
 that *Cecrops* had brought to *Athens*, where he settled,
 the Worship of *Minerva*, who was worship'd in
Sais, whence he came. The same Prince, if we
 believe *Pausanias* (1), regulated the Worship of the
 Gods, and the Ceremonies of Religion, with a great
 deal of Wisdom. He was the first who called *Jupiter*
 the supreme God, or rather the most high (2). He
 forbid the offering of any Thing to the Gods that
 had Life, and regulated the Ceremonies of Mar-
 riage.

We have not such Certainty about the Change that
 might be introduced into the ancient Religion of
Greece, by the other Leaders of Colonies; but it is
 not to be doubted that *Inachus*, who planted the
 first Colony there, *Danaus* and others, likewise
 brought with them the Knowledge and Worship of
 their own Gods. Heads of Colonies, tho' they
 change their Country, don't therefore change their
 Religion; and when they become Masters of the
 Countries

(1) In Arcad.

(2) Ὁ πρῶτος.

Countries where they take up their Residence, they endeavour also to establish among them their own Religion and Forms of Worship. But if they meet with Opposition in this Attempt, as it happened to *Cadmus*, who by endeavouring to introduce the Worship of *Bacchus* into *Beotia*, kindled that War wherein *Pentheus* lost his Life, and which obliged himself to fly into *Illyrium*, they at least think of a Medium whereby to accommodate their Religion to that of the Country, till having made themselves absolute Masters, they are in a Capacity to establish it altogether.

'Tis therefore by no Means to be doubted, that the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies produced great Changes in the ancient Religion of *Greece*. I am speaking now of the Times before the *Trojan* War, not being design'd at present to examine into those that were occasioned in Times posterior to that Event, by the Introduction of several other Gods, whom the *Greeks* came to be acquainted with at different Conjunctions.

Thirdly, The third Period I consider in the Religion of the *Greeks*, respects the Time of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, who, according to *Herodotus*, made *Theogonies*: But this Article is fully explain'd in what I have said about the Theogony of the *Greeks*, where I have proved that these two Poets were not the Inventors of the Fables and Gods they mention, and that they only followed the establish'd Religion of their own Time (1). It would seem, that *Herodotus* has not expressed himself clearly, when he says that these two Poets had composed *Theogonies*. That *Hesiod* did so is indeed literally true; but as to *Homer* there is no Appearance of his having designed to reduce into a System what the *Greeks* thought of their Gods, he having contented himself with giving their received Names, and using them in such a Way as the Construction of his Poems required. But tho' these two famous Poets did not invent the Gods they speak of,

yet

(1). See the Article of the *Theogony* of the *Greeks* Vol. I.

yet 'tis certain they made them more generally known than they were before, and gave occasion, especially *Homer*, for enlarging their Worship; by using the Interpolation of those Gods upon all Occasions, and by representing them as warmly concerned for, and deeply interested in human Affairs; which naturally led Men to fear them, and seek to appease them, when they were thought to be incensed.

Fourthly, The fourth Period refers to the *Pythagorean* and *Platonick* Philosophers, who, to make the System of the *Greek Theology* the more supportable, introduced into it those ingenious Allegories, which abated of its Absurdity, an expedient upon which they especially laid the Stress of their Cause in the first Ages of Christianity, when the Fathers of the Church attack'd *Paganism* with so much Strength of Argument. These Philosophers indeed made great Alterations in the received Religion of their Time: But what I have said upon this Subject at the Beginning of this Work, and particularly in the general Reflections at the End of the fourth Book, Volume second, is sufficient to clear up this Article.

Besides these Changes that happened at different Times to the System of the *Greek Religion*, it suffered several others, whereof I shall examine the two principal ones. The first was when, upon receiving strange Gods, the *Greeks* gave them other Names, as has been already hinted in the first Chapter, which serves as an Introduction to Mythology. Ancient Authors have by good Fortune, given us Notice of those Changes; otherwise how could we have known at this Day the Origin of those Gods. We know from *Herodotus* that the *Apollo* of the *Greeks* was the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*; *Bacchus* or *Dionysius*, their *Osiris*; *Hermes* or *Mercury*, their *Taautus* or *Tbot*; *Pan* their *Mendes*; *Diana*, their *Babastis*; *Demeter*, their *Isis*; *Zeus*, or *Jupiter*, their *Ammon*; *Venus* or *Aphrodite*, their *Astarte*. *Plato* informs us that *Minerva* was their *Neit*: According to *Sanchoniathon*, their *Pluto*, or *Dis* was the *Month* of the *Phenicians*; unless we will
chuse

chuse rather to say he was the *Hephaistos* of the *Egyptians*.

These Changes of Names were common in the *Apotheoses*, whence the *Greeks* and *Romans* came by so many new Gods. The *Greeks* not only changed the Names of the Gods they received from *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, but also their Functions, gave them another Rank than what they held in the Theology of the oriental Nations, and framed their Geneologies as they pleased. Of this I could give several Examples, but I shall content my self with those of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*. We learn from *Herodotus* that *Vulcan* had the first Rank among the Gods of *Egypt*: The *Greeks* however made him the Son of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who, expelled Heaven for his Deformity, broke his Leg in the Fall, and was forced for a Livelihood, to work in the Island of *Lemnos* as a Blacksmith. In *Egypt* he was the Husband of *Minerva*; in *Greece* he had to Wife *Venus*, while *Minerva* pass'd among them for a Virgin Goddess. In *Egypt* he had a Share in the Government of the World; in *Greece*, he had only the Command of some Blacksmiths.

Secondly, I attribute to Poets posterior to *Homer* and *Hesiod*, the second Change that befel the Theology of the *Greeks*; and here we must call to mind that Source of Fable, where I proved that they had introduced a great Number of them that were not known before their Time. As it is the Character of Poetry to assume an unbounded License (1), so the Poets, according to their own Fancy, changed the Circumstances of the Fables, most of which had a Connection with Religion; sometimes invented new ones, gave new Attributes to the Gods, or palmed Adventures upon them never known before; and from the great Propensity which People had to believe their Fictions, the System of the establish'd Religion came in time to be stuffed with an Infinity of new Articles. The Examples of these Changes, which I shall give in the Sequel of this Mythology, will

(1) Hor. de Art. Poet.

will justify what I have advanced upon another Occasion, that if we would explain the Fables right, we must take them from the most ancient Poets. But one of the most considerable Changes in Religion, tho' 'tis of all others the least known, is that which must needs have happened when the *Greeks* ceased to pay a religious Worship to the Stars. Tho' we are ignorant of the History of this Cessation, yet the Fact is not the less certain. We have proved in the first Book, Volume III. from the Authority of *Plato*, that the *Greeks*, after the Example of other Nations, worship'd the Stars and Planets; and at the Time of that Philosopher, this Worship was entirely abolish'd in *Greece*. *Plato* even laments that it did not subsist, and seems to wish it had continued for ever.

As to the Manner how this Change may have happened, I shall give my Opinion as follows. The *Egyptians*, who likewise worship'd the Stars from the earliest Ages, having deify'd some of their Kings, gave out, as has been said elsewhere, that their Souls were gone to Heaven to be Inhabitants of the celestial Luminaries, or to speak more accurately, to dwell in some of the Planets; as for Example, that of *Osiris* in the Sun, and that of *Isis* in the Moon. From that Time they address'd their Worship promiscuously to the Planet, or to the Heroe who resided in it. *Cecrops*, who brought about so many Revolutions in the Religion of *Greece*, probably taught them this Point of Theology, and I question not but the same *Greeks*, who paid a religious Worship to the Planets, for Example to *Saturn* or *Jupiter*, confounded it with that which they ascrib'd to the two Princes of the same Name. Then soon forgetting the physical and natural God, they came at length to address their Prayers only to the animated Gods, and that in Times so early, that there does not appear to have been any Vestige of that ancient Worship remaining in *Pythagoras's* Time. From all these Changes arose a new Religion, the History whereof shall be the Subject of this and the

two following Volumes. Thus having before explain'd the Mythology of the Orientals, I shall now describe that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and some other *European* Nations, which is so different from the former, that one can hardly imagine the one to have been derived from the other. This Portion of my Work I divide into two Parts. In the first I shall speak of the Gods of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and in the second of those of the other *European* Nations.



P A R T I.

Of the Gods of the Greeks and Romans.

HERE opens a vast Field and very difficult to survey. The *Greeks* have blended the History of their Gods with so many Fables, they have so disguised the Oriental Traditions, delivered so many Circumstances inconsistent one with another, that 'tis no easy Matter to find out what were their real Sentiments about their Gods. Sometimes they are physical Beings, the Stars, the Elements; sometimes real Personages that actually existed: Often the same God is either the one or the other. Here are Metaphorical Generations, there true and natural ones. Let us endeavour however to unfold so intricate a Subject the best Way we can.

As among the various Divisions of *Pagan* Gods, that which distributes them into the Gods of Heaven and Hell, of Earth and Sea is the most natural, this is what I shall follow, with the Addition of an inferior Class of subaltern Deities, as to whose settled Residence the *Pagans* had not a very clear Conception.



B O O K I.

Of the Celestial Gods.

TH O', accurately speaking, *Love* was the first of Gods, since *Sanctoniathon* and *Hesiod* give him a Place in the first Generation ; however as he was but a purely physical Divinity, namely, the harmonious and regular Union of Bodies blended together in the Chaos, whence sprung all the Productions of Nature ; and my Design being not to insist much upon the natural Gods, but only upon those that are called animated, I shall, in Imitation of the Poets, begin with *Jupiter*, whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* look'd upon as the greatest of Gods, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth : *Ab Jove Principium*, as *Virgil* has it, after the Poet *Aratus*.



C H A P. I.

The History of Jupiter and his Ancestors.

TH E R E appears something very wild in the Idea which the *Pagans* had of this God, when it is thoroughly examined.

The Philosophers, as we see in many Places of *Cicero's* Discourses upon the Nature of the Gods, take him only for the more purified Air or the *Æther* ; and *Juno* his Spouse for the grosser Air that surrounds our Earth. Those who look'd upon him to be an animated God, or one of those Men who for their illustrious Actions or useful Inventions were raised to divine Honours ; after having considered him as the Sovereign of Gods and Men, as an Almighty God,

God, who with the mere Movement of one of his Eye-brows makes *Olympus* tremble, degrade him afterwards by ascribing to him the most unworthy Actions, and the most enormous Crimes: He is, according to them, guilty of Incest and Adultery, an ungrateful Son, a faithless Husband, cholerick, passionate and revengeful. What Idea then of the Divinity had the *Greeks* and *Romans*, so famed for their refined Genius? They were only the Poets, say you, who gave such a Representation of their *Jupiter*; but whence had they borrowed it, but from the Theology of their Time, as is proved elsewhere? But another Thing that greatly perplexes the History of this God is, that there were several of the same Name, and the History of the one who was best known, that is, of him who had been King of *Crete*, was filled up with the Adventures of all the rest.

The Ancients are not even agreed about the Number of those who went by the Name of *Jupiter*. *Diodorus Siculus* (1) reckons only two. The one, who was the most ancient, was that Prince of the *Atlantidæ* whom I have spoke of in the Theogony of that People. The other, who was his Nephew, and who became much more famous than his Uncle, was King of *Crete*, and extended the Limits of his Empire to the Extremities of *Europe* and *Africa*.

Cicero (2) admits three of them. “ Those whom
“ we call *Theologues*, says he, reckon three *Jupiters*.
“ There are two of them from *Arcadia*, the one
“ the Son of *Æther*, and Father of *Proserpine* and
“ *Bacchus*: The other the Son of *Calus*, and Fa-
“ ther of *Minerva*, who is said to have invented
“ War and to preside over it. A third the Son of
“ *Saturn*, born in *Crete*, where his Tomb is still
“ to be seen.”

Where we are to remark by the by, that among the two *Jupiters* of *Arcadia*, there was one very ancient. Born of obscure Parents, he raised himself,

VOL. II.

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and

(1) L. 1.

(2) De nat. Deor. L. 3.

and acquired great Reputation by his Talents, and the Pains he took to civilize the Minds of the *Arcadians*, who till then led a savage Life, dwelling in the Woods and minding nothing but Hunting. This *Jupiter* gave them Laws, regulated the State of Marriage, taught them to adore the Gods, and instituted Priests to overlook their Worship. The *Arcadians*, full of Gratitude to their Benefactor, joined him to the Number of their Gods; and, to conceal his Original as much as possible, they fabled that he was the Son of *Æther*, that is, of Heaven.

But this was not the most ancient of those who bore the Name of *Jupiter*; the first of all is undoubtedly the *Jupiter Ammon* of the *Libyans*, since probably he was *Cham*, on whom his Son *Misraim*, or *Meftraim* conferred Deification. 'Tis well known, as was said in the first Volume, that this Patriarch and his Family came and settled in *Egypt*, called in Scripture the Land of *Misraim*, or of *Ammon*, *No-Ammon*. The *Jupiter Serapis*, worship'd in the same Country, is likewise very ancient, as we have proved in the History of the Gods of *Egypt*, against those who alledge he was not known till the Time of the *Ptolemies*.

In the same Rank we may reckon *Jupiter Belus*, whom we have likewise spoke of upon Occasion of the Temple he had at *Babylon*, who, according to *Herodotus*, was the *Jupiter* of the *Assyrians* (1). *Celus*, according to the same Author, was the *Jupiter* of the ancient *Persians* (2), wherein he agrees not with the *Greeks*, who made *Cælus* or *Uranus*, to be the Grand-father of their *Jupiter*.

The *Jupiter* of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, may also be reckoned in the Number of the most ancient ones, since, according to the same Historian, the first Oracle of *Greece* was founded by a Priestess of that God. But who was this *Jupiter*? Was he *Ammon*, one of whose Priestesses founded also the Oracle in

(1) L. 1. c. 181.

(2) L. 1. c. 13.

in *Libya*; or was he *Osiris*? This is what we are not told in History.

The *Scythians* (1) had also their *Jupiter*, whom they called *Pappæus*, and his Wife *Terra*; and hence it appears that they had borrowed the Idea of him from the *Persians*, and that he was the same with *Cælus*.

The *Ethiopians* named this God *Affabinus*, and the *Gauls*, not to mention other Nations, *Taranus*. We have a Passage of *Nonnus* that informs us in most of these different Names of *Jupiter*. *That God, says he, is called Belus upon the Euphrates, Ammon in the Sands of Libya: He is surnamed Apis at the Foot of the Nile, Chronos among the Arabians, and Zeus among the Assyrians.*

We don't pretend to give a compleat List of all who bore that Name, since, according to *Varro*, and *Eusebius* after him, they amounted to about three Hundred; which is no hard Matter to be believed, since we learn from the Ancients that in the earlier Periods of Time most of the Kings assumed that august Name; so that we know no Age before the Siege of Troy, at which Time this Custom ceased, when there is not to be found one or more *Jupiters*. Hence so many different Nations boasted that *Jupiter* was born among them, and shewed several Monuments to attest it, as shall be said hereafter.

But, what farther proves the Plurality of Persons who went by the Name of *Jupiter*, is that the Gallantries, which are ascribed to him of *Crete*, cannot agree to one and the same Person. The Poets make them last four hundred Years; for there is no shorter Interval between the first and the last of the amorous Adventures they relate, after which they make them quit the Stage altogether; upon which *Lactantius* rallies them agreeably (a). *Diodorus Siculus* makes these

M 2

(1) *Herod. L. 4. c. 57.*

(a) *Quid ergo est, inquit, quare falacissimus Jupiter defierit Liberos tollere, utrum sexagenarius factus est, & illi Papia Lex fibulam*

these Gallantries last sixteen Generations, which make near five hundred Years. 'Tis true we have not now the History of those old Intrigues full enough to be able to apply them exactly to each of those *Jupiters*; but we know as much of them as is sufficient to prove that they belong not to the same Person. Accordingly the Adventure with *Niobe* the Daughter of *Phoroneus*, must refer to *Jupiter Apis* the King of *Argos*, *Inachus's* Grandson, who lived near eighteen hundred Years before *Jesus Christ*. He who committed the Rape upon *Europa* is *Jupiter Asterius* the King of *Crete*, who reigned about the Time of *Cadmus*, about 1400 Years before the same *Era*; he was the Father of *Minas* the first of the Name. He who, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, had by *Electra* the Daughter of *Atlas*, *Dardanus*, *Jasion* and *Harmione*, must have lived about 150 Years before the *Trojan War*, as shall be said when we come to *Priam's* Ancestors. He who broke into the Tower of *Danae*, who became the Mother of *Perseus*, is the *Jupiter Prætus*, that Princess's Uncle, who lived 50 or 60 Years after *Asterius*. He who carry'd away *Ganimede*, is *Jupiter Tantalus*, who reigned in the Year 1320 before *Jesus Christ*. He who was *Hercules's* Father, be who he will, lived 60 or 80 Years before the taking of *Troy*. In fine, he who had by *Leda*, the Wife of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*, the two *Dioscuri Castor* and *Pollux*, was not very remote from the same Epoch (*a*). Oftimes too it was the Priests of that God, who debauch'd the Women of whom they were enamoured: Thus altho' the true *Jupiter* had a great number of Children, having had several Wives and several Mistresses, as shall be said in the Sequel, yet we are not

sibulam imposuit? An impetravit jus trium liberorum? An tandem illi venit in mentem, ab alio expectes alteri quod feceris: & timet ne quis sibi faciat quod ipse Saturno. Laët. l. 1. 16.

(*a*) We shall compute these Dates more exactly in the VI and VII Volumes, but at Present greater Precision was not necessary.

not to place to his Account all the Children that were fathered upon him.

These Things being supposed, I shall divide into five Articles all that belongs to the History of *Jupiter*. In the first, I shall relate his History according to the more common Account. In the second, I shall consider the Tradition which *Diodorus Siculus* and some others have followed. In the third, I shall explain the Fables that are intermixed with these two Traditions, and I shall especially enlarge upon that of the Giants and Titans. In the fourth I recount and explain the different Names that were given to *Jupiter*; and in the fifth the different Manners of representing him, and the particular Worship that was paid him.

ARTICLE I.

The History of Jupiter, according to the more common Opinion.

Almost all Antiquity agrees that he was the Son of *Saturn* and of *Rhea*. An Oracle delivered by *Cælus* and *Terra*, according to *Apollodorus* (1), having foretold his Father that one of his Sons should bereave him of his Life and Crown; or, according to other Authors, in Consequence of an Agreement made with *Titan* his elder Brother, who had resigned the Empire to him, but on Condition that he should destroy all his male Issue, that the Succession might one Day return to the elder Line; he devoured them, that is, he took away their Lives as they came into the World; already *Vesta* his eldest Daughter, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Pluto* and *Neptune* had been devoured, when *Rhea* finding herself pregnant, and being desirous to save her Child, made a Voyage into the Island of *Crete* (2), where having hid herself in a Cave called *Diçté*, she was delivered of *Jupiter*, whom she gave to be nursed by two Nymphs of the Country, named *Adrasté* and *Ida*, who were called the *Melissæ* (3).

M 3

Apollodorus

(1) L. 1.

(2) *Apollod.* L. 1.

(3) The Bees.

Apollodorus (1) adds that *Rhea* recommended the Care of *Jupiter* in his Infancy to the *Curetes* (2), who dancing around the *Cave Diète*, and striking their Bucklers with their Spears made Noise enough to hinder the Cries of the Infant from being heard. In the mean Time that Goddess, to beguile her Husband who had heard of her being delivered, caused him to swallow a Stone which she had swath'd about, as if it had been his Son.

When he came to Years, he entered into an Association, says *Apollodorus* (3), with *Metis* (a), whose Name imports *Foresight*, to signify that he discovered a great deal of Prudence in the future Conduct of his Life. It was by the immediate Counsel of this *Metis*, that he gave his Father *Saturn* a Potion that caused him to vomit up first the Stone he had swallowed, and then all his Children he had devoured.

As *Pluto* and *Neptune* were among his Sons, *Jupiter* joined with them, made War upon his Father and upon the *Titans* his Relations. After this War had lasted ten Years, *Terra* foretold *Jupiter* that he should gain a compleat Victory over his Enemies, if he could deliver such of the *Titans* as his Father kept imprison'd in *Tartarus*, and prevail upon them to fight for him. He made the Attempt, and having slain *Campè* their Keeper, rescued them from Prison. In the mean while the *Cyclops* gave to *Jupiter* the Thunder, which since that Time has been his most common Symbol, to *Pluto* a Helmet, and to *Neptune* the Trident. With these Arms, they vanquish'd *Saturn*; and after *Jupiter* had used him precisely in the same Manner as he himself had used his Father *Uranus*, he threw him down to the Bottom of *Tartarus* with the *Titans*, under the Custody of the *Hecatonchires*, that is, of the Giants with the hundred Hands. After this Victory the three Brothers seeing themselves Masters of the World, divided it among them.

(1) L. I. (2) Or the *Daëyli* of Mount *Ida*. (3) L. I.

(a) The Poets have made a Person of this Virtue, and feigned that she was the Daughter of *Oceanus*.

them. *Jupiter* had Heaven for his Share, *Neptune* the Sea, and *Pluto* Hell. *Xenophon* (1) reckons *Chiron* in the Number of *Jupiter's* Brothers, since he too was the Son of *Saturn*, but by another Mother, whom he calls *Nais*, and *Pliny* and *Ovid Philyra*; but he is not mentioned neither in this Division nor in this War.

In the mean time the Giants, whom we are carefully to distinguish from the *Titans*, as shall be prov'd hereafter, resolved to dethrone *Jupiter*, attempted to besiege him in Heaven itself, or *Olympus*, and for that Purpose piled *Mount Ossa* upon *Pelion*. *Jupiter*, terrified at the Sight of these his Enemies, call'd all the Gods and Goddesses to his Assistance: And as the Goddess *Styx*, the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, was the first who arrived there with her Children, *Victory*, *Power*, *Emulation* and *Force*, *Jupiter* was so sensible of the Favour, that he ordained from that Time an Oath taken in her Name, to be the most inviolable of any (a).

After this Manner is the Enterprize of the Giants related from *Hesiod* (2); but *Apollodorus* (3) who seems to have compiled some old Chronicle, gives a Detail of Particulars which I cannot omit.

These Giants, says he, the Sons of *Cælus* and *Terra*, were of a monstrous Stature, and their Strength was proportioned to that Heighth. They had a wild and dreadful Aspect, long Hair, a great Beard, and appeared to have the Legs and Feet of Serpents. Their ordinary Abode was in the *Phlegrean* Plains, or according to others, near *Pallene*. In the Assault they made upon Heaven, they threw whole Rocks, burning Oaks, and other Trees. The most formidable of them was *Porphyryon*, and *Alcyonæus*. The latter was to have been immortal while he remained in the Place of his Nativity. He had already distinguish'd himself by other Enterprises, and he is

M 4

thought

(1) De Venat. p. 973. (2) Theog. (3) L. I.
(a) See hereafter the History of the infernal Gods.

thought to have been the Person who brought from *Erythia* the Oxen of the Sun.

What threw *Jupiter* into the greatest Consternation was a Tradition importing that the Giants were invincible, and that none of the Gods could take away their Lives, unless he called some Mortal to his Assistance. *Jupiter* having enjoined *Aurora*, the Moon, and the Sun, not to discover his Designs, prevented *Terra* who sought to aid her Sons; and by the Advice of *Pallas*, sent for *Hercules* to assist him. This Heroe with his deadly Shafts overthrew several times the dreadful *Alcyonæus*; but like another *Antæus*, so soon as he touch'd the Earth, he resumed new Strength, and recovered himself. *Pallas* seizing him by the Middle, carry'd him above the Circle of the Moon where he expired.

In the mean Time *Porphyryon* attack'd both *Hercules* and *Juno* at once, when in order to conquer him with more ease, *Jupiter* used a Stratagem, which few Husbands would have thought of. He inspired him with Love to the Goddess, of whom he quickly became so desperately enamoured that he was going to offer Violence to her, when *Hercules* with Showers of Darts, and *Jupiter* with his Thunder put him to Death.

Ephialtes and *Otus* his Brother (a), the Son of *Neptune* and *Iphimedia* the Wife of the Giant *Aloeus*, thence named the *Aloides*, were two formidable Giants. They had a Design especially upon the God of War; but the Former had the left Eye put out by the Darts of *Apollo*, and the Right by the Arrows of *Hercules*, and thus was made useless for the Fight. *Eurytus* who attack'd that Heroe, was killed with a Branch of Oak, while *Hecate*, or rather *Vulcan* beat down *Clyteus* with a Bar of red hot Iron. *Enceladus* seeing the Gods victorious, took flight, but *Minerva* stop'd him short by opposing to him the Island of *Sicily*. *Polybctes* pursued by *Neptune*, flying over the Waves of

(a) I shall speak at more Length of those two Giants in the History of *Mars* and in the Article of *Hell*.

of the Sea, arrived in the Island of *Coos*, but the God having pluck'd up a Part of that Isle, buried the Body of the Giant under it, whence was formed the Isle *Nisyros*. *Minerva* on her Side having vanquish'd the Giant *Pallas*, flead him, and arm'd herself with his Skin. *Mercury* who had put on *Pluto's* Helmet, slew the Giant *Hyppolytus*; and *Diana* him who was called *Gracion*. The Destinies put to Death *Agrius* and *Thaon*. *Terra* enraged at this Victory, exerted her last Effort, and brought forth the dreadful *Typhon*, who alone gave the Gods more Trouble than all the other Giants together (*a*).

After the Overthrow of the *Titans* and *Giants*, *Jupiter* thought on nothing else but to make his Subjects happy. According to *Hesiod* he was seven times married, and wedded successively *Metis*, *Themis*, *Eurynome*, *Ceres*, *Mnemosyne*, *Latona*, and *Juno*, who appears to have been the last of his Wives. Not that the Mythologists are agreed about this Article, since some of them contend that the Reason of his marrying *Metis*, was because *Juno* was barren. Be that as it will, he had by his Wives and Mistresses, a great Number of Children; and I should forbear naming them, since as has been said, they don't all belong to the same *Jupiter*; but as they were all or most of them, raised either to the Rank of Gods or Demi-Gods, and as I shall have Occasion to speak of them afterwards, 'tis necessary to give a slight View of their Original. *Jupiter* having had Recourse to several Plots the better to carry on his Gallantries, this gave rise to so many Transformations mentioned by the Poets, for which I refer the Reader to the last Source of Fable (1), where I have given the Explanation of them.

Transform'd into a Swan he had *Castor* and *Pollux* by *Leda* the Wife of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*. Changed into a Bull he had *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* by *Europa* the Daughter of *Agenor*. By *Calisto*, *Arcas*; by

(*a*) See what has been said of this Giant in the 6th Book, Vol. I.

(1) Vol. I. L. I.

by *Niobe*, *Pelasgus*; by *Lardane*, *Sarpedon* and *Argus*; by *Alcmena* the Wife of *Amphitryo*, *Hercules*; by *Antiope*, *Amphion* and *Zetes*; by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Jedamia*, *Deucalion*; by *Carné* the Daughter of *Eubulus*, *Britomartis*; by the Nymph *Schythinides*, *Megara*; by *Protogenia*, *Æthilius* the Father of *Endymion*, and *Memphis* who afterwards married *Lydia*; by *Toredia*, *Arcesilaus*; by *Ora*, *Colax*; by *Cyrno*, *Cyrné*; by *Elestra*, *Dardanus*; by *Thalia* the Gods *Palici*; by *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*, *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*; by *Ceres*, *Proserpine*; by *Mnemosyne*, for whom he had metamorphosed himself into a Shepherd, the nine *Muses*; by *Juno*, *Mars*; by *Meia* the Daughter of *Atlas*, *Mercury*; by *Latona*, *Apollo* and *Diana*; by *Dione*, *Venus*; by *Metis*, *Minerva*; by *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, *Bacchus*.

Such was the Tradition which most of the *Greek* Authors followed with Respect to *Jupiter* and his Family; but there was another, of no less Antiquity perhaps, and at least as well vouched, which 'tis necessary to relate. This Tradition which represented the Princes of *Jupiter's* Family, that is, the *Titans*, as Masters of a great Empire, is chiefly preserved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (1), who had himself taken it from *Eubemeres*, and being conformable to *Sanchoniathon*, has been set in a fine Light by Father *Don Pezron* (2) who has, with great Art, drawn together in Support of it all the Passages that are scattered up and down in the Ancients.

ARTICLE II.

The History of Jupiter and of the Titan Princes, according to the second Tradition.

The *Scythians* descended from *Magog*, the second Son of *Japhet*, settled at first in the northern Provinces of the higher *Asia*; being divided afterwards into different Branches, some of them inhabited *Margiana*,

(1) L. 3.

(2) Ant. de la Langue des Celtes.

giana, Bactriana, and the most easterly Part of *Sogdiana*, while others fixed their Residence in *Iberia* and *Albania*, between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Seas. Tho' these Nations have frequently been comprehended under the general Name of *Scythians*, yet they were most commonly called *Sacæ*. Being overstock'd with Multitudes of Inhabitants more numerous than their Country was able to maintain, they began to look out for new Habitations. *Armenia*, according to *Strabo* (1), was the first Province they fell upon; but not being satisfied with the Conquest of it, they advanced towards *Cappadocia*, and keeping still to the West, they settled in the Countries that are watered by the *Thermodon* and *Iris*, where, according to *Stephanus* (2), they built the City *Acmonia*, from *Acmon* the Son of *Phaneus* who was their Leader. The restless Disposition of *Acmon*, or rather the Desire of extending his Conquests prompted him to enter *Phrygia*, where he built another City which he likewise called *Acmonia*; and having made himself Master of *Phenicia* and *Syria*, he died by overheating himself in hunting, and was deify'd under the Name of *the Most high*: This is the *Hypsistos* of *Sanchoniathon*, whom we have spoke of in the Article of the Theogony of the *Phenicians*.

Uranus, whose Name in the *Greek* Language signifies Heaven, the Son and Successor of *Acmon*, married *Titæa* (a), or *Terra* his Sister, and had several Children by her, who got the Name of *Titans* from their Mother, a Name so celebrated in all the ancient Histories, and which has made them pass for the Sons of the Earth. As those Princes were bigger and more robust than their Contemporaries, or perhaps, as shall be said afterwards, because they led a more irregular Life, they were also called *Giants*; and from that Time the Name of *Titans* and *Giants* have been

(1) L. II.

(2) Verbo *Acmonia*.(a) *Sanchoniathon* calls her *Gue*, whence the Earth got her Name in *Greek*. See the Fragment, Vol. I. B. II.

been often confounded, tho' they ought to be distinguish'd (*a*).

If we take the Account which the Ancients have given of *Uranus*, he was so called for no other Reason, but because he had diligently applied himself to the Contemplation of the heavenly Bodies to know their Nature, with the Revolutions, and various Motions of the Stars. The *Titans*, his Descendants, who ingeniously improved every Thing that was capable of raising that illustrious Race, laid hold of the Advantage they had from the Names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, to pass it upon the World that they were the Sons of Heaven and Earth; thinking to make themselves as much respected for this Original, as they were formidable for their Strength and Valour.

Uranus so far surpass'd any Thing remarkable that his Father had done, that he seems to have almost quite defaced from the Minds of Posterity, the Names of those from whom he descended. This Prince pass'd the *Bosphorus*, carried his Arms into *Thrace*, and conquered several Islands, among others that of *Crete*, whereof he conferred the Government upon one of his Brothers, whose Sons were the *Curetes*. Not satisfy'd with so many Conquests, *Uranus* fell with Violence upon the other Provinces of *Europe*; made his Way into *Spain*, and passing the Straits which separate it from *Africa*, he over-run the Coasts of that Part of the World (1), whence returning back, he went to the North of *Europe* and subdued all that Country.

He had several Sons, *Titan*, *Oceanus*, *Hyperion*, *Japetus*, *Chronos*, or *Saturn*, who when they grew up combined against their Father. *Uranus* being apprized of their Plots, caused them all to be seized, except *Oceanus* who was always submissive to him. *Saturn*, either too young to be put in Prison with his Brothers, or rescued by his Mother *Titea*, set at Liberty his Brothers, who in their turn seizing upon their

(*a*) See the Reflections that follow this History.

(1) See Dio. l. 1.

their Father's Person, conferred the Empire out of Gratitude upon their Deliverer.

Some of those Tyrants made a vain Attempt to oppose the rising Power of *Saturn*: Every thing gave Way to him; and *Uranus*, reduced to the Condition of a private Man, died for Grief, or, if we rely on *Sanhoniathon* (a), in Consequence of a violent Operation which disabled him from having Children.

Saturn, become Master of a vast Empire, married his Sister *Rhea*, and, besides the Name of King, assumed the Royal Diadem and Crown. In one of those Imprecations which Wrath suggests to Fathers or Mothers against an ungrateful Son, *Uranus* and *Titea* prayed that *Saturn's* Children might serve him as he had served them; and that Prince looking upon this Imprecation as a Prediction, caused them all to be shut up without Distinction of Sex. *Rhea* enraged at this Cruelty, found a Way to save *Jupiter*, and to convey him secretly from *Arcadia* where she then was, into *Crete*, where the *Curetes* his Uncles brought him up in the Caves of Mount *Ida*. The Poets who have spoke of this Event, veiled it under a Fiction, and said that *Saturn* devoured his Children as fast as they were born, and that *Rhea* being delivered of *Jupiter*, had presented a Stone instead of him to her Husband, who swallowed it.

In the mean time the *Titans* who envy'd *Saturn's* Greatness, rebelled against him, and seizing upon his Person, shut him up in close Prison. *Jupiter* then young and full of Courage, having heard this piece of news, left *Crete*, defeated the *Titans*, delivered his Father, and having re-establish'd him in his Throne, returned victorious into the Place of his Retreat. *Saturn* reign'd thereafter many Years, without any Disturbance to his Tranquillity; but Age bringing on Jealousy and Distrust, he consulted an Oracle which declared that he was in Extremity of Danger from the youngest of his Sons. This was enough to put that Prince

(a) See his Fragment, Art. of the Theogony of the *Phenicians*, Vol. I. B. II.

Prince upon using all Means to rid himself of *Jupiter*. He laid Ambuscades for him which he luckily escaped; but seeing himself every Day exposed to new Dangers, he prepared to make a vigorous self Defence, in Case he should be openly attack'd. Accordingly *Saturn* came to *Crete*, but was betrayed by those who governed it in his Name, and was forced to make a hasty Retreat into that part of *Greece*, known since by the Name of *Peloponnesus*.

Thither *Jupiter* pursued him, and after having beat him a second Time obliged him to take Sanctuary in *Italy*, where he was received by *Janus*. The *Titans*, then dispersed thro' several Countries of *Greece*, jealous of the Power of the new Conqueror, as they had been of his Father's; or solicited, as 'tis thought, by *Saturn* himself, levied Troops and gave him Battle; but being defeated, they retired into the inmost Parts of *Spain*, where *Saturn* followed them. *Jupiter* having set his Brothers and Sisters at Liberty, fought out the *Titans* in their Retreat, and beat them for the last Time near *Tartessos*, and this Battle put a Period to that War, which had lasted ten Years. *Saturn* finding himself no longer secure in a Country where his Son was Master, pass'd into *Sicily* (1), where he died for Grief, or in Consequence of a cruel Operation, which he himself had performed upon his Father *Uranus*.

With this last Victory and the Death of *Saturn*, commenced the Reign of *Jupiter*. His true Name was *Jou*, that is to say *Young*, to denote not only that he was the youngest of *Saturn*'s Sons, but also that he had exceedingly distinguish'd himself by his Exploits in his Youth. The Appellation of Father, *Pater*, was added afterwards, whence he was called *Joupater*, and with a little softening, *Jupiter* (a). Having become

(1) Philoc. apud Clem. Alex.

(a) Several other Derivations are given of the Name *Jupiter*; but there would be no End were we to insist upon all these Trifles. We shall only observe that *Varro* derives the Word from *Juvon*,

become Master of a vast Empire, he married his Sister, whom the *Latins* name *Juno*, and the *Greeks* *Hera*, or the Mistress, and in this he only followed the Example of his Father and Grand-Father.

As it was no easy Matter for *Jupiter* alone to govern Dominions of so vast an Extent, he distributed them into different Governments. Accordingly we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* that *Atlas* governed the Frontiers of *Africa*. This Prince was the Son of *Japetus*, and consequently *Jupiter's* Cousin German, since *Japetus* was *Saturn's* Brother. Whether therefore *Atlas* had siezed upon those Provinces remote from the Center of the Empire during the War of the *Titans*; or that he had them by some other Title; 'tis certain that this was the Country where he settled, and became so famous that he gave his Name to that Ridge of Mountains that extend themselves to the Sea, and are called at this Day Mount *Atlas*; and that Part of the Ocean which washes it, is named the *Atlantick* Ocean: But we shall speak of this Prince at greater Length in another Place.

We likewise learn from the Ancients that *Pluto* was settled Governor of the western Parts of the Empire of the *Titans*, of the *Gauls* and *Spain*, as shall be said in the History of that God (1). After *Pluto's* Death his Government was given to *Mercury*, who therein highly signalized himself, and became the great Divinity of the *Celtæ*. We are ignorant of the History of the other Governors of so vast an Empire: All we know is that *Jupiter* reserved to himself the whole East; that is to say, *Greece*, the *Isles*, and that Part of *Asia* whence his Ancestors came (a).

Such

Juven, or *Juven's Pater*. The *Greeks* call this God *Zeus*, and frequently he is called *Jovis*, which is the Genitive of *Jou*. The Designation Father, that was given him, was designed to point out his Superiority over the other Gods, as also by the Epithets *Optimus maximus*, which came to be a Formula added to his Name.

(1) B IV. Of the infernal Gods.

(a) In this second Tradition there is not a Word of the Division of the World among the three Brothers, on the Contrary it appears

Such of the Ancients as had wrote the History of *Crete*, praised *Jupiter* highly for his Courage, his Prudence, his Justice, and other civil and military Virtues; and from those Historians, whose Works are now lost, the *Greek* Authors had taken the Accounts they give us of that Prince. Not content to pass for a Conqueror, we are told, he would needs be also a Legislator: Accordingly he made just and equitable Laws, which he took care to see observed during his Life, by punishing those who did not follow them. He rooted out the pilfering Vagabonds who were cantoned in *Thessaly* and in other Provinces of *Greece*; and, besides the Tranquillity which he procured to his Subjects, he laboured for his own Security, since he had fixed his chief Residence upon Mount *Olympus*, which is in *Thessaly*. There it was chiefly he kept his Court, when Affairs of State did not oblige him to be away. He very often made a visit likewise to *Crete* where he had been educated: Happy! had he not sully'd the Glory of his Actions by his too great Attachment to Pleasure. Hence so many amorous Intrigues, the History whereof is transmitted to us under the Image of his Metamorphoses. We have already observed how we are to conceive of those imaginary Transformations; but so far they are true, as he left no Stone unturned to succeed in his Amours.

As there were several Princes that went under the Name of *Jupiter*, as has been said, so 'tis certain that his History was filled up with all the Adventures that beset those who had usurped it; but 'tis no less true that he gave himself up entirely to Pleasure, and that the Modesty of the most virtuous Women could not screen them from his violent Assaults. These too frequent Pieces of Gallantry put *Juno* so much out of Humour, that she cheerfully enter'd into a Conspiracy that was formed against him. However he quelled it so soon as it came to light; and

appears that *Jupiter* remained sole Master of the Empire, and gave only Governments to his Brothers and other Relations.

and this was the last of his Exploits. Oppress'd with Old-age he died in *Crete*, where his Tomb was for a long Time to be seen near *Gnossus*, one of the principal Cities of the Island, with this Epitaph: *Here lies Zan who was called Jupiter.* He lived to a hundred and twenty Years, whereof he reigned sixty two from the Defeat of the *Titans* and the Death of *Saturn* (1). The *Curetes*, whom *Ennius* in his sacred History calls his Sons, tho' they were really his Uncles, took care of his funeral Obsequies (2):

The Empire of *Jupiter* had the Fate of other great Monarchies, and was not able to support itself in the Splendor which it received from the *Titan* Princes, whom we have been now speaking of. After his Death his Dominions were divided into a great number of petty Kingdoms, where some of his Successors reign'd; but to them we are mostly Strangers. What we know of the Sequel of this History is of small Moment, and hardly worth the relating. *Crete* was the Portion of the Empire of the *Titans*, that subsisted longest. *Cres*, the Son of *Jupiter*, reigned there after the Death of his Father (3), and there the *Curetes* chiefly distinguished themselves by the Care they took of the Affairs of Religion.

However the Ancients have preserved two Facts to us, by which we learn, that some of the Successors of those Princes were still powerful after the Death of the *Titans*: The first is that *Deucalion*, the Son of *Prometheus*, and consequently of the Race of the *Titans*, settled in *Thessaly*, and that his Children reigned a long Time in different Parts of *Greece*: The second, that the *Curetes* founded in the same Country the Olympick Games that came to be so celebrated in after Ages.

Such is the History of the *Titan* Princes, and of *Jupiter* the greatest of the Gods of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: A History founded upon ancient Traditions,

VOL. II.

N

autho-

(1) See *Suidas* on the Word Πῑνος.

(2) *Ennius* apud *Lact.* divin. Inst. L. 1. c. 11.

(3) *Ennius* ibidem.

authorised by *Hesiod* who gives a full Description of the Generations of that Family (1), by *Callimachus*, *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Eubemerus*, whose Work *Emmius* translated into *Latin*, by *Sanctoniathon*, *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*. We may also add, that Scripture gives us a high Idea of the *Titans*, since *Judith* (3) thanking God for the Death of *Holofernes*, says; 'Tis not one of the mighty Men has taken away his Life; 'Tis not one of the Sons of the *Titans*, nor of the Giants, but a Woman, &c.

This second Tradition, as we see, is much more probable, and better supported than the former; and Father *Pezron*, who has improved it so much, has done no more to it than barely to trace and connect together the several Authorities of the Ancients who mention the Power of the *Titans*; and if he has fallen into any Mistake, 'tis not for having so highly exalted the Power of those Princes, but from a Persuasion that the ancient *Celtæ* descended from them in a right Line, and that their Language is still spoke at this Day in the lower *Brittany*, and in some Counties of *England*.

As to what remains, I don't pretend that I have included in these two Accounts, all the Traditions that were dispersed thro' *Greece* concerning *Jupiter* and the Princes of his Family, but I have delivered those that seem'd to me to have most credit. For it appears that there were several others, and *Pausanias* (4) judiciously observes that it would be endless to recount all the Places that valued themselves upon their having given Birth to that God. The *Messeni-ans* especially disputed that Honour with all other Nations; they named the very Nurses who had educated him, one of whom had communicated her Name to the River *Nedis*, and the other hers to Mount *Itbome*. If we take their Word for it, says the Author now cited, the *Curetes*, having rescued the young *Jupiter* from the Cruelty of *Saturn*, committed

(1) Theog.

(2) L. 3.

(3) Ch. 16. v. 6.

(4) In Messen. c. 33.

ted him to the Care of those two Nymphs, who had the Charge of his Infancy.

They had a Custom of washing him in a Fountain, whose Name keeps up the Memory of the Care that was taken to conceal him (*a*). 'Tis in Commemoration of that Event, says the same Author, that Water is still brought every Day from that Fountain into the Temple of *Jupiter Itbome*.

But not to insist on that, as these different Traditions contain several Fables, I shall endeavour to explain them in the following Article.

ARTICLE III.

The Explication of the Fables which the Poets have intermix'd with the History now related.

The Poets, whose Business it was not simply to relate the ancient Traditions which were the Foundation of their Works, embellish'd them with several fabulous Circumstances, as we have fully proved in one of the Sources of Fable. This Principle being laid down, 'tis evident that the older a History was, the more was it susceptible of the Ornaments of Fiction. Accordingly this was the Case as to that now before us, and to this we may refer the Reflection of *Philo* of *Byblos*, who after having delivered the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon* (1), says very judiciously, “ that the *Greeks*, who in fine Genius excelled all
“ other Nations, having apply'd to themselves all the
“ ancient Histories, adorn'd and exaggerated them ;
“ who while they aimed at only giving Pleasure and
“ Amusement by their Narrations, had composed
“ entertaining Fables, whereby they had quite per-
“ verted ancient History. Hence, continues the
“ same Author, *Hesiod* and the other so renowned

N 2

“ *Cyclick*

(*a*) *Pausanias* says, this Fountain was called *Clepsydra*, a Name composed of two *Greek* Words κλέπτω *occulto*, to hide, and ὕδωρ, *aqua*, Water.

(1) *Apud Euf. Præp. L. i. c. 10.*

“ *Cyclick* Poets have formed their *Theogonies*, *Gigantomachies*, *Titanomachies*, and other Works in which they have smothered the Truth ; that our Ears, accustomed from our Infancy to those Fictions, still retain the Impression, and so the Truth itself, when it comes to be discovered, appears to have the Air of Falshood, while those fabulous Narrations, how extravagant soever, pass for authentick Facts.”

This Reflection of *Philo* will be justify’d in the Sequel of this Article.

The first Fable intermix’d with the History now given, respects the Manner in which *Chronos* or *Saturn* is said to have used his Father *Uranus*, as the same Usage was also retaliated upon himself by his Son *Jupiter*. Thus ’tis delivered by *Sanctoniathon*, with Regard to *Uranus*. “ *Eilus*, that is to say, *Chronos*, in the thirty second Year of his Reign, having laid an Ambuscade for his Father *Uranus*, in a Kind of Valley, cut off his Privities with a Sabre: It was between Fountains and Rivulets—— The Place is to be seen at this Day where this Event happened.”

The Foundation of what gave rise to the Fable of the Castration of *Cælus* and *Saturn*. As these ancient Fictions were alter’d in Proportion as they pass’d from Hand to Hand, *Hesiod* relating the same Fact, alters the Circumstances of it. “ *Uranus*, says he, kept his Children close shut up without permitting them to see the Day ; which so afflicted *Titæa* or *Terra* their Mother, that she forged a Scythe, wherewith *Saturn* arm’d himself, and lying in Ambuscade, surprized *Uranus* while he was going to lie with his Wife, and castrated him.”

Those I know who are of Opinion that the History of the *Patriarchs*, tho’ exceedingly disguised, is to be found in the Fragment of *Sanctoniathon* now extant, and particularly *Abraham* in *Chronos* or *Saturn*, will have this Fable to allude to the Circumcision, whereby that *Patriarch* distinguish’d himself and his Family,

Family, from the other Nations that were about him, and perhaps their Conjecture is not without Foundation. But as I am persuaded that the Ground of the History of the *Titans* is true, that these Princes founded a vast Empire, and that they ruled over the Earth, to use the Scripture Expression (1), I choose rather to explain the Fable now cited by considering it as a Parable, under which we are given to understand that *Saturn's* Conduct towards his Father *Uranus* had killed him with Grief, as he himself died by Reason of his Son *Jupiter's* Behaviour towards him; or, if you please to take the very ingenious Conjecture of Mr. *le Clerc* (2), the Meaning of it is, that *Saturn* had debauched most of his Father's Council, and prevailed upon several considerable Persons, particularly his Brothers, to relinquish *Uranus's* Party, and join themselves to him. What makes the Conjecture of this Author very probable is, that the Word which *Hesiod* uses to denote the fatal Amputation which I have mentioned, may equally signify *Concilium* or *Pudenda* (3). Thus the Greek Poets reading the History of the *Titans*, in a Language which they did not sufficiently understand, took this Expression in another Sense than was intended. The Reason of their adding farther that the Scythe which *Saturn* used was made by *Titea* herself is, that she being dissatisfy'd with her Husband *Uranus*, whose repeated Breaches of Faith gave her extreme Uneasiness, had at length formed a powerful Conspiracy against him in Conjunction with *Saturn* her Son. This undoubtedly is what made *Hesiod* say, that she had put the Scythe, which she had forged, into the Hands of her Son.

As *Saturn* was used by *Jupiter* in the same Manner as he had used his Father; as he not only debauch'd his Troops and his best Friends, but confined himself Prisoner in *Italy*, so *Hesiod* makes him die the same kind of Death with his Father; which *San-*

N 3

choniathon

(1) Judith c. 16.

(2) Remarks upon *Hesiod*.

(3) Μήδεα.

chroniaton does not say. To authorise the Fable which I have now explain'd, it was reported, that the Scythe wherewith *Jupiter* had castrated *Saturn* was found in *Sicily* where he died, and that from thence the Sea Port called *Drepanum* had taken its Name: But this is but a new Fiction, as is very well remark'd by the learned *Bochart* (1), having no other Foundation but that the Port now named being of an oval Figure, much like that of a Scythe, they had given it the Name of that Utenfil, which in the *Greek* Language is called *Drepanon* (a). The Reason why they represented *Saturn* with a Scythe in his Hand was either because that God was taken for Time, which wastes and mows down all, or to signify that he taught the Men of his Age the Art of Agriculture: But I take the former Explication to be the more natural, since his *Greek* Name *Chronos*, signifies Time.

What was meant by the Fables of *Saturn's* Prison, and of the Woollen Chains that confined him there.

In the History of the *Titans* I said that *Saturn*, to save himself from falling into the Hands of those who had form'd a Conspiracy against him, had retired into *Italy* where he lay concealed; and here I shall add that this Retreat gave rise to two Fables, which must be explained. The first is, that that Prince was there detained in Prison, but that he was only bound with Cords of Wool; the second, that he had been thrown down by *Jupiter* his Son into the Depth of *Tartarus*.

Macrobius, speaking of a Temple which *Tullius Hostilius*, after having overcome the *Sabines* and *Albans*, had built in Honour of *Saturn*, examines into the Reason why that God was said to have been bound with those Cords; and after he has told us

(1) Chan. L. 1.

(a) *Apollonius Rhodius* says, that it was near the Island of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, in the *Adriatick* Gulf, that the Scythe, now mentioned, was found; but it would be endless to recite all the various Traditions that occur upon each Fable.

us that *Verrius Flaccus* was ignorant of it, he adds, we learn from *Apollodorus* that that God was bound the whole Year with Cords of Wool, but that he broke them once a Year, in the Month of *December*, when the *Saturnalia* were celebrated (*a*).

Hence, according to the same Author, was the Origin of the proverbial Phrase, that the Gods had woolen Feet. This Author afterwards explains the Fable now delivered, by saying it figured that the Corns shut up in the Earth where they were detained by Chains soft and easy to be broke, sprung from it and arrived to their Maturity at the End of ten Months. For 'tis true, adds he, that while the Mythologists stuff the History of that God with Fables, the Naturalists reduce those Fictions to a rational Sense (*b*).

For my Part, without searching into this Fable for the Mysteries of Nature, I believe it teaches us simply, either that *Saturn* was really free in *Italy*, or that if he was detained Prisoner, he was so little confined, that 'twas in his Power to procure himself Liberty. Accordingly he did procure it, since we have seen in his History that he retired into *Spain*, where *Jupiter* pursued him. *Virgil* likewise says that Prince left *Italy*; and we may give credit to that Poet so well versed in the Antiquities of his Country. What we read in *Statius* is not however without Probability,

N 4

(*a*) Cur autem Saturnus ipse in compedibus visatur, Verrius Flaccus causam se ignorare dicit. Verum mihi Apollodori lectio sic suggerit: Saturnum Apollodorus alligari ait per Annum laneo vinculo, & solvi ad diem sibi festum; id est mense hoc Decembri: Atque inde proverbium ductum, Deos pedes laneos habere. Macrobius. Sat. lib. 1. c. 8.

The Place where *Apollodorus* said what we have now quoted, is not to be found in the Remains now extant of that Author, whose Work, no doubt, was more compleat in the Time of *Macrobius*.

(*b*) Significari vero decimo mense semen in utero animatum in Vitam grandescere, quod donec erumpat in Lucem, mollibus Naturæ vinculis detinetur. Est porro idem Χρόνος καὶ Τέρονος. Saturnum enim in quantum Mythici Fictionibus distrahant, in tantum Physici ad quandam verisimilitudinem revocant. Idem 16.

bability, namely, that *Saturn* remained his whole Lifetime in *Italy*, and that he left his Prison only once a Year : A Circumstance which gave rise to the Feast of the *Saturnalia*, during which the Masters set their Slaves at Liberty, to figure that Liberty which *Saturn* enjoyed on the Day he came out of Prison.

However that be, *Olaus Rudbek*, who in his *Atlantick* (1) attempts to reduce to the History of *Sweden*, his own Country, almost all the Antiquities of *Greece*, offers a Conjecture about the Chains of Wool we have been speaking of, pretty much resembling that of the Naturalists mentioned by *Macrobius*. He alledges, that *Saturn* was the same with *Boreus*, the ancient King of *Sweden*, and that he was called *Saturn*, because in the ancient Language of the Country, *Sad* or *Sadar* signified all Sorts of Productions. But the Reason why they said he was bound with Chains of Wool, which he only broke at a certain Season of the Year, namely in the Month of *July*, is that the Snows in *Sweden* confine the Grains in the Bosom of the Earth, till the return of the Sun, which by melting the Snows, breaks the Chains that held them bound, and procures them the Liberty to grow up and ripen. Then this Author censures *Macrobius* for saying, after *Apollodorus*, that *Saturn* broke his Chains in the Month of *December*, when the Sun has no Force ; as if he had been obliged to speak of *Italy*, in the same Way as this Author speaks of the northern Countries.

What Foundation there was for feigning that *Saturn* was thrown down to *Tartarus*. The second Fable which I proposed to explain, is taken from *Hesiod* (2), who says that *Jupiter* had precipitated his Father *Saturn* into the Bottom of *Tartarus*. *Apollodorus* adds, that *Uranus* had used the same Violence to the *Giants* and the *Cyclops* his Sons. “ *Uranus* their Father, says he, cast them bound into *Tartarus*, “ which

(1) Ch. 28.

(2) Theog.

“ which is the most gloomy Region of Hell, and
 “ is as far below the Earth, as the Earth itself is
 “ removed from Heaven. It was upon this Occa-
 “ sion, adds the Author, that *Titea* outrageous at the
 “ unhappy Fate of her Sons, instigated the other *Ti-*
 “ *tans* to lay Ambuscades for her Husband, and
 “ gave *Saturn* the youngest of all her Sons that
 “ Adamantine Scythe with which he castrated his
 “ Father. After this Event, continues *Apollodorus*,
 “ *Saturn*, assisted by the other *Titans*, delivered his
 “ Brothers; but no sooner was he absolute Master,
 “ than he threw all of them down to *Tartarus*.”

In order to unfold the Meaning of this Fable, we must know that the *Greeks* look'd upon the Places situated to the East of them, as higher than those that lay Westward; and hence it was they took the former for Heaven, while the other were taken for Hell. According to this Notion they placed their Hell either in *Spain*, the Residence of *Pluto*, as shall be said in his History; or in *Italy*, and lastly in *Epirus*, or rather *Thesprotia*, all of them Countries situated to the West of *Greece*. Now as the *Titans*, in the several Conspiracies they formed sometimes against *Uranus*, sometimes against *Saturn*, had been obliged to retire into *Italy* and *Spain*, hence the Poets fabled that they were precipitated into the Gulf of *Tartarus*. But we are farther to add, that as their Notion of *Tartarus* was taken from *Tartessos*, a River in *Spain*, as we shall prove in the History of the infernal Gods, 'tis no Wonder that the *Titans* having been defeated near that River, were fabulously said to be plunged headlong into the *Tartarian* Gulf.

As *Jupiter* served his Father with the same Measure as he had served *Uranus*, this Conduct gave rise to a new Fiction, which is the Sequel of the former; for Fables meet us at every Step we advance in the History I am now explaining. I have observed that *Jupiter*, forgetting the Service which the *Titans* his Uncles and Brothers had done him, so soon as he be-
 came

came Master of the Empire, threw them bound Hand and Foot into the Gulf of *Tartarus* (1), which engaged *Saturn* in a new Conspiracy. *Jupiter* in great Perplexity, went to consult the Oracle of *Themis*, whereby he was foretold that he should gain the Victory so soon as he had set his Uncles at Liberty. To fulfil the Oracle *Jupiter* with his own Hand slew *Campe* their Keeper, and gave them their Liberty. After which the *Cyclops*, who were of the Number of those Prisoners, made a Present to their Deliverer, of the Lightning, the Thunder, and Thunder-bolts. They gave also a Helmet to *Pluto*, and a Trident to Neptune. With these Arms, the three Princes gain'd a decisive Victory over the rebellious *Titans*, cast them down a second Time into *Tartarus*; and for fear of their being again released with the same Ease as they had been when *Jupiter* slew *Campe*, he put them under the Custody of those terrible Giants called the *Hecatonchires*, that is with the hundred Hands.

Tho' these new Fictions disguise the History of the *Titans*, yet they contain nothing destructive of it, nor difficult to be explained. Those of the *Titans* who were weaker than the rest, retired into *Italy* or *Spain*, and then when their Assistance was needed, they were recalled into *Greece*; and this was to deliver them from Prison, to rescue them from the Depth of *Tartarus*. *Jupiter* having a Mind to keep them for ever from returning, appointed some of his best Troops to guard the Passages; and these are the Giants with the hundred Hands, that is to say, Captains who had each fifty Men under his Command, to hinder the *Titans*, so often rebellious, from being able to make any future Attempts against *Jupiter*, now absolute Master of the Empire of his Father and Grand-father. As for this *Campe*, for her Name is *Feminine* in *Apollodorus*, whom *Jupiter* slew before he set his Uncles and Brothers at Liberty, this to me is a Riddle, and I was surpris'd to find that

(1) *Apel. loc. cit.*

that *Thomas Gallus*, who has enrich'd the Text of this Author, with excellent Notes, has made none upon this Article.

To the Fable now explained was added, that *Neptune* kept the *Titans* shut up in their Prison, and hindered them from coming out of it; and the Meaning of this I take to be that *Neptune* being the Admiral of *Jupiter's* Fleet, and Master of the Ports of *Spain*, kept all the Passages block'd up, whereby the *Titans* might have escaped.

What is the Meaning of the Fable of *Neptune's* hindering the *Titans* from escaping out of Prison where they were confined.

No doubt it will be objected, as I have observed from *Herodotus* (1), that *Neptune* was a *Libyan* by Birth; that his Worship had been brought from *Africa* into *Greece*, and that the *Libyans* knew him and worship'd him Time out of Mind; and that by Consequence he had no Connection with the Family of the *Titans*, Natives of *Asia*; but may we not answer, First, That the *Titans* were themselves very powerful in *Africa*, whereof they possess'd the western Coasts, as it is in *Diodorus Siculus* (2), and that there is no Contradiction to say that he himself was of that august Race, as well as *Atlas* who signaliz'd himself so much in the same Country? May we not reckon that *Neptune* distinguish'd himself there by his Victories over the *Titans*, who had fled thither for Refuge, and that it was there perhaps he died, and was deify'd and honoured with a peculiar Worship all along those Coasts, whence that Worship pass'd afterwards into *Greece*? For, in short, the History of the *Titans* is very ancient, and long before the Time that *Herodotus* speaks of, that is, the Time of the *Pelasgi* who came to consult the Oracle of *Dodona* (a). The other *Titans*, together with *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, were deify'd in *Greece* itself, or in *Crete*; as *Neptune* was in *Libya*, whence his Worship was propagated to *Greece*.

But

(1) L. 20.

(2) L. 1.

(a) See *Hesiod. Theog.* and *Lycephron* in his *Cassandra*.

But, *Secondly*, what if we should say that besides the *Libyan Neptune* whom *Herodotus* speaks of, there was another of the Blood of the *Titans* who commanded *Jupiter's* Fleet when that Prince pursued the Rebel *Titans* to the Heart of *Spain*, where they had retired for Shelter? Were there not many *Jupiters*, many *Apollo's*, many *Mercury's*, &c. and why may there not have been more than one *Neptune*; is there any Thing in the Passage of *Herodotus* that can exclude others of the Name?

But be that as it will, I said, in speaking of the Manner how *Rhea* saved *Jupiter*, that the Poets had couch'd this Event under the Fable of the mysterious Stone which the Princess presented to *Saturn* swath'd like an Infant, and which he swallowed. *Apollodorus* relating this Fiction (1) says, that *Jupiter* full grown had associated himself to *Metis* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, who gave *Saturn* a Draught which had such Virtue that he had no sooner taken it, than he first threw up again the Stone now mentioned, then all the other Children which he had really destroyed, and who proved so great a Support to him in the War he carried on against *Jupiter*. Shall we say, with some learned Authors, that this Fable has no other Foundation but that *Saturn* lost his Children in their Nonage, and that Time, signify'd by his Name *Chronos*, devoured them, so to speak, just as they were born? But were this Explication to take Place, yet how would we account for it that those very Children proved so serviceable to him in the War he declared against his Son? I am therefore rather inclined to say with Mr. *le Clerc* (2), whose Conjectures are always ingenious, that this Fiction was founded upon the Custom which *Saturn* had of banishing or of confining his Children, for fear that they should one Day rebel against him, as he himself had done against his Father; a Custom very ancient, and observed at this Day among the *Ottoman* Princes and others. The Author now quoted,

to

(1) L. 1.

(2) Note in Hesiod.

to add more Probability to this Explication, says the same *Phenician* Word, *Balah*, equally imports to *shut up* or to *devour*, and that *Hesiod* who wrote this History from *Phenician* Memoirs, had followed that Signification which cast an Air of the marvelous upon a Fact that had nothing very extraordinary in itself: But as that Poet was not extremely exact, speaking of *Uranus* who ferved his Children with the same Measure, he says, without any Ambiguity, that he confined them and would not allow them to see the Light (a).

As to the Stone which *Saturn* swallowed, this again is a new Fiction founded upon the double Meaning of the Word *Elben*, which may either signify a Stone or a Child. Thus instead of saying that *Rhea* substituted another Child in Place of *Jupiter*, whom *Saturn* put in Prison with those of his Children whom he kept close confined, the Poet chose rather to feign that it was a real Stone which *Saturn* swallowed.

What is the Meaning of the Stone that *Saturn* swallowed.

To conclude, this Stone became very famous, and was adored as a Divinity, if we may believe *Lactantius* (b). The God *Terminus*, says he, whom they worship'd under the Figure of a land March, was it not that mysterious Stone which *Saturn* swallowed? The *Latins*, according to *Priscian* the Grammarian (1), called it *Abadir*, and the *Greeks*, if we may credit *Hesychius*, *Bætylos*. Denominations certainly derived from the *Hebrew* or *Phenician* Language, as the learned *Bochart* remarks (2).

I might here enlarge upon the Stone called *Bætylos*; but what could I add to the curious Dissertation of *M. Falconet*,

(a) In one Passage *Hesiod* says: Atque quidem eos deglutiebat *Saturnus* magnus. Theog. Vers. 459. In another; Eos ut quisque primum nascebatur, omnes occultabat, & in Lucem non emittebat. Ver. 156.

(b) Qui Lapidem colunt informem atque rudem, cui nomen est *Terminus*; is est quem pro Jove *Saturnus* dicitur devorasse. Div. Inst. L. 1. c. 20.

(1) Upon the Word *Βαίτυλος*. (2) Chan. 1.

M. *Falconet*, which is printed in the VI Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* (1), and to what M. *Fourmont* has said upon the same Subject (2) in his *Reflexions Critiques*? I shall therefore content my self, for the Sake of those who don't love long Discussions, with observing that the *Bætyli* were Stones that were believed to be animated, and were consulted by some Fanaticks as Oracles; a Kind of *Teraphims*, as you may judge from what we have said of those Idols, in speaking of the Divinities known from the sacred Books. These Stones were round, and of such a Size, that it was easy for one to carry them about with him, either hanging at his Neck, or in some other Way.

Isidorus, as may be seen in his Life written by *Damascius*, said there were *Bætyli* of different Sorts; that some were consecrated to *Saturn*, others to *Jupiter*, or to the Sun, &c. (a)

Their Origine was very ancient, since, if we may believe *Sanboniatbon*, *Uranus* was the Inventor of them. *Uranus*, says that ancient Author, *invented the Bætyli, was the Contriver of animated Stones*; *Bochart*, who could easily see that these animated Stones were but a mere Fiction, thinks it had taken its Rise from an equivocal Word, and that instead of *anointed Stones*, as the *Phenician* Author had written, his Translator *Philo* put *animated Stones*; and upon this Principle, he supposes the true Original of the *Bætyli* to have come from that Stone, upon which *Jacob* having slept, the Night he had the Vision mentioned in Scripture, anointed it with Oil when he awoke; and from that Time the Place was called *Bethel*, or the House of God. Tho' the two Academicks, whom I have named at the Beginning of this Chapter, reject *Bochart's* Conjecture, it has however been followed by *Huetius* (3), by Father *Thomasin* (4), and others.

The

(1) P. 513. (2) T. 1. p. 162.

(a) See the Abstract of this Life in *Photius*.

(3) *Præp. Evang. Prop. 4.* (4) *Lecture des Poetes 2 Part, l. 1. c. 12.*

The Ancients who have taken Notice of the *Bætyli*, such as *Priscian*, the Author of the *Etymologicon*, and *Hesychius*, give hardly any other Notion of them, but as the Stone which *Saturn* swallowed in Place of *Jupiter*; and this no Doubt is what had given rise to the Proverb against gluttonous People: *You would even swallow a Bætylus* (1). The Greeks were therefore persuaded that it was a *Bætylus* *Saturn* had swallowed; and as this Fiction was built upon a serious History, the least Circumstances whereof ought to be carefully preserved, the Mythologists have let none of them escape. The Scholiast upon *Hesiod* (2) relates, upon the Authority of *Agathocles* a *Babylonish* Author, that *Rhea* had taken that Stone from the Island of *Proconesa*; and *Stephanus* adds (3) that *Saturn* swallowed it upon Mount *Thaumafius*. As the Traditions about these and the like Circumstances, were not always very coherent, *Pausanias* after having delivered himself in his *Arcadica* as *Stephanus* does, says again in his *Beotica* it was upon Mount *Petrarchus* that *Saturn* had swallowed that Stone, and that having again vomited it up, it was preserved near the Temple of *Delphi*, where care was taken to anoint it every Day with Oil, and to cover it with Wool that had grown on the Days of his Festival.

As to the Fable importing that the Gods were provided with Arms by the *Cyclops*, I take it to have no other Foundation but the commonly received Notion that the *Cyclops* were excellent Artists; therefore if any Piece of Art was exquisite in its Kind it was ascribed to them. Hence they were said to have built the Walls of *Troy*, those of *Tyrinthia*, &c. (4).

But so much now for this Subject; let us go on to consider the other Fictions that were broached in Relation to the Family of the *Titans*. As what the Ancients relate concerning their Wars, gave rise to the

(1) See Erasmus's *Adag. Chil.* 4. Cent. 2.

(2) Upon the 485th ver. of the *Theogony*.

(3) Upon the Word *Thaumafion*.

(4) See the Article relating to them in the History of *Vulcan*.

the Fable of the Combat of the Giants, and of their assaulting Heaven ; and this Fable having been more diffused thro' the World than any other of Antiquity, without Exception, there being hardly perhaps a Nation where some Tradition of it has not been found, I thought it deserved a particular Consideration, and to be explain'd at somewhat greater Length.

This Fable offers several Heads to be examined ; were there ever real Giants, such as the Poets represent them ? What is the Meaning of their Assault upon Heaven, which they attempted to besiege ? What Truth is there in the Victory said to be obtained over them by *Jupiter*, who first thunderstruck them, and then buried them under Mount *Etna* ? Lastly, are the *Titans* and *Giants* the same ?

The Question about the Existence of
 Explication of the Fable of the Giants. Giants so often examined, would seem at first Sight to be no difficult Problem to resolve. All Antiquity mentions certain Men of an extraordinary Stature, who made their Appearance at sundry Times. The Scriptures make mention of them more than once. The profane Historians, the Travellers and Poets especially, tell us very odd Stories upon this Occasion. And yet when one comes to examine these Testimonies impartially ; to take the Expressions in the inspired Writings in the most natural Signification ; to reduce the Exaggerations of the Poets to a rational Meaning ; to limit the Historians and Travellers to what they either were Eye-witnesses to, or to what they assert only from irrefragable Testimony ; in fine, to follow the wise Conduct of Nature, almost always uniform in her Productions, all the marvellous Circumstances that fill'd our Imaginations before will then disappear.

Authors both ancient and modern, who have thought fit to examine this Question, have form'd very different Sentiments about it from one another. Some thro' Excess of Credulity have partly adopted what the Poets, and several *Rabbins* have delivered as to the Stature of the Giants ; and if they have not gone quite

quite so far as to believe that upon a Time they piled *Ossa* upon *Pelion* to scale Heaven, they have at least granted that there was once a Race of Men so monstrously tall that they many Times exceeded the Stature of ordinary Men.

The *Abbe de Tilladet*, in a Dissertation whereof you have a Copy in the first Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, page 125, alledges that there were not only real Giants, but also Nations and Cities of Giants; that our first Parents, and particularly the principal Heads of Colonies mentioned in History, were real Giants, taking that Word in its strictest Sense. In this new Scheme *Adam* and *Eve* must have been of a very giantick Size: For, says he, the Fathers and Mothers of the Giants must have been Giants themselves. And indeed how can it be supposed that a Mother who was no more than five or six Foot high, should be able to bear in her Womb a Child, who being of Size to grow up to a Giant, must have arrived at her Dimensions probably in a few Days after his Conception? Who can be persuaded, continues he, that *Noah*, had he not been bigger than we, would have been capable to build the Ark that saved Mankind, which could not have been capacious enough to contain all the Animals he was commanded to lodge in it; unless we take the Cubits in Scripture that are mentioned in describing its Dimensions, for Cubits of Giants?

M. Henrion, another Academick, proposed a Scheme yet more extraordinary, but nothing of it is publish'd. He brought to the Academy one Day a Kind of chronological Table or Scale, with Respect to the Difference of Mens Stature since the Creation of the World, to the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. In this Table he assigned to *Adam* 123 Feet 9 Inches in Height, and to *Eve* 118 Foot 9 Inches three fourths; whence he fix'd the Proportion between the Statures of Men and those of Women, to be as 25 to 24. This exorbitant Stature soon diminished: *Noah's* Height fell short of *Adam's* by 20 Foot: *Abraham's* was brought down

to 28 in all. *Moses* had only 13, *Hercules* 10, and so on, still gradually diminishing: So that if Providence had not put a Stop to that prodigious Decrease, hardly should we at this Day have dared to rank ourselves, at least in Respect of our bodily Dimensions, among the Insects that crawl upon the Earth (*a*).

Other more judicious Writers, not being able absolutely to deny that there have sometimes appeared Men more bulky and tall than those with whom we are conversant, have apply'd themselves to a critical Examination of the Books that speak of them, even those of greatest Authority; and taking with the utmost exactness the Measures they make mention of, such as those we read of in holy Writ with Respect to *Og* King of *Bashan*, they have found that those of the most enormous Stature, did not arrive at ten or twelve Foot high: *Og's Bed*, concerning which many *Rabbins* have vented so many Extravagancies, according to the express Terms of Scripture, not exceeding nine Cubits, that is to say thirteen Foot and a half (*b*). What Name shall we then give to the wild Assertion of one of those Doctors who gravely alledges, that the Bone of that Giant's Thigh was so long, that a Stag would take a whole Day to run over its Dimensions, as you may see in *Tostat* (1), after *Lycanus*. The same *Rabbins* make no Scruple to tell us that Giant was 120 Cubits, that is 180 Foot high; and that they may not seem to contradict *Moses*, who assigns the Dimensions of that Prince's Bed, they tell us that Bed was only his Cradle (*c*). But to observe some Order in this Article, we shall first begin with the Passages in Scripture where the Giants are mentioned. That which most favours those who
not

(*a*) See his Elogium by M. de Boze, Tom. 5. p. 379.

(*b*) Monstratur lectus ejus ferreus, qui est in Rabbath filiorum Ammon, novem cubitos habens longitudinis & quatuor Latitudinis, Deut. 3. ver. 11.

(1) In Deut. Q. 27.

(*c*) See Theodorus Ryckius Orat. de Gigant.

not only hold their Existence, but also believe there was a Race of Giants, is where *Moses* says: *Then the Giants were upon the Earth (a)*: A Verse which stands between two others where we read of the Marriages of the Sons of God, with the Daughters of Men, of whom Sons were born who are said in the *Hebrew Text* to have been powerful, or as the *Vulgat* renders it: *Isti potentes a seculo Viri famosi*, while the *Septuagint* has translated this Expression by that of Giants (*b*).

The Descendants of *Anak*, who, in the sacred Writings, is called *the Father of the Giants*, were really of an extraordinary Stature. We have seen what was the Height of *Og* the King of *Basban*, whom *Moses* calls the last of the Giants (*c*). All the Country inhabited by the Posterity of *Anak*, to whom the *Israelites* look'd upon themselves but as Grasshoppers, was peopled by Men of a monstrous Stature: *The People whom we have seen*, said they whom *Moses* sent to spy out the Land, *are of an extraordinary Stature, we have seen the Sons of Anak, all of them of the Race of Giants, in Comparison of whom we only appear as so many Grasshoppers (1)*. Their Land was called *the Land of Giants (2)*, and the City of *Hebron*, *the City of Giants*, where dwelt *Achimani*, *Sisai* and *Tholmai*, of the Race of *Anak*.

To these Passages of Scripture, may be added the Testimonies of profane Authors, and 'tis fit we begin with the Poets, who are of greater Antiquity than the Historians. Nothing is more celebrated in their Works than the Attempts of the Giants against Heaven, which they would needs scale by piling the high Mountains of *Thessaly* above one another. 'Tis needless to quote them all, since they only copy one another: I shall only observe that they give very

O 2

odd

(a) Gigantes erant super terram in Diebus illis. Gen. vi. 9.

(b) See what is said on this Subject, Vol. I. B. 2. c. 5.

(c) Solus quippe Og Rex Basan remansit ex reliquis Gigantibus, Deut. 13.

(1) Num. xiii. 33, 34.

(2) Gigantum Terra.

odd Descriptions of the Giants (1). Besides the Enormity of their Size, which made them capable of plucking up Mountains by the Roots, they give some of them an hundred Arms and fifty Heads, and make them roar so loud as to make Heaven and Earth and Sea to tremble. Accordingly they so terrify'd the Gods, as to force them to fly into *Egypt*, and there lie concealed some under the Figure of one Animal some of another. In fine, to compleat the Portrait of these Monsters, they give them Feet of Serpents. *Hesiod*, who appears not to have always had a very warm Vein, in a Kind of Poem which did not require much Enthusiasm, yet where he speaks of the Enterprize of the Giants against the Gods, rises into the Sublime, and gives a Description of those enormous Beings, which one cannot read without a certain Horror. What *Homer* relates of the *Alcides* and *Polyphemus*, is not much less extraordinary, for what Sort of Monster must he have been whose Staff was like the Mast of a Ship, and who at a single Meal ate up two of *Ulysses's* Companions? The same Poet tells us (2) that *Titius*, when he lay upon the Ground, covered no less than nine Acres.

Had it been only in the Poets we found Descriptions of those Prodigies of Men, we should have Reason to look upon what they say of them as the Product of poetical Enthusiasm that was not always guided by Reason; but the Historians themselves tell us very extraordinary Things of them. *Abydenus* and *Eupolemus*, according to *Eusebius* (3), speaking of the Construction of the Tower of *Babel*, tell us it was the Work of a Race of Giants, who attempted by Means of this Tower, to get up to Heaven. The ten Kings of *Chaldea* mentioned by *Berosus* (4), whom he makes to have lived before the

(1) See *Hesiod Theog.* *Ovid. Met.* *Virgil, &c.*

(2) *Odyss.* ver. 576.

(3) *Præp.* l. 9. c. 14.

(4) *Apud Euseb. ibid.*

the Deluge, were, according to the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, real Giants.

The *Greek* and *Roman* Authors often speak of Mens Bones, and Teeth of an extraordinary Bigness. *Phlegon* of *Tralles* (1) tells us, from the Authority of *Apollonius* the *Grammarian*, that in the Time of *Tiberius*, an Earthquake disclosed the Coffins of several Giants, wherein was found a Tooth no less than a Foot in Length, which was sent to that Emperor.

How large then, cries out *Ryckius* (2) must the Mouth have been which contained thirty two of those Teeth, and what must have been the Size of that Giant's Body, whose Mouth was so wide? The same *Phlegon* asserts that in a Cavern of *Dalmatia* were found dead Bodies whose Ribs were more than sixteen Ells in Length, and a Tomb near *Athens* that was a hundred Cubits long, wherein the Body of *Macrofiris* had been lodged, as the Epitaph of that Giant set forth. The same Author speaks of some other Discoveries of Giants Bones and Teeth, but none of them more extraordinary than those now mentioned.

Pausanias (3), who undoubtedly had less Credulity than *Phlegon*, tho' perhaps he has too much for an Historian, says he was inform'd by a *Mysian*, that he had seen near the Sea the Tomb of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, and that to give him an Idea of that Hero's Gigantick make, he had assured him that the Ball of his Knee was like one of the Quoits used by the young Champions at the Olympick Games: Now those Quoits we know were very large and heavy; but, what is yet more extraordinary, the Author adds. "Over against *Miletos* is the Island " *Lade*, which divided itself into two other little " Islands, whereof the one goes under the Name of " *Asterius*, because *Asterius* has his Tomb there: " He was the Son of *Anak*, who is said to have
O 3 " been

(1) De Mir. c. 14.

(2) Orat. de Gygan.

(3) In Att. c. 35.

“ been the Son of the Earth. The Body of *Asterius*
 “ is no less than ten Cubits in Length ; but that
 “ which astonishes me still more, is what I have
 “ seen in a small Island of *Lydia*. There a Tomb
 “ being disclosed by the Injuries of Time laid open
 “ to view Bones of a prodigious Size, which, had
 “ they not been of the Shape of human Bones,
 “ would never have been believed to be such.
 “ The common Tradition of the Country was, adds
 “ *Pausanias*, that it was the Body of *Geryon* Son of
 “ *Chrysaor*, and we were shewed a huge Rock on a
 “ Mountain, which was said to have served him for a
 “ Throne ; but upon *Pausanias*’s objecting to those
 “ who gave this Account, that *Geryon* lived at *Cadiz*,
 “ and that his Tomb was no where to be found,
 “ some *Lydians* more knowing in the Antiquities of
 “ their Country alledged, that it was the Body of
 “ *Hyllas*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Omphale*.”

“ A Roman Emperor, says the same Author (1),
 “ having turned the Course of the River *Orontes*,
 “ found in the former Channel a Tomb of Brick,
 “ at least a hundred Cubits long, in which was
 “ inclosed a dead Body of the same Length, and
 “ of a human Figure in all its Parts. The *Syrians*
 “ having consulted the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Claros*,
 “ to know whose Body it was, were answered that
 “ it was *Orontes* a Native of *India*.” This Fact
 being so publick, and of unquestionable Truth, our
 Author thus reasons upon it. “ And indeed, says
 “ he, if in primitive Ages the moist Earth upon its
 “ receiving the enlivening Warmth of the Sun Beams
 “ produced the first Race of Mortals, what Spot of
 “ the Globe was more proper for forming Men of an
 “ extraordinary Bulk, than the *Indies*, which at
 “ this very Day produces such Animals as the
 “ Elephants?”

I lay no great Stress on what we find relating to
 this Subject in the younger *Philostratus* (2), who tells
 us that *Ajax* was eleven Cubits, that is near seventeen
 Feet

(1) In *Art. c. 29*.

(2) *Heroic*.

Feet high ; that *Aryades*, whose Body had been discovered a short Time before, upon the Banks of the *Orontes*, was fifty five ; that he had seen another Grave on the Promontory of *Sigeum* in *Troas*, that was twenty two Cubits in Length ; and that a dead Body had been found in the Island of *Lemnos*, whose Head was capacious enough to contain more Water than would fill two Pitchers, such as were used in *Crete*, which we know to have been very large. But what shall we think of *Plutarch*, that judicious Author, who gravely relates (1), that *Sertorius* having made himself Master of the City *Tingi*, and not being inclined to believe what the Inhabitants told him of the enormous Stature of *Anteus*, saw his Grave opened, and the Body lying in it, which was sixty Cubits Long ?

We learn from *Pliny* (2), that a Mountain of *Crete*, being burst asunder by the Shock of an Earth-quake, discovered a human Body standing upright, which was forty six Cubits high. *Solinus* relates somewhat as extraordinary, but attested by seemingly unquestionable Authority: 'Tis with Respect to a dead Body of a giantick make, being thirty three Cubits or forty eight Foot in Length, which was shown to *Lucius Flaccus*, and to the Proconsul *Metellus*, who had look'd upon the Report they heard of it as a Fable.

Fazellus, the best modern Historian for *Sicily*, relates surprizing Stories upon this Subject. He tells one particular Fact wherein *Boccace*, in his Genealogy of the Gods, agrees with him, that about 200 Years before his Time, there was discovered in Mount *Eryx* a Cave wherein was found the dead Body of a Giant sitting, with a Staff in his Hand like the Mast of a Ship, and that the whole mouldered into Ashes so soon as it was touch'd, save three Teeth which were kept by the Magistrates of the City *Eryx*, who had been called forth to the Spectacle, with a Part of the Scull which contained some Bushels of *Sicilian* Measure. *Fazellus* reckons it was the Body of that *Eryx* who was slain by *Hercules*. The Author adds, that in

(1) In Sert.

(2) L. 7. c. 16.

his Time there was found a dead Body twenty Cubits long, which was in like Manner reduced to Ashes, except the Teeth, each of which weighed about five Ounces, which he affirms he had seen, as also the Figure of that Giant which was pictured upon a Wall. These Examples and some others related by that Historian, incline him to believe that *Sicily* had formerly been peopled by a Race of Giants, and in Proof of his Assertion he forgets not *Homer's* Cyclops and the *Lestrigonians*.

To these Facts that appear so well attested, others might be added, less extraordinary indeed, but still very proper to support the Opinion of those who believe the Existence of Giants. We are told that the Body of *Pallas* the Son of *Evander*, having been dug up near *Rome*, in the Time of the Emperor *Henry III.* was set up by the Wall of that City, and overtopped it by the Head. 'Tis likewise reported, that in the Time of *Augustus* there appeared at *Rome* a Giant named *Pusio*, who was ten Cubits high, and that in the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*, there was brought from *Arabia* into that City the Body of *Gabbaon*, which was near ten Foot. They add, that the Body of *Orestes* measured seven Cubits.

Tho' the Accounts of the *Celtæ* given by some of the Ancients, are not quite so extraordinary as what I have now been relating, 'tis however certain that they reckoned them commonly six or seven Foot high. Some modern Travellers give the same Account of the *Patagons*, who inhabit the Coasts of *Chili*, and of those of the Island of *Nicobar* in the Gulf of *Bengal*. In fine, *Homer*, speaking of the Heroes who besieged *Troy*, says they darted Stones which four Men in his Time would hardly be able even to raise from the Ground. *Virgil*, the faithful Imitator of the *Greek* Poet, gives the same Description of *Turnus*; and these are the Places, in those two Poets, to mention it by the Way, that induced *St. Augustin* to believe that there had been real Giants.

All

All that we have now said tends to prove that Giants have actually existed ; but before we come to a Decision let us examine these Authorities which appear so positive. In the first Place it will easily be believed that the Poets have greatly exaggerated in their Descriptions of the Giants. There needs no great Penetration to be convinced that there never were Men capable to pluck up Mountains by the Roots, to pile them one above another, nor so large as, when stretched at their Length, to cover nine Acres of Ground ; the Canibal *Polyphemus* might terrify the Associates of *Ulysses*, and eat them too, without being so monstrously large as *Homer* paints him.

The Scheme of the late Mr. *Henrion* destroys itself: Whence, but from the *Rabbins*, did he learn that *Adam* was of so prodigiously large a Size? Does he rely on what some Travellers say of the Print of his Foot engraved upon a Rock on the Island of *Ceylon*? A Fable which *Ryckius* (1) is at the Pains seriously to refute. But what Proof can be given of that successive Gradation which at length for so many Ages past has fixed Mens Stature to the Proportion it is in at this Day? For after all there is an uncontested and standing Proof that Men were no larger, than they now are, perhaps two thousand five hundred Years ago. This Proof I fetch from the sepulchral Monument of that King of *Egypt*, whoever he was, which still remains in the great Pyramid. The Dimensions of this Tomb, which is of the finest *Porphyrian* Marble, is little more than six Foot, according to the most accurate Travellers (2). Now the Coffins are always larger than the dead Bodies that are to be put into them: Even the Repository where this Tomb is lodged, is no more than sixteen or eighteen Foot in its utmost Extent. Men therefore were no larger than they are at this
Day,

(1) Differ. upon the Giants.

(2) See *Corneille le Brun*, who had seen it, &c.

Day, in the Time of *Pharaoh* who built the great Pyramid.

The Opinion of the late *Abbé Tilladet*, is not better supported than that of Mr. *Henrion*, for granting the Children of *Anak*, whom the Scripture calls the Father of Giants, and who were the Leaders of some Colonies, to have been larger than the rest of their Contemporaries, can we from thence conclude that all the other Heads of Colonies were Giants?

As to what we read in the Bible that the Giants sprung from the Commerce between the Angels and the Daughters of Men, we have said enough in the former Volume. The very Word which the Scripture applies to them, does not so much denote Men remarkable for their great Stature, as for their Debauchery and Wickedness. 'Tis true, the Sons of *Anak* whom the Scripture calls the Father of the Giants, were mostly of an extraordinary Size, but far short of those pretended Giants of a hundred or a hundred and twenty Foot, whom we were now speaking of? *Moses* has left us the Dimensions of *Og* the King of *Baschan's* Bed, who was of that Race; but besides that this Bed was only twelve or thirteen Foot long, a Bed which had perhaps been made for Ostentation, was it no larger than its Owner? What we are told in the same sacred Writings concerning *Goliath*, comes not near the Description of *Og*, and therefore we have nothing farther to add upon it. 'Tis true the *Israelites*, whom *Joshua* sent into the Land of *Canaan*, reported, as has been already said, that they had seen Giants of the Race of *Anak*, to whom they themselves appeared but as Grasshoppers; but is not this the Report of People affrighted at the Sight of some Persons more bulky and robust than themselves? And one of the Spies themselves did not dissemble that the Relation was exaggerated.

As to what we are told of the Tombs discovered near the *Orontes* in *Syria*, these are so many Relations of a fabulous Nature, and manifestly strained; which holds yet truer of those Caves in *Sicily*, where,
according

according to the Historians of that Island both ancient and modern, there were found Giants of an enormous Bulk. These Accounts had no other Foundation but the Reports of Artists and Tradesmen, without so much as one Man worthy of Credit who could say he had seen any Thing like them; and had there been no more but that single Circumstance added to each of their Relations, namely, that those enormous Corpses crumbled into Ashes so soon as the Air got into the Caves, this is enough to make us think there is as little Truth in this, as in the Story of the pretended burning Lamp, that was said to have been found in the Tomb of *Tullia Cicero's* Daughter, which went out that Moment the Air enter'd into the Vault.

As for those monstrous Bones which are said by some Naturalists to be either the Ribs, or the *Vertebræ* of some Giants, 'tis long since able Physicians have proved them to have been the Bones of Whales, or of some other Sea Monsters, or else the Productions of Nature which often sports in such Imitations.

What I have said of the Corps of *Pallas* the Son of *Evander*, is taken from *Helinandus*, and I look upon that pretty Story as a meer Fiction of that Author, who lived in the twelfth Century, and who relates it above a hundred Years after that rare Discovery, tho' no Author before him ever made the least mention of it. This pious Monk ought to have said that not only *Pallas*, whom *Virgil* however calls a Child, was a Giant, but likewise *Turnus* who slew him, since the Wound which that Monk tells us *Pallas* had in the Side, and which is still capable of being measured after more than two thousand Years, was four Foot wide; for a Spear that could make such a wide Gash, was portable by none but a Giant.

The Fact concerning *Sertorius*, related by *Plutarch*, deserves as little Credit as the rest, 'tis upon the Testimony of *Gabinus* that he relies; but *Strabo*,
more

more judicious, looks upon the Relation of this *Gabinus* as an arrant Fable.

In a Word, for perhaps I have enlarged too much upon this Subject, Nature appears too uniform in her Productions, to have ever made such a Difference in Mens Sizes ; and if there have been some few Exceptions, yet the Disproportion was never so considerable. Man is made for cultivating the Ground, and for gathering its Fruits and Herbs, which Men, such as the Giants are described, could not do. The Climate, I grant, makes some Difference in the Sizes of Men and Animals too ; and, generally speaking, the Inhabitants of the temperate Zones are larger than those of the frigid Zones, but that Difference amounts only to a Foot or two. Mankind have always loved to exaggerate ; we are formed by Nature to delight in Objects of Admiration ; This has given a Handle on the one Hand for feigning Giants monstrously large, and on the other Pygmies so diminutively small, that sometimes they are not allowed above one Foot in Height, as it is in *Juvenal* :

Quorum tota cohors pede non est altior uno.

To conclude, as there are some Inhabitants of the Earth, such as those who live near the Poles, who are only three or four Foot high, so those who have been reckoned Giants might possibly be seven or eight. I doubt if ever there were seen any taller ; and the last who appeared at *Paris*, exactly measured by the Gentlemen of the Academy of Sciences, without his Shoes and the Ornaments of his Head, was found to be but seven Foot bating an Inch. Thus the exaggerated Stories that impose upon the Bulk of Mankind, no sooner come to be examined, than they vanish into nothing.

To illustrate now what I have said in the History of *Jupiter*, concerning those pretended Giants, whose Enterprize signifies a War made upon that God, tho' the Substance of the Story has been embellish'd with ridiculously extravagant Circumstances by those who first describ'd it ; there remain three Heads which

I am

I am to examine. The First is what is the Meaning of their Enterprize against Heaven, which they intended to scale? *Secondly*, what is the Foundation of the Story of the Gods flying into *Egypt*, where, to screen themselves from the Pursuit of the Giants, they were obliged to lie concealed under the Figure of different Animals? And then *Lastly*, whether the Giants ought to be distinguish'd from the *Titans*. The second of these Questions having been sufficiently considered in the History of the Gods of *Egypt*, with Regard to *Typhon* (1), I content myself with referring the Readers to it.

First, We have observed in the 2d Article of the former Chapter, that *Jupiter* destroyed the Robbers that infested *Thessaly*, and these are the pretended Giants, for we remark'd that in Scripture the Word *Nephilim*, which is translated Giants, signifies People abandoned to all kinds of Irregularities, Robbers and Ruffians. *Jupiter*, when he left *Crete* to visit the other Parts of *Greece*, dwelt for ordinary upon Mount *Olympus*, where he had probably built a strong Citadel. This Mount *Olympus* was afterwards taken for Heaven itself, and the most ancient Poets, especially *Homer*, give no other Description of it. The Banditti now mentioned, would needs attack that Prince, and besiege him in his Citadel, which afterwards gave Rise to the Fiction of their having attempted to scale Heaven, and made an Assault upon it.

'Tis added, that they had piled *Ossa* upon *Pelion*, importing, no doubt, that they had fortified these two Mountains, which are also in *Thessaly*, and at no great Distance from *Olympus*, whither they retired after their Excursions, and kept *Jupiter's* Garrison in awe.

The Adventure of *Porphyron*, who offers Violence to *Juno* in Presence of *Jupiter* himself, no Doubt teaches us that the Captain of the Rebels really carried off that Princess, of whom he was enamoured,

(1) T. 2. B. 6.

amoured, and that *Jupiter* and *Hercules* pursued and put him to Death. Nothing was more common in those Times than Rapes, when they could not otherwise obtain the Object beloved. The Story of *Polybotes*, whom *Neptune* overthrew in the Island of *Cos*, imports that that Admiral of *Jupiter's* Fleet pursued this *Polybotes*, who probably had the Command of his Enemies Ships, as far as that Island, and there cut him off, in fine, that of *Ephialtes* and *Otus*, who detained the same *Neptune* Prisoner for thirteen Months in the Island of *Crete*, imports that those two formidable Chiefs had so strongly blocked up *Neptune* in the Port of that Island, that he could not get out thence till the End of that Period of Time. For we are to remark, by the by, that, in the War which is now in Question, *Jupiter* appears to have been attack'd both by Sea and Land.

'Tis true, most of the Learned of the last Age are of Opinion, that the Enterprize of the Tower of *Babel*, which may be construed a literal assaulting of Heaven, had given rise to the Fable I am now explaining. *Let us build*, said the Authors of that mad Project, *a Tower that may reach to Heaven* (a). Besides, add they, *Nimrod* who headed that Enterprize, being called by *Moses*, *a strong a mighty hunter before the Lord*, must, no Doubt, have been accounted a Kind of Giant: Thus nothing they think is wanting to compleat the Resemblance, and they would have it not to be doubted but that this is the Explication of the Fable. But, besides that no Proof can be given of the *Pagans* having been acquainted with this Event, I cannot help thinking the Explication which I have given of this Fable natural enough to be adopted.

Secondly, Tho' most of the Ancients have confounded the Giants with the *Titans*, 'tis however certain that they ought to be distinguished. The latter were of an illustrious Family, and extended their Empire over

(a) Venite, faciamus nobis Civitatem & turrin, cujus culmen peringat ad Cœlum. Gen. xi. v. 4.

over one Part of the World ; the others were so many Banditti disperſed up and down *Theſſaly*, who gave the *Titans* a great deal of Trouble. *Hefiod*, in his *Theogony*, diſtinguiſhes them very plainly from one another, and does not make the Giants to be born till long after the overthrow of the *Titans*, and after the Wars which theſe carried on againſt the others : And what may have been the Occaſion of confounding them, is that both the Giants and the *Titans* made War upon the Gods ; with this Difference, that the *Titans*, tho' of the ſame Race, had often ſeparate Interests ; ſome taking Part with *Saturn*, and others of them with *Jupiter* : Whereas the Giants were a Gang of Robbers, who had a Deſign equally upon all the *Titans* (a).

In fine, what has led ſome Authors to take the Giants and *Titans* for the ſame is, that both of them paſſ'd for Sons of Heaven and Earth ; but they had not conſidered what *Apollodorus* ſays (1), that Earth brought forth the Giants only becauſe ſhe was incenſed againſt *Jupiter* for keeping the *Titans* ſhut up in *Tartarus*. Thus the *Titans* were born long before the Giants.

It has been already ſaid that *Jupiter* was ſuckled by a She-goat, named *Amalthea*. *Lactantius* (2) alledges that what gave riſe to this Fable, was that the Princeſs *Amalthea*, the Daughter of *Melittus* King of *Crete*, took care of *Jupiter's* nurſing, and ordered Goats-milk to be given him. But tho' it were true that he had really been ſuckled with Goats-milk, like *Ægyſtus* who from thence derived his Name, there would be nothing in it extraordinary conſidering that the Child was to be brought up ſecretly, and in a ſolitary Place, and that it was ſo much their Interest to conceal him from his Father ; there would be

The Fable
of the She-goat
Amalthea.

no

(a) We ſay nothing here of the Fable which, according to *Apollodorus* L. 1. gives the Giants the Limbs and Feet of a Serpent, becauſe it has been explained in the *History of Typhon*. Vol. I. B. VI.

(1) Tom. II. B. VI.

(2) De fal. Relig.

no Necessity in this Case to have recourse to a pretended Princess whom we know nothing about.

Amalthea was afterwards placed among the Stars, where, as has been already said, she forms the Constellation that bears her Name. Of one of the Horns of this pretended Goat did the *Greeks* make their *Cornu-copia*, tho' some Times they say the same Thing of that of the River *Achelous*, as shall be said in the History of *Hercules* (1).

But this is not the only Fable that was vented about *Jupiter's* Nurses, since it was given out that the Pigeons supply'd him with Food, as we see in *Homer*. The learned *Bochart* says (2) that this Fable took its Rise from the Resemblance between the two *Phenician* or *Arabian* Words *Himam*, and *Hemam*, the first of them signifying a Priest and the other a Pigeon. Thus because certain Priests, *Curetes* or *Dactyli*, who presided over the sacred Things, took care of *Jupiter's* nursing, hence the Fiction arose that he had been nursed by Pigeons. From the same Source, according to this Author, sprung the Fable of *Semiramis's* being nursed by Pigeons.

To the Fable of the Pigeons was added, that of the Eagle which was imployed in furnishing him with *Ambrosia*, as we have it in *Athenæus* (3), because that Bird was consecrated to *Jupiter*, from the Day that having consulted the *Augurs* in the Island of *Naxos*, before he enter'd upon the War with the *Titans*, an Eagle appeared to him, which was a Bird of good Omen ; this he bore always upon his Ensigns ; and it was the same, if we credit *Hyginus* (4), after some of the Ancients, that was placed among the Stars ; tho' others will have it to be that other Eagle which he employed in the Rape of *Ganimede* : Which comes to the same, since the Fable of that God's having transformed himself into an Eagle to ravish that young Prince

(1) Vol. VI.

(2) Chan. L. 2. c. 11.

(3) L. 15.

(4) Cæl. Poet. Astr. L. 2. c. 16.

Prince, had no other Foundation but his carrying that Bird upon his Colours.

We mentioned already *Jupiter's* having been fed by Bees, as *Virgil* Fable of the Bees has it (a); and I take the Foundation of this Fable to be, that Hives of Bees had been in the Cave where *Jupiter* was brought up. *Antoninus Liberalis* tells a tragical Adventure of four Men, who having enter'd into that Cave, and perceived the Hives of Bees, that God made the Noise of his Thunder to be heard, and by darting his Lightning destroyed them in a miserable Manner: Another Fiction importing that some profane Persons had been punish'd for their Presumption, in daring to violate the Sanctity of that Place, which the Pagans held in high Veneration.

Tho' I have already spoke of the *Curetes* in the former Volume, on Occasion of the *Cabiri*, whom some Authors take to be the same; yet Antiquity having transmitted to us so many Particularities relative to them; I thought fit to consider them in a separate Article. *Strabo* has drawn together (i) almost all that can be said upon this Subject: we find however in *Photius*, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias* and others; some Particularities which are not related by that learned and judicious Historian; from these several Pieces I shall compose their History.

The History of the *Curetes* to whom *Rhea* committed the Education of *Jupiter*.

First Then; I shall not insist upon what we have in *Ovid*, who tells us that they were produced by the Rain (b), the ordinary Resource of Poets, who made all such whose Original they were ignorant of to spring from the Earth, or from the Hollow of an Oak-tree. As little do I think much Stress is to be laid upon the Etymology given of their Name by *Athenæus* (2), who relying upon the Authority of

VOL. II.

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some

(a) *Dictæo Regem pavere sub antro.*

(1) L. 10.

(b) *Largoque sæas Curetas ab imbre. Met. l. 4.*

(2) L. 12. c. 6.

some Verses in *Æschylus*, alledges that they were so denominated from the Care they took of their Hair, which they dressed and curled in a Manner peculiar to themselves ; since the Expressions made use of by that ancient Poet, seem to have no Relation to the Name of the *Curetes*.

In order to treat with some distinct Method a Subject that is obscure enough of itself, I shall examine the following Questions.. Whether were the *Curetes* Natives of *Crete*? or came they from a greater Distance? What is their Original? What was their Religion, their Customs and Employments? What particular Country did they inhabit?

Dionysius of *Halicarnassus* (1), and after him *Don Pezron* (2), are persuaded that the *Curetes* were Natives of *Crete*, and the latter is of Opinion that they were even of the Blood Royal, and of the Number of the *Titan* Princes. We have seen in the second Article that they had the Care of *Jupiter's* Funerals. In Fact, they were the Priests and Astrologers of the *Titan* Princes. Being addicted to speculative Sciences and mechanical Arts, they came to be frequently consulted. In a Word, they were to the *Titans* who reigned in that Isle, what the *Dryads* were among the *Gauls*, the *Magi* among the *Persians*, and the *Salii* among the *Sabines*. They were also frequently employed, according to the same Author, in the Education of the Sons of Princes, whom they brought up with great Care, teaching them Physick, Astrology, whatever concerned Religion, and above all the Art of War ; to which they went themselves, and were distinguish'd in it from others by particular Arms, wherewith they made a Sound in Cadence, artfully clashing their Spears against their Bucklers, and dancing with a great many Contorsions, to animate themselves to the Fight, and to excite others to it (3): whence they got the Name of *Curetes* and of *Corybantes* (4). By the Noise of that Symphony

(1) Hist. Rom. l. 2.

(2) Ant. de la langue des Celtes.

(3) Apol. l. 2.

(4) This last signifies *one who shakes his Head*.

Symphony, they brought up the infant *Jupiter*; not to hinder *Saturn*, who was then in *Phrygia*, from hearing his Screams; but rather to prevent any ones discovering him. The Dance, whereof they were the Inventors, was called *Dactylos*, and for the same Reason perhaps were they themselves denominated *Dactyli*. Unless you choose rather to be of Opinion with some of the Ancients, that they got this Name from their being only ten, the Number of Fingers on the Hands; the Word *Dactylos* signifying a Finger.

I am inclined to think that anciently the *Curetes* were Inhabitants of *Crete*; that they highly signalized themselves there; practised several Arts, and contributed not a little to polish the Minds and Manners of the Inhabitants of that Island: It was in *Crete* too that they got the Name of *Idæi*, because it was near Mount *Ida*, which is in that Island, that they settled: but they were not Natives of it; the best Authors being agreed that they came from *Phenicia*. *Herodotus* (1) tells us that the *Phenicians*, who followed *Cadmus*, introduced several Sciences into *Greece*: For there were among those *Phenicians*, People called *Curetes*, who were better versed in the Arts and Sciences of *Phenicia* than others: Some of them settled in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*, others in the Island of *Crete*, where they got the Name of *Idæi Dactyli*; some of them came to *Rhodes*, and these were designed *Telchines*; others again into *Samothracia*: A Part of them came into *Eubæa*, where, before the Discovery of Iron, they wrought in Brass, in a City which was called for that Reason *Chalcis*. Some of them went to *Imbros*, others to *Lemnos*, where they found Forges set up: In fine, a great Number of them settled in *Etolia* and *Acar-nania*, to which was given the Name of the first Country which the *Curetes* had inhabited after leaving *Phenicia*, I mean *Crete*, a Name which it retained, till *Ætolus* the Son of *Endymion* seized upon it, and called it after his own Name. It was during the

(1) L. i.

Abode of the *Curetes* in *Greece*, that the hunting of *Calydon* happened ; which occasioned a bloody War between them and the *Etolians*, whereof *Phenix* gives a long Account to *Achilles* (1), as shall be said in the History of *Meleager* (2). *Pausanias* adds (3), to what *Homer* says, that the Author of the Poem of illustrious Women, and of the *Myniad*, related that *Apollo* had sided with the *Curetes* in that War, and had slain *Meleager* with his own Hand.

In the mean time a celebrated Event, whence the Chronicle of *Paros* begins one of its *Epochs*, gave the *Curetes* the Hint to work in the Iron Forges. The Forest of Mount *Ida* took Fire either by Lightning, or some other Accident ; and the *Curetes* seeing a great Quantity of Iron flow down, which the Violence of the Fire had melted, improved this Discovery, and laid aside their Works in Brass, to apply themselves to those in Iron. The Chronicle now cited, places this Event under the Reign of *Minos* the first King of *Crete*, and of *Pandion* first King of *Athens* ; that is about the Year before *Jesus Christ*, 1350.

I am however of Opinion, that the Art of forging Iron is older than the burning of Mount *Ida*, since *Tubal-Cain*, as *Moses* tells us, was the Inventor of it even before the Deluge ; but it might be lost, or perhaps unknown till then in the Island of *Crete*.

It was also by means of those Artists, whom *Cadmus* had brought with him, that this Chief of the Colony found out a golden Mine in the Mountain *Pangæa* in *Thrace*, and the red Brass at *Thebes* where he settled : Wherefore the mineral Stone, which is melted down with the red Brass to make yellow Brass or it, is called *Cadmia* at this very Day.

The *Curetes* with those Metals made themselves a particular kind of Arms ; and in War, and in the Ceremonies of Religion, they were wont to dance ; and mingling with their own tumultuous Shrieks the Sound of Bells, Pipes, Drums, and of their Swords which

(1) Il. l. 9.

(2) Vol. VI.

(3) In Phoc.

which they clash'd upon their Bucklers, observing a certain Cadence, and appearing to be seized with Enthusiasm; hence they got the Name of *Cūrētes* and *Corybantes*. This, according to *Solinus* (1), is what gave rise to Musick in Greece. “The harmonious Arrangement which the *Idæi Dactyli* observed in the clashing Sound of their Arms, says that Author, gave Birth to Musick: they transferred it afterwards into Poetry.” (a) In this *Isidorus of Seville* has followed the Opinion of *Solinus*.

We must not omit to observe that, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (2), 'tis to one of the *Curetes*, or *Idæi Dactyli*, named *Hercules*, that the first Institution of the Olympick Games is owing. That Event is thus related by *Pausanias* (3). “The Inhabitants of *Elis*, who seem to be well versed in Antiquities, say that *Saturn* was their first King; and that the Men of the golden Age, set up a Temple to him at *Olympia*; that so soon as *Jupiter* was born, his Mother gave the Care of him to the *Idæi Dactyli*, who were named *Curetes*; that afterwards five of them, whose Names are *Hercules*, *Pæonius*, *Epimedes*, *Jasius*, and *Ida*, came from *Ida* a Mountain of *Crete*, into *Elis*; that *Hercules* surnamed *Idæan*, who was the eldest of them, in Memory of the War between *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, instituted the Race; and appointed that he who carried the Prize, should be rewarded with a Crown of Olive. There he set up an Altar to *Jupiter Olympius*, and founded the Olympick Games. He adds that, according to some of the *Eleans*, *Jupiter* there disputed the Kingdom with *Saturn*; and that, according to others, *Idæan Hercules* instituted those Games in Memory of the Victory obtain'd over the *Titans*.” The same

P 3

Author

(1) Ch. 11.

(a) Studium musicum inde captum cum *Idæi Dactyli* modulos crepitu & tinnitu æris deprehensos in versificum ordinem transfulissent.

(2) L. 3.

(3) L. 5. cap. 7, and elsewhere.

Author in his *Arcadica* (1) says, the *Curetes* contended for the Prize of running at those Games.

In fine, that nothing might be wanting to complete the Glory and Renown of the *Curetes*, Temples were erected to them after their Death. *Pausanias* (2) mentions that which they had in *Messenia*, where Sacrifices were offered of all Sorts of Animals.

What we are to think of the Division of the World among the three Brothers.

Of all the Fables that occur in the History of *Jupiter*, none remains to be explained but that of the Partition of the World among the three Brothers. The Empire of the *Titans*, as has been said, was vastly extensive: Those Princes were in Possession of *Phrygia*, *Thrace*, a Part of *Greece*, the Island of *Crete*, and several other Provinces (3). *Sanchoiathon* seems to add *Syria* too (4): *Diodorus* adds a Part of *Africk* and the *Mauritanias*. *Jupiter* enlarged it a great deal, and having defeated the *Titan* Party, he bethought him of sharing his Dominions with his Brothers. To himself he reserved the oriental Countries, as also *Thessaly* and *Olympus*. *Pluto* had the western Provinces, to the extremity of *Spain*, which is a low Country in Respect of *Greece*; and *Neptune* was appointed Admiral of *Jupiter's* Fleet, and commanded over the whole *Mediterranean*. This, no Doubt, is what has given rise to the Fable of the Division of the World, and what makes these three Brothers be look'd upon as three sovereign Divinities in their own Dominions. From that time *Olympus*, where *Jupiter* dwelt, was taken for Heaven; and *Spain*, where *Pluto* set Men to work at the Mines, was never mentioned but as a gloomy Kingdom, overspread with the thickest Darkness, the common Mansion of the Dead.

Several learned Men, I know, are persuaded that it was the Division among the three Sons of *Noah*, that gave Rise to the Fable of the like Division among

(1) C. 2.

(2) In *Messen*.

(3) V. *Dea Pannon*.

(4) L. 3.

mong *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*; but tho' we should grant them that the *Pagans* were acquainted with this Tradition, which must indeed have been very diffusive, since it was known even in *Peru*, if we believe *Garcilasso de la Vega* (1), yet it would not be the less true that those *Titan* Princes divided their Conquests after the Manner now said.

The learned Father *Tournemine*, in the Proposal that has been already cited, says that the *Pagans*, from the Tradition of the Division among the Sons of *Noah*, imagined that of the whole World among three Divinities, whereof one governed Heaven and Earth, to whom they gave the Name of *Zeus*, which is an Abbreviation of the ineffable Name *Jevo* or *Jeova*: The second *Hell*, who was therefore called *Ades*; which imports Loss, or *Orcus*, dark, or *Pluto*, God of Riches, because of the Mines that are in the Bowels of the Earth; and the third reigned over the Sea, whom for that Reason they stiled *Poseidon*, which signifies *Ship-dashing*, or *Napka*, *Flowing*.

I am however of Opinion that, at bottom, and in the better Mythology, *Jupiter* represented the supreme God who governed at once Heaven, Earth and Hell, under three different Names. This was the Sentiment of *Pausanias* (2) who, upon Occasion of a Statue of *Jupiter* in Wood, that was at *Argos* in the Temple of *Minerva*, thus speaks: “ That Statue, “ says he, had two Eyes as Nature has placed them “ in Men, and a third in the middle of the Fore- “ head. This is alledged to be the *Jupiter Patrons* “ who stood in the Palace of *Priam*, in a Place un- “ covered, and that it was to his Altar that unfortu- “ nate Prince fled for Refuge after the taking of “ *Troy*. — It may be reasonably conjectured, “ that *Jupiter* was thus represented with three Eyes, “ to signify that he reigned first in Heaven, as all “ are agreed; secondly in Hell; For the God who,

P 4

“ according

(1) Hist. des incas p. 84 of the last Edition.

(2) In Corinth. c. 24.

“ according to the Fable, holds his Empire in the
 “ subterranean Regions, is also called *Jupiter* by
 “ *Homer*, according to this Verse,

Infernal Jove and his tremendous Spouse. (1)

“ The third, in short, over the Sea, as *Eschilus* the
 “ Son of *Euphorion* testifies. Whoever therefore made
 “ this Statue, gave it three Heads, I suppose to
 “ represent, that one and the same God governs
 “ the three Parts of the World; which others say
 “ had been shared among three different Divi-
 “ nities.”

ARTICLE IV.

Of the different Names given to Jupiter.

As *Jupiter* was the great Divinity of the *Pagan* World, and was universally worship'd from *Egypt* to the Center of *Spain*, we need not be surprized at the great Number of Names and Surnames which were given him by the various Nations that had received his Worship. Most of those Names being derived from the Places where he was worship'd, or from what had given Rise to the Temples, Chapels and Altars that were consecrated to him, I should gladly have saved myself the Trouble of recounting them all; but as they occur upon ancient Monuments, in Inscriptions and in most Authors, especially in the Poets, I judged it would be proper to make the Reader acquainted with them as fully as possible; and I hope to make amends for the Barrenness of the Subject, by quoting the historical Passages that gave rise to those various Demonstrations.

The most ordinary Epithet applied to *Jupiter*, was that of *Optimus Maximus*: He was likewise stiled by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, *Pater*, *Father*, because he was accounted the Father of Gods and Men. That of *King* is appropriated to him by
Homer

(1) Il. L. 9. ver. 457.

Homer and *Virgil*; and the Sacrifices that were performed at *Lebadia*, were offered up to him under the Title of *Jupiter* the King. The same Title is conferred upon him twice by *Xenophon* in his *Cyropedia*.

He was likewise called *Almighty*, as we see in *Virgil*, and other Authors. The Epithet of *Victor*, or *Victorious*, was given him, either because he had conquered the Giants and *Titans*, or because nothing was thought able to resist him. We read in *Titus Livius* (1) that *Papyrius*, when ready to engage, vowed a Temple to him under that Name (a). Under the same Denomination had the *Romans* instituted to him a Festival that was celebrated in the Month of *April*, as we learn from *Ovid* (b). Saint *Augustin* (2) tells us that the same *Romans* on the Ides of *June* celebrated a Feast in Honour of him, under the Title of *Jupiter the invincible*.

As oft as they believed they had received any Benefit from this God, they destined some Ceremony to him, and gave him a new Name: Thus he was called *Stator*, because he had stop'd the *Roman* Army in their Flight: *Muscarius*, or in the *Greek* Language *Apomyius*, which is of the same Import, was a Name given him by the *Eleans*, in Memory of his having driven away the Flies that molested *Hercules* during a Sacrifice. *Pausanias* (3) tells us that as *Hercules* was sacrificing at *Olympia*, and was greatly incommoded by the Flies, he offered up a Victim to *Jupiter Apomyius*, upon which the Flies flew away immediately to the other Side of the River *Alpheus*; from that Time the *Eleans* performed every Year the same Sacrifice, to be delivered from those Insects. *Feretrius*, *quasi a ferendo*, because he had brought

(1) L. 10.

(a) Papyrium in ipso discrimine, quo Tempia Diis immortalibus vovere mos erat, Vovisse Jovi Victori, si Legiones hostium fudisset, sese facturum: Id votum Deis cordi fuit. Tit. Liv. Loc. cit.

(b) Occupat Apriles Idus cognomine Victor

Jupiter, hac illi sunt data Tempia die.

Ovid. Fast.

(2) De Civit. Dei L. 7.

(3) In Eliac.

brought Aid to the *Romans*; *vel a feriendo*, because he had defeated their Enemies (*a*), which comes to the same thing: *Pistor*, because of the Tradition, that while the *Gauls* were besieging the Capitol, he had counselled the Garrison to make Bread of all the Corn they had remaining, and throw it into the Enemy's Camp, to make them believe that they had a Prospect of being soon supply'd with Provision; which Stratagem succeeded so well, that the Enemy raised the Siege (1): *Lapis*, from the Stone which *Saturn* had swallowed instead of *Jupiter* himself; and in that Case he was confounded with the God *Terminus*. The Oath that was taken by this mysterious Name, was very awful, according to *Apuleius*, as has been said in the second Volume under the Article of Oaths. This is what *Cicero* calls, *Jovem Lapidem jurare* (2). *Lucerius* or *Diespiter*, because he was the God of Light, as *Aulus Gellius* informs us (*b*); and this is the Reason of that God's being often taken for the Air: *Pluvius* (3), because in Times of great Drought they applyed to him for Rain. 'Twas from this Motive that *Trajan's* Army, when reduced to Extremity of Thirst, occasioned by an excessive Drought, made a Vow to *Jupiter Pluvius*; and in a Moment there fell a great Quantity of Rain. In Commemoration of this Event the Figure of *Jupiter Pluvius* was afterwards put upon *Trajan's* Pillar; and to express the Fact, the Soldiers were represented receiving the Water in the hollow of their Bucklers. This God is there represented under the Figure of an old Man with a long Beard, and a pair of Wings, stretching forth both his Hands, and the right Hand a little elevated; the Water flows copiously from his Arms and his Beard. The *Athenians*

(*a*) *Propertius* in the Elegy of *Jupiter Feretrius* thus speaks.

Nunc Jovis incipiam causas aperire Feretri:

Armaque de Ducibus trina recepta tribus.

(1) *Tit. Liv.*

(2) *Epist. ad famil. Ep. ad Trebatium.*

(*b*) *Lucerius* Dictus *Jupiter*, quod nos die & luce, quasi vita ipsa afficeret & juvaret.

(3) So called by the *Greeks*.

nians worship'd him under this Name, as *Pausanias* remarks (1), and named him *Hymetius*, from the Altar that they had consecrated to him upon Mount *Hymettus*. *Prædator*, was another of his Names, because they consecrated to him a Part of the Spoils; which makes *Virgil* say:

————— *Ipsūque vocamus*

In prædam, partemque Jovem (2).

Tropæuchus, because he presided over Triumphs: *Hospitalis*, because he was the God of Hospitality, as we learn from the Poet now quoted (3); and this is the Name under which he was most revered. *Lycæus*, because he was believed to have transformed *Lycaon* into a Wolf. 'Tis proper to remark, in the third Place, that he had other Names given him, such as *Father of the Gods, the greatest and best; Ruler, Governour*, and several others denoting his Sovereignty over the other Gods. He was stiled *Acræus*, as much as to say of the *Promontory*; the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* adored him under this Name on an Eminence, as is to be seen in two Medals publish'd by *Spon* (4). The Name of Lord of the Storms and Winds, *Tempestatum potens, ventorum potens*, which occurs in some Inscriptions, as also that of *Jupiter Serenus*, agrees to that God in so far as he was physically the *Æther*. *Jupiter Dolichenus* occurs on a fine Marble, referred to by the same *Spon* (5). There he is represented standing upon a Bull, with an Eagle display'd. As he is in Armour, and has a Helmet on his Head, some Antiquaries have taken him for *Mars*; but the Bull that was sacrificed to him, and the Eagle, leave no room to doubt of its being *Jupiter*.

The Names of *Jupiter Ammon, Jupiter Serapis*, and *Jupiter Belus*, have been sufficiently explained in the second Volume, Book VI. That of *Jupiter Stygius*, was given him when he represented *Pluto*,
and

(1) In Attic.

(3) *Æn.* L. 1.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 79.

(2) *Æn.* L. 3. See *Servius*.

(4) *Misc. Erud. Ant.* p. 74.

and is to be met with in Inscriptions. One of the most awful Names of *Jupiter* was that of *Sebazius*; but of this I have spoke at more length in the Article of *Mithras*, at the Beginning of this Volume.

There was a great Number of others that were derived from Places where he was worship'd: Thus he was denominated *Capitolinus*, from the Temple which he had upon the Capitol; *Olympius*, *Atabyrius*, *Diæus*, *Idæus*, because the Mountains that bore these Names, whereof the first was in *Thessaly*, the second in *Crete*, were consecrated to him. *Dodonæus*, from the Oracle of *Dodona*; *Trophonius* for a like Reason; *Molossus*, because the People of that Name worship'd him in a peculiar Manner. *Ithomatus*, under which Name he was principally worship'd by the People of *Messenia*, in the Place called *Ithome*, where there was a Citadel. As this People pretended that *Jupiter* had been educated in their Country, they ascribed to him a peculiar Worship, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1): and while the Festival of *Jupiter Ithomatus* lasted, they were wont to carry Water into his Temple during the whole Day. The same Author speaks of Games that accompany'd this Festival.

Another of his Names was *Laryssæus*, because he was worship'd at *Larissa*; *Cenæus*, because *Hercules*, after having ravaged *Oechalia*, erected a Temple to him upon the Promontory *Cenæus* in *Eubæa*. *Cithæronius*, from Mount *Cithæron* in *Beotia*, that was consecrated to him; *Casius*, from the Mountains of that Name, where he was worship'd. There was one of them at the Entrance to *Egypt*, from *Arabia*, and the other in *Syria*. *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* mention the Temple which he had upon the Former of these Mountains; and *Suidas*, that which he had upon the other. *Achilles Tatius* makes mention of a third Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Casius*, in the City of *Pelzium*. The common Figure under which this *Jupiter* used to be represented, was that of
a Rock,

(1) In *Meñ*.

a Röck, or a steep Mountain, as is to be seen on several Medals quoted by *Vaillant* (1); on one of which is a Temple with four Columns, with a Mountain in the Middle, and an Eagle upon the Frontispiece, and this Legend,

ZETΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ.

Jupiter Madbachus and Selamanes,

An Inscription found near *Aleppo* in *Syria* about forty Years ago, lets us know two of *Jupiter's* Surnames given him by the *Syrians*, after his Worship had been communicated to them by the *Greeks*. This Inscription, which is in *Greek*, contains a Vow which *Cratæus* the Son of *Andronicus* accomplish'd for his Father, in Honour of *Jupiter Madbachus* and *Selamanes* (a). It was first sent to *M. Cuper*, and he communicated it to *Huetius*, begging him to give his Opinion as to the Signification of these two Surnames (b). That learned Prelate in his Answer shews, that altho' *Cratæus* called *Jupiter, Madbachus* and *Selamanes*, the Gods of his Fathers, we are not therefore to make three of them, nor even two different Divinities: That there being two Surnames of the same God, was Reason sufficient for his expressing himself in that Manner. Then examining into those Surnames, whose Original he could not find in the *Greek*, he traces it in the oriental Languages. You may see all that he says upon it in his Answer to *M. Cuper*: The Result of his Enquiries is, that by *Jupiter Madbachus* and *Selamanes* the *Syrians* meant much the same Thing as the *Latins*, when they stiled *Jupiter Perfectus & Pacificus*. To me it would seem unquestionably certain that the Word *Selamanes* can indeed have no other signification than *Pacatus* or *Pacificus*: It comes from the *Hebrew Salman*, which mostly signifies *pacatus fuit, Pacem*

(1) T. i. L. 6.

(a) ΔΙΙ ΜΑΔΒΑΧΩ, ΚΑΙ ΣΕΛΑΜΑΝΕΙ, ΠΑΤΡΩΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ. &c.

(b) Dissertation upon various Subjects in Religion and Philology. T. II. p. 97. The Hague Edition, 1714.

Pacem habuit ; hence have been formed the Names of *Salma*, that is mentioned in the Prophet *Hoseab* (1), of *Salmon* the Son of *Naasson*, and even that of *Salmanasar* : For the last properly signifies, *Pax Ligata*, or *Pacis Vinculum*. The Name of *Selamanes* was not an Epithet of *Jupiter* only ; it was also a proper Name used in *Syria*, for *Sozomenes* (2) makes mention of a Monk of *Palestine*, the Disciple of Saint *Hilarion*, whom he calls *Selamanes*.

As to *Madbachus*, this Word appears to me to come from *Madbach*, in Place of which we commonly read *Midbach* in a Passage of the *Psalms* (3) : 'Tis a compound of the Verb *Dabach* adhæsit, conjunctus fuit, with the Affix ; *Madbach* is properly *adbærere factus* ; so that *Jupiter Madbachus*, must have been the same among the *Syrians* as *Jupiter præsens*, *adhærens*, *proximus*, among the *Latins*.

Pausanias (4) says that *Jupiter Cappantas* was likewise a Name given to the Stone upon which *Orestes* having sat recovered his Senses ; as to which you may see the Note of the *Abbe Gedouyn* (5).

The Title of *Thundering* and *Fulminating*, was the most applicable to *Jupiter*, since he was accounted the Lord of *Thunder* ever since the *Cyclops* had given it to him, as has been said. It would be needless to quote Authorities to prove that this Title was given him ; since it frequently occurs in Authors, in Poets and Inscriptions. Our ancient *Gauls* too worshipped him under the same Name ; and this was their *Jupiter Taranus*, as *M. Prydeaux* has fully proved. To this Surname I shall add that of *Καταβας* or *Descensor*, as you would say, *He who descends*. Upon this Subject we have a learned Dissertation by *M. Burman*, to which I refer the curious. It suffices to observe here, that this Name was given him not so much to denote that they believed he came down to the Earth, there to visit his Mistresses, as to signify that he gave Indications

(1) C. 10. v. 15.

(2) Hist. Eccl. L. VI. C. 32.

(3) Pl. 22. 16.

(4) In Lacon.

(5) Translation of *Pausanias*.

dications of his Presence there, either by the Voice of *Thunder and Lightning*, or by *real Apparitions*. Hence the Surname of *Epiphanes*, *He who is present, who appears*, which was common indeed to the other Gods, but more especially belong'd to *Jupiter*; and on this occasion it may not be useless to clear up a Point of *Mythology*, concerning the pretended Appearance of the Gods, or *Theoppsy*. *Cicero* (1) says, that the Gods frequently manifested their Presence; that they often became visible. One of the Pagans, as we learn from *Arnobius* (2), spoke to this Purpose; “ Let it
“ not be imagined that we build Temples to shelter
“ the Gods from Rain, and Wind, from the Heat
“ of the Sun, and from other Injuries of the Air;
“ No, 'tis that we may see them present, hold inter-
“ course and intimate Conversation with them, with
“ that Awe and Respect which we owe unto them”. *Diodorus Siculus* (3), after having told us that *Isis* had found out several Sorts of Medicaments, adds that what encreased the Veneration for her, was her Presence accompanying the Remedies she gave. *Plutarch* says (4) that *Enguis*, a City in *Sicily*, had grown considerable chiefly by the frequent Apparition of the Mother Goddesses, as shall be more fully explained when we come to these Divinities (5). They were persuaded that the Gods and Heroes appeared especially on the Festival Days that were celebrated in honour of them, and that they never allowed themselves to be seen at any other Time, as we learn from *Dion Chrysostom*. From this apprehended Presence of the Gods proceeded the Veneration that was wont to be paid to their Statues, because the Gods themselves were believed to be there present, especially when they delivered their Oracles.

If we would trace the Origin of this Fable, we should undoubtedly find it to be founded on what the *Pagans* had learned by Tradition, concerning God's
having.

(1) De Nat. Deo. L. 2.

(2) Adver. Gent. L. 6.

(3) L. 3.

(4) In *Marcello*.

(5) Under the Article of the Gods of the *Gauls*.

having manifested himself to *Jacob*, in that Vision of the mysterious Ladder mentioned in Scripture (1), wherein that *Patriarch* said he had seen God Face to Face : *Jacob vocavit nomen loci illius Phanuel, dicens, vidi Deum facie ad faciem.* The Place where the *Patriarch* had this Vision, became in Fact celebrated enough by the Monument which he set up there, to give them an opportunity of coming to the Knowledge of it. We may farther add, that they may possibly have heard of what happened to *Moses* on *Horeb*, and *Mount Sinai*, where he had seen God Face to Face.

We must not however imagine that the *Pagans* believed they could see the Essence of their Gods ; but they pretended at least to enjoy their Presence at certain Times, and to be what they called *Theopti*.

Jupiter was also worship'd under the Name of Invincible, *Invictus* ; and the *Romans*, according to *St. Augustin* (2), celebrated his Festival on the Ides of *June* ; as also under that of *Custos*, or Guardian, because, as *Seneca* has it (3), he was look'd upon as the Guardian of the Universe : We have Medals of *Nero*, with this Legend, *Jupiter Custos* ; under that of *Latialis*, which makes *Lucan* say (4), *Et residens celsa Latialis Jupiter Alba.* Under that of *Inventor*, to whom *Hercules* raised an Altar, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (5), when he had found his Oxen which *Cacus* had stolen from him. Of *Jupiter Fidius*, or *Sponsor*, under which Name a Temple was dedicated to him by *Sp. Posthumius*.

S. Athanasius is of Opinion that even human Victims were sacrificed to him under the same Name ; under that of *Pixius*, as we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassus* (6), which name answered to that of *Sanctus*, or of *Sanguis*, which was given him by the *Sabines* : Under that of *Alifetus*, because in a Famine he had taken a particular Care of the Millers, that Meat might

(1) Gen. 21.

(2) De Civ. Dei. L. 7.

(3) Quest. Nat. 2.

(4) Phar. l. 1.

(5) L. 1.

(6) L. 4.

might not be wanting. That of *Lucetius*, was ascrib'd to him, as the Bestower of Light. Of *Viminalis*, whence a Mountain took its Name. He was worship'd at *Tusculum* under the Name of *Majus*, to intimate his Superiority over all the other Gods, of whom he was reckoned the Greatest and the most Powerful. *Arbitrator*, a Name under which he was also worship'd at *Rome*, and in Honour whereof *P. Victor* tells us there was a Portico of five Columns consecrated to him. Of *Assabinus*, and this was the Name he bore among the *Arabians*: Of *Ammon*, the Denomination given him by the *Libyans*, among whom he had a famous Temple and Oracle, which we have given some Account of in the first Volume (1). The *Romans* worship'd him likewise under the Name of *Dapalis*, because he presided over the Dishes of Meat that were served up at Table. Of *Ultor*, because he avenged Crimes on the Persons of the Guilty. Of *Dictæus*, from the Cave in *Crete* of that Name where he had been concealed: Of *Idæus*, from *Mount Ida* in the same Island; of *Ægiuchus*, because he had been suckled by a she Goat (2): Of *Sthenius*, as much as to say *Powerful* and *Strong*. The *Greeks* gave him also the Name of *Ægyptius* and *Nilus*, in which Case he was confounded with *Osiris*, whose name had been given to the *Nile*. That of *Tharsus* from the City of *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*, where he was worship'd in a special Manner. Of *Plustios*, that is to say *Rich*, and according to *Pausanias* (3) he had a Temple under that name among the *Lacedæmonians*. Of *Physicus*, and then he was taken physically for the Air or *Æther*, according to the Testimony of the Ancients: Of *Panompheus*, because his Praises were in the Mouths of all the World. Of *Caræus*, as much as to say exalted, as it is explain'd by *Hesychius*. Of *Hecatombæus*, whence the first Attick Month derived its Name, tho' some Mythologists will have it that that Name more particularly belong'd to *Apollo*.

VOL. II.

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OF

(1) L. 4. (2) See *Lactantius* L. 1. (3) In *Lacœm.*

Of *Mæmaetes*, as you would say *Furious*; from the fifth *Attick* Month, which begins *Winter*; this at least is the Etymology which *Harpocratio* gives of this Name. Of *Lycæus*, from a Mountain in *Arcadia*, where, according to *Pausanias* (1), *Lycaon* was worship'd, and instituted to his own Honour Games that were therefore named *Lyceia*. Of *Labradæus*, and then he was represented under the Figure of an Ax, which the *Carians* adored. *Plutarch* tells us that this God wears the Ax, in Place of the Thunder or Sceptre, for the following Reason. After *Hercules* had slain the *Amazon Hippolyta*, he gave his Ax to *Omphale*. The Kings of *Lydia* bore it afterwards, and transmitted it to their Successors, till *Candaules* thinking it not consistent with his Dignity, gave it to one of his Courtiers to wear. After the Defeat of *Candaules* it fell into the Hands of the *Carians*, who made a Statue to *Jupiter*, and put this Ax into his Hand. Of *Expiator*, because he was thought to give Men Expiation for the Crimes they committed. Of *Martius*, because Warriors invoked him immediately before Battle. Of *Palæstes*, because as we learn from *Lycophron*, *Hercules* having offered himself to a wrestling Match, and no body daring to enter the Lists with him, that God had accepted the Challenge, and wrestled with his Son. Of *Melissæus*, from the Name of one of his Nurses. Of *Xenius*, that is to say, *Hospitable*. *Virgil* invokes him under this Name. Of *Hersæus*, because his Altars, especially in Princes Houses, stood under the open Air in a Place inclosed with Walls. It was near one of these Altars that *Priam* was slain in his own Palace, as we learn from *Servius* (2). Of *Mæragetes*, because the Destinies were believed to be under his Direction; tho' to say the Truth, this Title agreed better to *Fate*, whose Decrees they absolutely obey'd, as shall be said in the History of those three Goddesses.

But of this enough; they who would know more of it, may find other Surnames and Epithets of *Jupiter*,
in

(1) In *Arcad.*

(2) In *Æneid.* L. 2.

in *Pausanias*, and in *Lylio Gyraldi*: I have only explained such of them as seemed to be most difficult.

ARTICLE V.

After what Manner Jupiter used to be represented, and what Sort of Worship was paid to him.

I. We find in the Ancients, and we see upon such Monuments as are preserved, and particularly upon Medals, several Representations of *Jupiter*; but the most common Manner of picturing him was, under the Figure of a majestick Man, with a Beard, seated on a Throne, holding the Thunder in his Right Hand, and a Victory in the other, having an Eagle at his Feet, with Wings display'd, bearing away *Ganymede*: While the God has the upper Part of his Body naked, and the lower Part covered. The Mythologists offer Reasons for this particular Attitude which I cannot omit. The Throne, say they, by its Stability, denotes the Security of his Empire. The Nakedness of the upper Part of his Body, intimated that he was visible to the higher Intelligences and in the celestial Parts of the Universe; as on the contrary the lower Part covered signified that he hides himself from this inferior World. The Sceptre, or the Thunder which he wielded in his Right Hand, intimated his Power over Gods and Men. The Victory, which he held in his Left Hand, signified that he was always Victorious; and the Eagle, that he was Lord of Heaven, as that Bird is of all the feathered Kind. Thus are these Symbols explained by *Porphyry*, *Phurnutus*, *Eusebius* and *Suidas*.

But this Way of representing this God, tho' the most common, was not Uniform. *Pausanias* (1) speaking of the Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, says, " That God is represented sitting upon a Throne of
" Gold and Ivory; and upon his Head he wears a
" Crown that imitates the Olive Wreath. In his
" Right Hand he holds a Victory, which is likewise

Q 2. " of

(1) In *Eliac*.

‘ of Gold and Ivory, adorned with Fillets and
 ‘ crowned ; in his left, a Sceptre exquisitely fine and
 ‘ glittering with all Sorts of Metals. The Bird
 ‘ resting upon the End of his Scepter is an Eagle.
 ‘ The Shoes and Cloak of the God, are also of
 ‘ Gold : Upon the Cloak are engraved all Sorts of
 ‘ Animals, all Sorts of Flowers, and particularly
 ‘ Lillies. The Throne of the God is richly sparkling
 ‘ with Gold and precious Stones : The Ivory and
 ‘ Ebony, by their Mixture, make an agreeable Con-
 ‘ trast ; the Painters Art has also intermixed various
 ‘ Animals and other Ornaments.”

The Thunder, the most common Symbol of *Jupiter*, is figured in two Manners upon Medals and ancient Monuments ; the one is a Kind of Fire-brand flaming at both Ends, tho’ in some Images you see only one Extremity on Fire ; the other a Machine pointed on both Sides, armed with two Arrows : The Legion that was called Fulminating, had this last Symbol upon the Soldiers Bucklers. *Lucian*, who tells us that *Jupiter’s* Thunder-bolt was ten Cubits in Length, seems likewise to give it this Form, when he very pleasantly introduces *Jupiter* complaining that having but a little time ago discharged his Thunder upon *Anaxagoras*, who deny’d the Existence of the Gods, he had mis’d him, because *Pericles* had diverted the Stroke which had lighted upon the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and reduced it to Ashes ; that his Thunder had been almost broke against the Stone, and the two chief Points of it were so blunted, that he could no longer use it till it was again set to rights.

As for the Eagle, the other common Symbol of *Jupiter*, besides what I have been now saying of it, *Lactantius Firmicus* gives this Account of it : that *Jupiter*, setting out from *Naxos* to combat the *Titans*, and offering a Sacrifice upon the Shore, an Eagle flew up to him, which proved a favourable Omen : According to others, the Eagle alighted upon his Head. *Servius* adds, that in the Combat a-
gainst

gainst those *Titans*, the Eagle had put the Thunder into his Hand.

The Inhabitants of *Crete* represented *Jupiter* without Ears, to denote that the Sovereign of the World ought not to give a partial Ear to any particular Person, but to be equally propitious to all. The *Lacedemonians*, on the contrary, gave him four Ears, that he might be represented the more capable to hear Prayers, from whatever quarter of the World they were put up to him. The Inhabitants of *Heliopolis*, if we may believe *Macrobius*, represented *Jupiter* having his right Hand lifted up and armed with a Whip like a Charioteer, and in his left Hand the Thunder and Ears of Corn. *Arrian* (1), after the Sophist *Anaxarchus*, tells us, that the Figure of Justice always accompany'd that of *Jupiter*, whereof the Reason is very obvious. With Justice were sometimes joined the Graces and Hours, to signify that that God was at all Times to lend a gracious Ear to the Prayers of Men. *Martianus* (2) thus represents *Jupiter* in the Assembly of the Gods. He has, says he, upon his Head a burning Crown, and upon his Shoulders a Cloak, the Work of *Minerva*, and over all a white Robe spangled with Stars; holding in his right Hand two Globes, the one of Gold, and the other of Amber, while he leaned with his left upon a Tortoise. On his Feet he had green Sandals, with which he pressed a Nightingale: This Equipage bespeaks, as one sees at first Sight, the Lord of universal Nature; without needing a more particular Explication of the several Symbols. Oft times his Crown was of Oak or Olive. When instead of a Crown he had a Calathus upon his Head, he was then *Jupiter Serapis*, that God so highly adored in *Egypt*, of whom we have given an Account in the first Volume, Book VI. And when he appeared with Horns he represented *Jupiter Ammon*, so celebrated for the Oracle which he had in *Libya*.

Q 3

We

(1) Hist. 4.

(2) De Nuptiis.

We must not dissemble that most of these Symbols were owing either to the Caprice of the Artist, or to the Fancy of those who caused Statues of him to be made, as we shall shew in a Detail of the Monuments we have now remaining. Let us not omit to this Purpose a fine Passage in *Cicero. Cotta*, one of his Speakers, explaining the Idea that People formed to themselves of the Gods: “ But if ’tis not
 “ true, says he, that a God exhibits himself always
 “ to us under a human Form, will you still persist,
 “ *Velleius*, in defending such Kind of Absurdities?
 “ For our Parts, we may sometimes have that No-
 “ tion, because we are apt to image to ourselves
 “ *Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo*
 “ and the other Gods, with the Features that are
 “ given them by the Caprice of Painters and
 “ Sculptors; and not only with such Features,
 “ but also with such an Age, Habit, and other
 “ Marks(1).”

We find in the Cabinets of the curious a *Jupiter* with the Thunder in both Hands; In *Tristan*, an Infant *Jupiter* riding upon a She-goat with the Legend, *Jovi crescenti*. In *Bonanni*, this God wears a flaming Crown, a Patera in one Hand, and a Roller in the other. The Reverse of one of *Beger’s* Medals exhibits an Eagle holding in its Bill a Crown, and treading the Thunder with both its Feet. A Figure of the same God, in *Boissard*, has this Singularity, that *Jupiter* is there sitting, and above him *Mercury’s* Hat and *Caduceus*, to point out that Prudence ought always to accompany Strength and Power: And in another of the same Author he has two Sphinxes at the Foot of his Throne, the Intention whereof, we may plainly see, was to join Sagacity and Penetration to Force and Power. In a Medal publish’d by *du Choul*, *Jupiter* is riding upon a Ram; In his right Hand he holds a Sceptre, and represents *Jupiter Serapis*, as is signified by the *Calathus* which he has upon his Head. Upon another

(1) De Nat. Deo L. 1.

ther of the same Antiquary, *Jupiter* appears seated on a Throne with the Eagle and Pike: Above his Head, the Sun, represented by a large Star, is in a Chariot with four Horses, and the Moon signified by the Crescent, in a Chariot with two Bulls. At least it ought to have been so. The Reverse however of the Medal publish'd by *du Choul*, places the Star by the Side of the Chariot with the two Bulls, and the Crescent by the Side of the Chariot with the four Horses; whether this is an Error of the Coiner, I cannot determine. At *Jupiter's* Feet are two Men extended at their Length, holding Bundles, after the same Manner as the River-Gods are represented on several Medals; this may be to signify the two inferior Elements, the Earth and Water; so that thus the four Elements would be represented; the Air and the Fire by the two Chariots; the Water and the Earth by the two Men below: After this Manner it is explained by *du Choul*; I know not how far his Conjecture will please many People. The Circumference of the Medal represents the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*: The whole properly denotes that *Jupiter* is the sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, Stars and Elements.

Thundring *Jupiter* is engraved upon several of *Beger's* Medals, Thunder-striking the Giants; one of them who is overthrown, has Serpents Legs, for which I have given the Reason in the Article of *Typhon* (1). Another *Jupiter* upon a Medal of the *Brutii*, a People in *Italy*, has behind him the Crescent of the Moon; and in another of the *Athenians*, seven Stars, probably representing the seven Planets. Upon a Medallion of *Antoninus Pius*, you see *Atlas* with one Knee on the Ground, supporting the World upon his Shoulders; which imports that *Jupiter* was the Lord of the Universe.

The thundering *Jupiter*, now mentioned, is to be seen in a Monument consecrated by *Poplius*, and quoted by *Boissard*, with this Inscription, *Bono Deo*

Q 4

Brotoni,

(1) Vol. I. B. VI,

Brotonti, for *Brontonti*, *To the Good God the Thunderer* (a). The Figures exhibit to us a young Man sitting upon a Rock, half-naked, a Bonnet upon his Head, holding between his Arms a Lyre resting upon his Knees: Two Nymphs present him, the one with a Vase, the other with a *Patera*, and underneath the young Man is a She-wolf.

I observed before that *Jupiter* was represented under the Figure of a majestick Man, and full grown; he is however often represented upon Monuments without a Beard. Such is *Vejovis*, or *Vejupiter* who is to be seen upon the Medals of the *Fonteian* and *Licinian* Families, and the *Jupiter Axur* or *Anxur*, upon the consular Medals, and several others, some of which even bear this Inscription *Jovi Juveni*, *To the young Jupiter*.

Jupiter appears upon a Medal belonging to *M. de la Cbause*, with Rams Horns in his Head; and in one of *Maffei*, with a Radiant Crown, and the Calathus, the Symbols of *Jupiter Ammon*, and of *Jupiter Serapis*. But the most singular Image of *Jupiter* is that which is to be seen in *Beger*. Upon a Base is a Ram's Head, bearing a Pigeon; which no doubt figures the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. Tho' I have described the Oracle of that God in the first Volume (1), yet I have not related the Fable which the *Greeks* delivered with respect to that Name; and therefore to satisfy the curious Reader shall insert it here. They alledged he was so called from the *Greek* Word, which signifies *Sand*, because *Libya*, where his Temple stood, was full of Sands. He was figured with a Ram's Horn, because he was found, said some, among Sheep and Rams, after he had been driven out of Heaven by the Giants; or from having transform'd himself into a Ram for fear of being discovered. Other Mythologists give a different Account of it: According to *Hyginus*, *Bacchus* just as he was setting out for the *Indies*, being

(a) *Brontom* is a *Greek* Word which signifies *Thundering*, and no where to be found but in this Inscription. (1) L. 4.

ing sore distressed with Thirst, found a Ram that led him where there was Water, and he pray'd *Jupiter* to give this Ram a Place in Heaven; which *Jupiter* accordingly granted. Whereupon *Bacchus* built a Temple to that God, which was called the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*.

Herodotus, of much greater Antiquity, relates this History in a different Manner, *Jupiter*, says he, being unwilling to shew himself to *Hercules*, who was exceedingly desirous to see him, and yet not being able to resist his Importunity, bethought him of this Expedient: He cut off a Ram's Head, flead it, and having wrap'd himself up in its skin, shew'd himself to *Hercules* in that Shape, for which Reason the *Egyptians* ever since have represented *Jupiter* with a Ram's Head. The *Ammonians*, who are a Colony of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, took that Custom from them.

But we are not to regard the *Greeks* as to the Etymologies of the Names of the oriental Deities, we having more certain Guides, *Ammon* is plainly *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, as we have said.

The Antiquaries think *Jupiter Capitolinus* is distinguish'd from the Rest by the royal Wreath, or the Diadem which he wears; however upon the consular Medals, where he is named *Capitolinus*, he has not that Diadem, so great Variety is there in this Matter. The *Jupiter Axur* is always represented young and without a Beard: This, according to *Servius* is the very Reason of his having that Name. Sometimes they have thought fit to represent *Jupiter* to us by the Eagle alone, holding the Thunder under his Feet, as he appears in a Monument cited by *Boissard*.

We need not doubt but *Jupiter*,
of all the Gods of *Paganism*, was Of the Worship
he whose Worship was most solemn. paid to *Jupiter*.
There must needs too have been an
infinite Variety in the Ceremonies of this Worship,
since each Nation receiving that God as the Sovereign of the Rest, added to or retrenched at Pleasure
the

the Ceremonies of his Worship, or accommodated it to that of their own Gods whom he came in the Place of. Add to this, that upon every Occasion of giving him so many different Names, they joined some new Ceremonies to the old ones, as to which we learn nothing from History. But to insist upon something more certain and determinate, we may say that no human Victims were offered to him at first, as they were to *Saturn* his Father, as shall be said in his History. The single Example of *Lycaon*, who according to *Pausanias* (1), offer'd up to him a Child, or according to *Ovid* (2) a Prisoner of War, was not followed: That Prince even drew upon himself thereby the Indignation of all the World. At Length he had Imitators, but *Cecrops*, upon his Arrival at *Athens*, abolish'd this cruel Piece of Superstition.

The most common Victims offered to this God were, the She-goat, the Sheep, the white Bull, whose Horns they took care to gild. Oftimes without any Victim, they used to make him an offering of Flower, of Salt and Incense, especially at *Rome*; for at *Athens* it was always by the Sacrifice of an Ox: And when he represented *Vejovis*, or *Jupiter* the Avenger, the Sacrifice of Attonement presented to him was a She-goat. He had a Temple at *Rome*, under that Name, near the Capitol, where he was represented with Arrows in his Hand, to signify that he was ready to execute Vengeance upon Crimes; among the Trees the Oak and the Olive were consecrated to him. To conclude, none worship'd him more religiously, if we may believe *Cicero*, than the *Roman Ladies*: *A Matronis Romanis castissime cultus*, says that Author (3).

I have said nothing here of his three Oracles, that of *Dodona*, that of *Trophonius*, and that which he had in *Libya*, having spoken of them in the first Volume (4).

CHAP.

(1) In Arcad.

(2) Met. L. 2.

(3) De nat. Deor. l. 1.

(4) L. 4. c. 1.

C H A P. II.

The History of Juno.

JUPITER, as has been said, married his Sister *Juno*, who, by this Marriage having become the chief Goddess of the *Pagan* World, 'tis requisite to give a particular Account of her. She was the Daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, and Sister to *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, *Vesta* and *Ceres*; and the *Greeks* called her simply *Hera*, the Lady or Mistress (*a*), or *Megale*, the Great: Whereas among the *Romans* the Name of *Juno*, came from *Juvans*, *helpful*, and consequently had the same Derivation with that of *Jupiter*, *Juvans Pater*; she was also called the Queen.

Several Countries contended for the Honour of her Birth, especially *Samos* and *Argos*, where she was indeed honoured with a peculiar Worship. If we rely upon *Homer*, she was nursed by *Oceanus* and by *Tethys* his Wife; but as there always is a vast Variety as to those ancient Traditions, so there was one which imported that she had been brought up by *Eubæa Porcymna*, & *Acræa*, the Daughters of the River *Asterion*. Others again maintain that the Hours were entrusted with the Care of her Education.

In the Time of the *Titan* Princes, it was a common Custom for Men to marry their own Sisters; and *Jupiter*, by wedding *Juno*, only imitated the Practice of his Father and Grand-father. His marriage too was an Effect of the warmest Affection: He had loved this young Princess from her Infancy, and had employed his Confident to act for him, who performed his Duty so well, as to gain her to a Compliance;

(*a*) The Philosophers who allegorized all these Histories, as has been so often said, alledged, as we are told by *Athenagoras*, that this Word by the bare Transposition of Letters, signified the Air, which this Goddess, considered physically, represented.

Compliance; and this is perhaps what gave Rise to the Fable that *Jupiter*, having made the Air extremely cold, had transform'd himself into a Cuckoo, and that *Juno* received him into her Bosom, a poetical Figure, which gives us an indirect View of the Success of an Intrigue. Mount *Thornax*, the Scene of this Adventure, was from that time called the Cuckoo-mount. This Fable, which I have read in the ancient Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, was in one of *Aristotle's* Books, which treated of the Temple of *Hermione*, but is not now extant. At length *Jupiter* married her with all Solemnity, and the Nuptials were celebrated, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), in the Territory of the *Gnostians*, near the River *Therene*, where was still to be seen in his Time a Temple kept by the Priests of the Country. There, continues that Author, they solemnize every Year the Memory of those Nuptials, by a faithful Representation of what pass'd according to the Traditions that remained concerning them: A very authentick Testimony, since nothing is a better Proof of the Truth of a Fact, than these Sorts of Festivals and Memorials. *Servius* (2) recites a Fable relative to his Nuptials. To make them more solemn, says he, *Jupiter* ordered *Mercury* to invite to them all the Gods, the whole human Race, and all Animals. Accordingly all came, except a Nymph named *Chelone*, who was so disdainful as to ridicule that Match and frame Excuses for not joining in it. *Mercury*, upon his Return to *Olympus*, finding *Chelone* alone absent, went down again to the Earth; and as that Nymph's House stood upon the Banks of a River, he threw her Headlong into it, and transform'd *Chelone* into an Animal of the same Name, which from that Time was obliged to carry its House upon its back; and, to punish her for her Raillery, he condemned her to eternal Silence. This Animal, is the Tortoise, which the *Greeks* call *Chelone*, and 'tis easy to see that the

Resemblance

(1) L. 5. (2) Upon the first Book of the *Eneid*,
Ex Membranis Faldensibus.

Resemblance of Names had given rise to the Fiction and Metamorphosis.

We must not omit to observe, by the by, that the Tortoise from that Time, became the Symbol of Silence, on Medals, both of the Gods and *Roman* Emperors. *Symposius* has a pretty Sentiment alluding to the Use that was made of the Shell of that Animal, in the Composition of musical Instruments.

Viva nihil dixi, quæ sic modo mortua canto.

Jupiter, who was a Prince very much addicted to Women, as his very Name *Zan* imports, had several Mistresses, according to the Custom of that Time, and *Juno* had frequent Scuffles with him upon that Score. This is the Original of that bad Agreement between them which is so often mentioned by the Poets.

Tho' we cannot take all that they deliver upon this Head for true History, yet as little can we forbear mentioning it, since it necessarily belongs to Mythology. We know what Part *Homer* and *Virgil* make her act during the Siege of *Troy*, of which I have said enough in the Reflections upon the Theology of the Poets (1). *Apollodorus* (2) says she sent two Dragons, to devour *Hercules* in the Cradle; that she turn'd him into Madness, in a Word, that she persecuted him all his Life-time; and, to compass this cruel Design, had assumed the Appearance of an *Amazon*; had sent a Gad-bee among *Geryon's* Oxen, which that Hero was leading away, to give him the more Trouble in carrying them off; lastly, that she had turn'd *Bacchus* into Madness. We have Occasion elsewhere to mention the Persecutions she made *Io*, *Calisto*, and her other Rivals to suffer.

Juno, says *Pausanias* (3), was displeased with *Jupiter*, for what Reason we know not, this only we can learn that she retired into *Eubæa* in some Disgust. *Jupiter*, not being able to appease her, went to *Citheron* who then reigned at *Platæa*: This *Citheron* was the wisest Man of his Time. He counselled *Ju-*
piter

(1) V. 1. B. 3.

(2) L. 1.

(3) In Beot.

piter to provide a Statue of Wood, to dress it like a Woman, put it into a Chariot with a pair of Oxen to be drawn thro' the Town, and spread a Report that this was *Platæa* the Daughter of *Asopus*, whom he was going to marry: His Counsel was followed. Forthwith the News reach'd *Juno*, who sets out directly, comes to *Platæa*, makes up to the Chariot, and in her Fury as she was going to tear in Pieces the Cloaths of the young Spouse, finds it but a Statue. Overjoy'd at the Disappointment, she easily pardon'd *Jupiter*, for putting the Cheat upon her, and was heartily reconciled to him. In Memory of this Event, that People celebrated a certain Festival, which they called the *Dædala*, because anciently all wooden Statues went by that Name. But this was not the only Time that these divine Spouses quarrell'd; *Jupiter* must have been provoked in earnest by his Consort, when, by Way of Punishment, he suspended her between Heaven and Earth by a golden Chain, and with a Blow of his Foot drove *Vulcan* from him, for offering to set her at Liberty. I am not ignorant of the physical Explications given to this Fable, nor of the Sense which M. *Dacier* puts upon it (1). But all that is said of it is unsatisfactory. The bad Humour of this Goddess towards *Jupiter* made *Porphyry* (2) allow her a Place only among the evil Genii: These malevolent Genii whom that Author paints in such lively Colours, that the Apologists for the Christian Religion could not have given a more hideous Representation of them.

The Ancients are not agreed as to *Juno's* Children. *Hesiod* (3), after having told us that she was the last of *Jupiter's* Wives, for he had actually been married before to *Metis*, *Themis*, &c. that Author, I say, gives her four Children, *Hebe*, *Venus*, *Lucina* and *Vulcan*; these same four Children, according to later Mythologists, have not all *Jupiter* for their Father. *Apollodorus* gives this Goddess only three Children,
Hebe,

(1) Transl. of the Iliad.

(2) De abf. L. 2.

(3) Theog.

Hebe, *Illithyia*, and *Arge*: Others add to these *Mars* and *Typhon*, as has been said in the first Volume, upon the Authority of the Hymn attributed to *Homer* (1). It further appears that the Mythologists have allegorized these Generations; since they tell us that this Goddess conceived *Hebe* by eating Lettices; *Mars* by touching a Flower, and *Typhon* by Means of Vapours which she made to arise from the Earth, which Vapours she received into her Womb; Mysteries of Nature whereof it would be equally useless and unpracticable to attempt an Explanation. Mythologists even assert that *Jupiter's* Rage against her was not without Foundation, since, not to mention her bad Humour, she was accused of some Intrigues with the Giant *Eurymedon*, and with some others.

We may observe, by the by, that the Statues of *Juno* did not always represent a single Goddess, but had a Relation to several: Thus they had somewhat of those *Pallas*, *Venus*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, of the *Parcæ* and other Goddesses; so that they might be reckoned of that Kind of Statues, which were called *Panthæa*. However the more common Way of representing her was under the Figure of a Woman sitting upon a Throne, holding in one Hand a Sceptre, and in the other a Spindle, and having upon her Head a radiant Crown. According to some others of the Ancients, it was *Iris* that encircled her head, for *Iris*, the Daughter of *Tbaumas*, was look'd upon as her Messenger; a Circumstance celebrated in the Poets, but to be referred to *Juno*, only in so far as she was a physical Divinity, and taken for the Air, whose Serenity is declared by *Iris*, or the Rainbow.

Cicero informs us (2) in what Manner they represented *Juno* of *Lanuvium*, different from that wherein she was represented at *Argos* and *Rome*. “Your
“ *Juno*, says *Cotta* to *Velleius*, never manifests her-
“ self to us, not so much as in a Dream, but with
“ her Goats-skin, her Javelin, her little Buckler,
“ and her Sandals, crooked at the Point before.”

Whence

(1) V. I.

(2) De nat. Deo. L. 1.

Whence that Author concludes, that the Idea they had formed of *Juno*, must have been different, as to those of *Lanuvium*, from what it was at *Argos*, and at *Rome*. *Pausanias* (1) thus describes the *Juno* of *Argos*. As you enter into the Temple, says he, you see upon a Throne the Statue of that Goddess, of an extraordinary Bigness, all of Gold and Ivory. Upon her Head she wears a Crown, over which are the Graces and the Hours. She holds in one Hand a Pomegranate, and in the other a Sceptre, at the End of which is a Cuckoo. I have already spoke of this Bird : As for the Pomegranate, it alluded, no Doubt, to some scandalous Mystery, as to which the Author says he chooses to be silent.

Around the Goddess's Throne were the three Graces. But we must observe that this Statue of *Juno* was modern ; that is to say, in the Time of *Polycletes* who had made it. This Author says, that near the Statue of *Hebe*, which accompanies that of *Juno*, there is one of that Goddess very ancient, which stands upon a Column ; but he adds, the most ancient of all is one made of the Wood of the wild Pear-tree. It is of a moderate Size, and the Goddess is there represented sitting. But, with that Author's leave, there were more ancient ones ; and *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (2), from the Authority of the ancient Poets, says that Goddess was represented at *Argos* by a simple Column, and indeed the first Statues of the Gods were nothing but Misshapen Stones, Pyramids or Columns, as has been said in the first Volume (3).

As some peculiar Attribute was given to every God, *Juno* had for her share Kingdoms, Empires and Riches ; accordingly this is what she offered to *Paris*, if he would adjudge to her the Prize of Beauty. She was also believed to have a particular Care of the Dress and Ornaments of Females ; and for this Reason you see her represented in her Statues with her Hair elegantly adjusted. Hence it came to be a proverbial

(1) In Cor. 42.

(2) Strom. L. i.

(3) B. 3.

bial Phrase, that the Attire-Women presented the Mirror to *Juno*.

To come now to the Names that were given to this Goddess; besides those we have already mentioned she was called *Sospita*, because she watched over the healthful State of the Air, whose Intemperature is the Cause of Diseases. This Goddess had three Temples under this Name; one at *Lanuvium*, and the other two at *Rome*; and *Cicero* informs us (1) that the Consuls, before they enter'd upon their Office, were obliged to offer a Sacrifice to her.

Another of her Names was the *Queen*, under which Name she had a Statue at *Veii*, that was transported to the *Aventine* Mount, under the Dictatorship of *Camillus*, where it was consecrated by the Ladies of the City (a). So much was it revered, that none but her Priest could touch it. When she presided over Women in Child-bed, and was confounded with *Diana*, she got the Name of *Lucina*, and was represented as a Matron holding a Cup in her right Hand, and a Spear in her left, with this Inscription, *Junoni Lucinae*. Sometimes she was represented sitting upon a Chair, holding in her left Hand a Child in swadling Cloaths, and in the Right a Flower pretty much resembling a Lilly; or else a Whip and a Scepter, the Whip signifying a happy Delivery. Accordingly, when they who celebrated the *Lupercalia* run thro' the City with a Whip in their Hand, the big-belly'd Women threw themselves in their Way to be beat by them, believing this would procure them a happy Delivery, as we have said in the Description of that Festival. Others derive the Name of *Lucina*, from the sacred Grove, where she had a Temple, as we learn from *Ovid*:

*Gratia Lucinae dedit hæc tibi nomina lucus,
Vel quia principium, tu Dea, lucis habes.*

VOL. II. R Accordingly

(1) *Pro Murena*.

(a) See what we have said of the Transportation of this Statue, and of the Fable delivered about it by *Titus Livius* and *Plutarch*, in the 3d Book, Vol. I.

Accordingly we have remark'd in the first Volume (1), that these sacred Groves were called *Luci a Lucendo*, as *Servius* has it. It was upon occasion of this Name, as we are told by *Lucius Piso* (2), that *Servius Tullius*, in order to know the Number of those who were born in the City, who died there, or who took on the manly Gown, made a Law that for each a Piece of Money should be carried into the Temple of *Illitbya*, who, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, was the same with *Lucina*. For the same Reason she was called *Egeria* and *Natalis*, because she presided over the Day of the Nativity, as we learn from *Tibullus*:

Natalis Jūno! sanctos cape thuris acervos.

When she was taken for the Goddess who presides over Marriage, she had the Name of *Juga* and *Pronuba*, as it is in *Virgil* (3); and under this Name she had an Altar in the Street called *Jugaria*. The Epithet of *Pronuba* had the same Original, and all who enter'd into Wedlock offered to her a Victim, from which they took away the Gall and threw it behind the Altar.

Accordingly she was the Goddess whom they invoked in Marriages, whence again she got the Surname of *Domiduca*, because she had the Care of conducting the Spouses Home, of *Unxia*, *Cinxia*, and among the *Greeks* of *Gamelia*, and *Zygia*.

She was denominated *Calendaris*, because the Calends of each Month were consecrated to her, and at that Time Sacrifices were offered up to her. *Novella* or *Februata*, because the *Pontiffs* paid her a peculiar Worship on the first Day of *February*. *Quirita*, under which Name *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* informs us (4) that a publick Banquet was prepared for her in each *Curia*. *Pliny* says, that she had a Temple adorned with fine Paintings under the Name of *Juno Ardia*, and an Altar under that of *Lucinia*, where the Ashes that remained from the Sacrifice

(1) B. 3. . . . (2) *Annal.* 1. . . . (3) *Æn.* L. 4.

(4) L. 2.

Sacrifice continued immoveable, whatever Wind blew.

Women in Childbed invoked her under the Names of *Opigenia*, and of *Populonia*, which last was given her on Account of the publick Prayers that were put up to her by the People. That of *Matuta*, under which she had a Temple at *Rome*, is well enough known from the Antiquaries : That of *Juno Conservatrix*, is represented by a Stag, in a Medal of *Saloninus* ; because that of five Hinds with golden Horns, and larger than Bulls, which *Diana* one Day pursued in the Plains of *Thessaly*, she took only four, and the fifth which was saved by *Juno*, became the Symbol of that Goddess under the Name of *Conservatrix*.

Juno, stiled *Moneta*, had a Temple at *Rome*, and she is represented upon Medals with the Instruments of Coinage, the Hammer, the Anvil, the Pincers, and the Die, with the *Latin Word Moneta*. Others however will have it, that this Name comes from the Verb *Moneo*, *I warn, advise*, because, a little before the *Galls* besieged *Rome*, she had warned the People to buy a Sow big with young ; which Etymology is supported by *Cicero's* Authority : *Junonem illam appellatam Monetam, a moneo videlicet Verbo, denominatam. Bunea*, from one *Buneus*, the Son of *Mercury*, who raised a Temple to her at *Corinth*, as it is in *Pausanias* (1).

The Original of the Name *Tropæa*, given her by *Lycophron*, is owing to her presiding over Triumphs. The *Sabines* worship'd her under that of *Curis*, and represented her with a Spear in her Hand. We have, in *Boissard*, a fine Monument dedicated by *Claudia Sabbatis* to *Juno* the Gracious or the Benign, *Junoni Placidæ* ; where this Goddess appears sitting between *Vesta* who holds a lighted Torch in her Hand, and *Mercury* who bears a Branch of Laurel.

To this Goddess were given other Names and Surnames, some of them taken from the Places where

(1) In *Corinth*.

she was worship'd, and others from some Attributes that were peculiar to her. In the first Class we reckon that of *Samia*, because the City *Samos* was distinguish'd for the Worship it paid her, as may be seen in *Virgil* (1); of *Imbrasia*, from the River *Imbrasus*, which is in the same Island; of *Lacinia*, from a Promontory in *Italy*, where she had a Temple; whether this was the Name of the King who built it, or of a Robber whom *Hercules* slew, as *Servius* remarks. *Strabo* and *Titus Livius* (2) give the Description of this Temple, venerable for its Sanctity, and celebrated for the rich Presents wherewith it was adorn'd: *Inclytumque Templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate sua*, says the last of these Authors.

She had likewise the Names of *Candarena*, from a Town in *Papblagonia*; of *Citheronia* from Mount *Citheron*; of *Rescintbis*, from a Mountain in *Thrace* of that Name; of *Ammonian*, from an Altar that was erected to her Honour in the Sands of *Libya*, in like Manner as to *Jupiter Ammon*: Of *Acrian*, because she was worship'd in *Acropolis*, or in the Fortrefs of *Corinth*; of *Albana*, because she was worship'd at *Alba*; of *Cypra*, a Name which she had upon the Coasts of *Italy*; *Dirphya*, from the Mountain *Dirphy*; of *Gabia*, from *Gabium* a Town in *Italy*; of *Lacedæmonia*, from *Lacedæmon*; *Olympica* from *Olympia*; *Pelasgia*, from the *Pelasgi*; *Pharygea*, from *Pharygis*; *Prosymma*, from an *Argolick* City; *Telchinia*, from *Telchinos*; *Tethla*, from a Town in *Platea*.

Those of the second Sort are, *Ægophage*, because they used to sacrifice to her Goats; *Aerian*, because she was taken for the Air; *Boopis*, a Name given her upon Account of her large Eyes. *Caprotina*, which had the same Original with *Sespita*, upon Account of the Skin and Horns of the Goat which she wore on her Head; *Equestris*, in *Elis*; *Heno-*
nochia,

(1) *Æn.* L. 1.

(2) L. 5.

nochia, as you would say *who holds the Reins*; *Opi-gena*, because she was the Daughter of *Ops* or *Rhea*; *Parthenos*, or *Virgin*: They had a Notion that this Goddess by bathing herself every Year in the Fountain called *Canathos*, which was at *Nauplia*, recovered her Virginity; a Fable founded, according to *Pausanias* (1), upon the secret Mysteries that were celebrated in Honour of this Goddess. The Epithet of *Teleia*, referred to the Time when she became marriageable: She was likewise denominated *Chera*, the *Widow*, upon Account of her Differences with *Jupiter*. In fine, *Pausanias* calls her *Prodromia*, as much as to say, *Juno* over the Vestible.

Of all the Divinities of the *Pagan* World, there was none whose Worship was more solemn, and more universal than that of *Juno*. The History of the Prodigies she had wrought, and of the Vengeance she had taken upon Persons who had slighted her, or who had in any Sort compared themselves to her, had so struck People and inspired them with so much Awe and Dread, that no Means were omitted to appease and mitigate her, when she was thought to be offended; so that Authorities are not wanting to prove that her Worship was still more solemn and more extensive than that of *Jupiter* himself. It was not confined to *Europe* alone, but found its Way into *Asia*, especially into *Syria*; and into *Egypt* and other Parts of *Africk*. Which, however, must be understood with Regard to an Affinity of Religion that was between the People of *Asia* and of *Europe*, which we have taken Notice of more than once: So that when I say the *Syrians* worship'd *Juno*, whom they named the *Syrian Juno*, the *Egyptians* her who was called the *Egyptian Juno*, and the *Libyans*, the *Ammonian*: I mean that their Worship was addressed to *Astarté*, and to *Isis*, under the same Ceremonies which the *Greeks* used towards their *Juno*.

There were every where thro' *Greece* and *Italy*, Temples, Chapels, or Altars dedicated to this Goddess,

R 3

(1) In *Corinth.* c. 38.

deſs, and in Places of Diſtinction there were ſeveral of them. Moſt of thoſe Names whereof we have given the Liſt, declared the Places where theſe Temples and Chapels ſtood, or carry'd ſome Alluſion to the Occaſions of their being built; and there is no doubt but upon each of thoſe Occaſions ſome new Ceremony was added, tho' Hiſtory ſeldom mentions it.

Among the more celebrated Towns, there were three that paid a more particular Worſhip to this Goddeſs than others, namely, *Argos*, *Samos* and *Carthage*, *Quam fertur Juno, terris magis omnibus unam, Poſthabita coluiſſe Samo* (1).

The Priſteſſes of *Juno* of *Argos* were highly reſpected in *Greece*; and their Priſthood ſerved to diſtinguiſh the principal Eras of the *Grecian* Hiſtory.

Among the Honours paid to this Goddeſs, we muſt not forget what *Pauſanias* ſays (2), that the Priſteſſes of *Argos* took care to adorn her Altar and Statue, and to make Garlands for her of the Herb *Aſterion*, ſo called becauſe it grew in the River of that Name, which was in the Neighbourhood of the Temple. Theſe ſame Priſteſſes drew the Water which they made uſe of in the Sacrifices and ſecret Myſteries, from the Fountain *Eleutheria* which was but a little Way from the Temple.

From among the Birds, the Hawk, the Goffin and above all the Peacock, were ſacred to her. The laſt frequently accompanies her Statues, and it was from her ſuperior Love to it, that ſhe placed in its Tail the Eyes of *Argus* after *Mercury* had put him to death. If we credit *Elia*n (3), the *Egyptians* conſecrated to her the Vultur. Dittany and the Poppy, were the Plants which the *Greeks* offered to her, when they took her for *Juno Lucina*: Laſtly, among the Animals none was more peculiarly conſecrated to her than the Ew-lamb, which was the moſt

(1) Virgil. *Æn.* L. 1.

(2) In *Corinth.*

(3) *De Animal.*

most common Victim offered to her in Sacrifice: However it was also usual to offer up to her a Sow on the first Day of each Month. These Sacrifices were commonly offered by the Wife of this Goddess's high Priest. *Pausanias* observes that the *Elians*, when they sacrificed to the Goddess whom they called the *Mistress*, that is to say, to *Juno*, used no Wine in her Libations, and he adds they sacrificed in like Manner to *Juno Ammonia*. The Priestess now mentioned was called the *Queen*, as her Husband was denominated the *King* (a).

We may easily judge what high Veneration must have been paid to *Juno*, especially by the Women, since, as has been elsewhere observed, their Guardian Deities were called from her *Junones*, as those of the Men were denominated *Genii*. *Statius* (1) gives *Juno* of *Argos* the Thunder.

Disjice; & in Thebas aliud, potes, excute fulmen.

But none of the Ancients were of his Opinion, since *Servius* assures us (2) upon the Authority of the *Tuscan* Books, where the whole Ceremonial of the Gods was regulated, that none but *Jupiter*, *Vulcan* and *Minerva* had that Power.

Apuleius (3) sums up the Honours that were paid to *Juno* in one comprehensive Idea by telling us, she was worship'd as the Queen of the Goddesses. But nothing proves so much the profound Veneration they had for her, as the Story which *Solon* told *Cresus*, which is related by *Herodotus* (4) and *Plutarch* (5). “ *Cresus*, in the Height of his Prosperity, “ asked *Solon* if he knew any Man happier than “ he was. *Solon* answered, he had known one of his “ Fellow-citizens named *Tellus*, who, thro' the whole “ Course of his Life having enjoyed a full Supply “ of his Wants, left Children behind him all of “ them virtuous, and finished his Days in Honour

R 4

after

(a) See what has been said upon this Subject, Vol. II. Book IV. in the Article of the Priests.

(1) Theb. l. 4. v. 69.

(2) Upon the first of the *Eneid*.

(3) Miles. 6.

(4) In *Clio*.

(5) In *Solon*.

“ after he had signalized his Valour in fighting for
 “ his Country, and put its Enemies to flight.” After
 this *Tellus*, replied *Cresus*, do you know any one
 happier than I? I knew two more reply’d *Solon*, *Cleobis*
and Biton, two Brothers remarkable for their filial
 Duty to their aged Mother. When she was to have
 gone to pay her Devotion in *Juno’s* Temple, the
 Oxen that were to have drawn her Chariot could not
 be got ready in due Time; upon which the pious
 Youths, submitting their Necks to the Yoke, took up
 the Chariot, drew their Mother in it for the Space of
 full forty Furlongs, and set her down at the Temple-
 gate. While all the Spectators congratulated the
 happy Mother of such pious Children, she sent up
 a secret Prayer to the Goddess that she would bestow
 upon them what was the greatest Blessing to Men.
 After this Prayer they sacrificed, took the usual Re-
 past, and fell asleep in the same Temple, but never
 more awoke; the Goddess in Sleep having set their
 Souls at Liberty by Death, as the greatest Good that
 comes to Mortals. The People of *Argos*, where this
 Event happened, erected Statues to their Memory,
 which were sent to *Delphos*. *Pausanias* tells us that
 at *Argos* was to be seen this very Story represented in
 Marble, where *Cleobis* and *Biton* yoked in the Chariot,
 were drawing their Mother to *Juno’s* Temple (*a*).

There is great Probability that this is the Story repre-
 sented on two Marbles publish’d by *Beger*: However,
 here the Sons are not yoked in either of the two Cha-
 riots, but the two Oxen. The Mother is standing upon
 one of the Chariots, and the two Sons by the two
 Animals, conducting them, and looking attentively
 if they move fast enough to arrive in Time; for there
 are some of the Ancients who assure us that the
 Oxen were yoked to the Chariot, but not going fast
 enough, the two Brothers put themselves in their
 Place. In the other Monument the two Brothers are
 lying dead before *Juno’s* Temple, the Mother holding
 a Torch in either Hand seems to be praying for her
 Sons

(*a*) This Story is told by *Cicero*: *Tusc.* 1. 47. And *Virgil*, it
 is thought, alludes to it: *Geo.* 3. 531.

Sons the Happiness of the other Life, as *Euripides* tells us *Medea* did for hers. In a third Monument, *Aurora* appears in a Chariot with two Horses, whose Bridle is held by *Biton* and *Cleobis*, and their Figure is thus represented: They are both kneeling like young Children before their Mother, who embraces them, or, as others conjecture, before *Juno* herself, who is conferring Happiness upon them; but these are Singularities, as to which we forbear to offer our Conjectures.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* having always reckoned *Juno* the Goddess of Marriage, whence she got the Name of *Pronuba*, 'tis proper to subjoin to her Article what relates to the other Gods whom these two Nations believed to preside over that State.

Hymen, or Hymenæus, Thalassius, and other Gods of Marriage.

As the *Greeks* had their God *Hymenæus*, so the *Romans* had their *Thalassius* and some other Gods whom they invoked in Marriages. The former also gave the Name of *Hymen* to the Union of the two Spouses, and that of *Hymenaia* to the Festival that was celebrated in Honour of the God who presided over Marriages (1); and 'tis in this Sense we are to understand that Expression in *Ovid*, *Hymenæa canunt*. Mythologists, in tracing the Original of the Word *Hymenæus*, have offered several Conjectures not worth while to repeat: The most probable is that which derives the Word from the Cohabitation of the married Parties; but if the Story related by *Lactantius* the Grammarian, and by *Lutatius* (2) be true, all these Etymologies turn to nothing. There was at *Athens*, says he, a young Man of surpassing Beauty, but extremely poor, and of obscure Birth, whose Name was *Hymenæus*. At that Time of Life when it is easy for a young Man to counterfeit the other Sex, he fell in Love with a young *Athenian* Lady; but she being of a Family far above his, he durst not disclose to her his secret Passion, but contented himself with
following

(1) *Suidas*.

(2) In *Theb.* 8.

following her wherever she went. One Day as the Ladies of *Athens* were going to celebrate the Feast of *Ceres* upon the Sea-Shore, and his Mistress was to join them, he disguised himself like a Woman; and, tho' unknown, his handsome Appearance gain'd him easy Admission into that devout Assembly. In the mean Time some Pirates leaving their Ship came Ashore, and carry'd off the whole Procession; and having travelled with them a great Way, were so fatigued that they lay down to rest themselves upon the Sea-Shore where they fell asleep. *Hymeneus* now resuming Courage, exhorts all his Companions to kill their Ravishers; which accordingly they did with him: Then after promise of a speedy Return, he went to *Athens*, where having assembled the People, he declared who he was, and what had happened, adding that if they would allow him to marry the one of the ravish'd Ladies whom he loved, he would deliver up to them all the Rest. His Proposal being accepted, he married his beloved Mistress; and upon Account of so happy a Marriage the *Athenians* for ever after invoked him at their Marriages, and celebrated Festivals to his Honour (*a*).

The Poets finding this God made to their Hand, took care to give his Genealogy; but their Notion as to this being without Foundation, they don't agree together. For while *Catullus* says he was the Son of *Urania*, *Asclepiades* gives him *Calliope* for his Mother and *Apollo* for his Father: Others say he was brought forth by *Clio*. If we may believe *Seneca* (1), he had *Bacchus* to his Father; and as this Poet Names not his Mother, some will have her to be *Venus* (*b*).

Tho' the *Romans* had adopted this Divinity of the *Greeks*, and invoked him as well as they, in their Marriages, yet they would needs have also a God for Marriage

(*a*) *Servius* upon the first of the *Eneid*, and *Donatus* upon the *Adelphi* of *Terence*, relate the same Story with some Variation.

(1) In *Medea*.

(*b*) See the Descriptions that are given of him by *Catullus*, *Seneca* and *Claudius*.

Marriage of their own making, and having found in their History an Event in some Manner correspondent to that which we have now related, they sought no more. At the Time when the *Romans* committed a Rape upon the *Sabine Women* (1), a Troop of Soldiers were carrying off a Virgin of Make and Beauty far surpassing the Rest. Some Officers attempting to force her from them, they fell a crying that she was destined to *Thalassius*, who was a young *Roman* of distinguish'd Merit; upon which they gave them back their Prize, and even joined in Company with them, repeating aloud the Name of *Thalassius*, who thus received her to Wife and proved the happiest of Husbands: From that Time they sung *Thalassius* at Nuptials, as the *Greeks* did *Hymenæus*.

Titus Livius and *Servius* tell this Story much the same Way: *Plutarch*, from whom I have taken this Recital, adds, however, that *Sestius Sylla* of *Carthage*, a Man equally favoured by the *Muses* and *Graces*, had formerly said that *Thalassius* was the Word which *Romulus* gave his Soldiers in the Rape of the *Sabines*; that all those who seized any of them cried out *Thalassius*, and that hence the Custom was kept up in the Celebration of Marriages. We have yet another Account very different from this: For *Juba*, followed herein by several other Historians, said the Word *Thalassius*, was nothing but an Exhortation given to the married Women to be Lovers of Work, which consists in spinning Wooll, called by the *Greeks* *Thalassia*: Upon which *Plutarch* observes, that if it was really so that the *Romans* at that Time used the Word *Thalassia* in the same Sense with the *Greeks*, a very probable Account might be given of this Custom: For the *Sabines* actually insisted upon this, as an Article of the Peace between them and the *Romans*, that their Daughters should not be obliged to do any Thing else in their Husbands Houses but spin Wooll: 'Tis therefore very probable, concludes that Author, that in all the Marriages since made, the

(1) *Plut. in Rom.*

the Wife would be sure to cry *Thalassius*, to remind her Husband of the only Service she was bound to perform.

Jugatinus was another God who presided over Wedlock, as his Name, purely *Latin*, sufficiently implies. When the young Spouses had plighted their Faith in Presence of their Relations, they again invoked another God, whom they called *Domiducus*, whose Function was to conduct them to the House where they were to dwell; and then in the Evening they put up a Prayer to the Goddess *Prema* who presided over the Consummation of Marriage; as *Virginienfis*, another Divinity invoked on this Occasion, loosed the Bride's Girdle, which Function the *Greeks* gave to their *Lyfizona*. I say nothing of *Perfica*, *Pertunda*, and *Subigus*, mentioned by *Arnobius*, lest I should be led to transgress the Bounds of Modesty.

Plutarch still reckons up other Gods of Marriage, among the *Romans*. They invoked, says he (1), *Jupiter Teleius*, or the Adult, *Juno Teleia*, *Venus*, *Pitbo* or *Persuasion*, and *Diana*. As these Gods were five in number, so it was not permitted in the Nuptial Ceremony, to light either a greater or smaller Number of Torches. Saint *Augustin* (2) makes mention of these five Gods of Marriage, and thence takes Occasion to address the *Pagans* in this Manner. "Where was the Use of recommending the Spouses to the Gods of Marriage, that they might be well married?" But, with that pious Doctor's good leave, the *Romans* acted consistently enough; for since they acknowledged Gods who presided over Marriage, they were bound to invoke them; however wrong they were in the Principle, they were right in the Consequence.

It might indeed be proved against them that their Gods were vain Phantoms; but while they accounted them the Objects of Adoration, it was incumbent upon them to pay them a religious Worship.

CHAP.

(1) In *Caus. Rem.*

(2) De *Civ. Dei* L. 3.

C H A P. III.

The History of Saturn.

TH O' we have already spoke of *Saturn*, yet as it was only in Relation to *Jupiter*, we shall now finish his History without repeating what has been said. Since he was of the illustrious Family of the *Titans*, which furnish'd *Greece* with so many of their Gods; it will be proper to observe, in the Entry, 1st, That there were two Sorts of them known to the Orientals, and three Sorts acknowledged by the *Greeks*. The *Titans* known to the Former were first those primitive Architects mentioned by *Sanhoniathon*, in the eighth Generation before the Deluge. That ancient Author speaking of the Personages who signalized themselves in it, says: "One was called *Agros*, the other *Agrotes*; who are thus distinguish'd: First as to Religion, the Image of the Latter is venerated in *Phenicia*: He has a very magnificent Temple at *Byblos*, and is there called the greatest of Gods: And then as to Arts, these two Brothers adorn Houses, from their Porticoes &c. And the Men of that City are denominated *Agrotai*, or *Errants of the Field*, and the others *κυνηγοί*, *Hunters with Dogs*. They were likewise called *Aletai* and *Titanes*." Here are, no doubt, the first *Titans*. The second were the Sons of *Tith* or *Titæa*, who made War upon the Gods, and who consequently lived in the Time of *Chronos* or *Saturn*, and of *Zeus* or *Jupiter*.

The *Greeks* admitted three Sorts of them; the *Titans*, Sons of the Earth, that is to say, the first Men; the *Titans* who made War upon the Gods, and the *Titan* Architects, to whom they ascribed the building of several Cities, as *Tyrinthus*, *Troy*, &c. These three Kinds of *Titans* are in Reality but two, since those were the Sons of the Earth who made War upon the Gods; and the two other Kinds that remain

remain are plainly the same with those mention'd by *Sanboniatbon*, the Tradition which he had followed having been carried into *Greece* by the *Phenicians*, and copied by *Hesiod*, *Homer*, and the other *Greek* Poets.

These *Titans* having built Cities and Fortresses, no wonder that they extended their Conquests and subdued several Nations, which for want of a Retreat and Sanctuary against Force, were easy to be reduced; hence undoubtedly is the vast Empire whereof the *Greeks* make mention.

We are to observe in the second Place, that *Diodorus Siculus*, in the third Book of his History where he treats of the *Titans*, having delivered the Tradition of the Nations in the western Parts of *Africa*, as has been said when we were upon the Theogony of the *Atlantides* (1), comes in the fifth Book to that of the *Cretans*, which is undoubtedly the best vouched; For if the *Titans* were known in *Africa*, it was not till after the Conquest of it, since they really came from *Asia*, whence they spread themselves thro' several Countries, and particularly thro' *Crete*.

According to the *Atlantides*, *Titea* had by her Husband *Uranus* eighteen Sons, who from the Name of their Mother were called *Titans*: According to the Tradition of the *Cretans*, this Family consisted only of six Sons and five Daughters; and, to shew that the same Persons are meant in both Traditions, the *Cretans* give these Children the same Father and Mother, namely, *Celus* and *Terra*; that is *Uranus*, and *Titea*. The Six Sons were *Saturn*, *Hyperion*, *Cæus*, *Japetus*, *Crius*, and *Oceanus*; and the five Daughters *Rhea*, *Themis* *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, and *Tethys*. All of them bless'd Mankind with some useful Discovery, which wrought upon their Gratitude and won from them an eternal Recompense, as shall be said in the Sequel.

To come now to *Saturn*, *Diodorus Siculus* (2) tells us: " This Prince when he came to the Crown, propagated

(1) V. 1. B. 2.

(2) L. 3.

propagated his Fame and Renown to different Places of the Earth, by polishing and improving his Subjects who led a savage Life before. He establish'd Justice and Equity every where, and the Men who lived under his Empire, were reckoned humane and of a Beneficent Disposition, and by Consequence extremely happy. He reigned chiefly in the western Countries, where his Memory is still in Veneration. Accordingly, the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians* while their City stood, and all the People of those Provinces instituted Festivals and Sacrifices, in Honour of him, and several Places were consecrated to him by their very Names. The Wisdom of his Government had in some Sort banish'd Vice, and gave Men a Taste of an Empire of Innocence, Peace and Felicity. The Poet *Hesiod* gives a happy Description of it to this Effect.

These were the Subjects of old *Saturn's* Reign :
 Like Gods they liv'd, with Bosoms void of care,
 To Toil and Pain estrang'd. Cold Age ne'er shook
 Their vigorous Limbs ; but in eternal Feast
 They pass'd the joyous Time : Then, full of Days,
 As if o'ercome by gentle Sleep, they dy'd.
 In Life each Good was theirs ; the fruitful Earth,
 Spontaneous, pour'd perpetual Harvest round ;
 Which, in glad Ease, they quietly enjoy'd.
 And when, descending to the Grave, in Dust
 They shrouded lay, their Souls, by *Jove's* high Will,
 Were Guardian Genii made ; in airy Forms,
 To wander Earth, and bless the Kindred Just ;
 Unseen, observing every Deed of Man,
 Of Wealth and bless th' Awarders here below. *

ALL

* 'Οι μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ ἦσαν, ὅτ' ἔσαν ἑμβασίλευεν.
 Ὡς τε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 Νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ οἰζύος· ἐδ' ἐτι δειλὸν
 Γῆρας ἐπ' ἦν· αἰεὶ δ' ἐπόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὅμοιοι
 Τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι, κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων·
 Θνήσκον δ' ὡς ὕπνω δαδμημένοι· ἐσθλα δ' ἐπάντα
 Τοῖσιν ἔην· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρεα
 Ἀυτομάτη, πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐθέλημοι
 Ἥσυχοι ἔργα νέμοντο, σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν.

Ἄντδ

All the *Latin* Authors are unanimously agreed that *Saturn* reigned in *Italy* after *Janus*, who had receiv'd him into his Dominions, upon his being dethroned by *Jupiter*, as shall be said in the following Chapter. He governed this new State with so much Justice and Equity, that he made himself to be adored by his Subjects, and hence that Period wherein he reigned came to be accounted the Golden Age. The Truth is, that Prince putting all his Subjects upon a level left no Room for one to be in Servitude to another ; no body possessed any personal Property ; all things were common, as if the World had been but one Patrimony. 'Tis on this Article that *Ovid's* Talent of versifying peculiarly shines.

To keep up the Memory of that happy Period of Time, during the Festival of the *Saturnalia* that were celebrated in Honour of him in the Month of *December*, the Servants, as has been said under the Article of the *Greek* Festivals, sat at Table with their Masters, or according to other Authors, they were served by the Masters themselves. The Mountain, afterwards called the *Capitoline* Mount, in old Times went under the Name of the *Saturnine* Mount ; and if we believe *Dionysius Halicarnassius* and *Justin*, all *Italy* was named *Saturnia* ; a Proof of Antiquity that may better be relied upon than even the Testimonies of Authors, who not being contemporary to the Facts, have not so much Authority as those Names that were given in the very Time.

Cicero, in his Books on the Nature of the Gods, where he brings in two Philosophers speaking on this Subject, seems to have considered *Saturn's* History only in a physical Light, when one of his Speakers says he was that God who governed the Course of the Times and Seasons; agreeable

to

Ἀλλὰς ἐπεὶ κεν τὐτο γένος κάλα γαῖα κάλυψεν,
Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλῃς δ' αἰ βελᾶς,
Ἑσθλῆι, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
οἱ ῥα φυλάσσειν τε δίκας, καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
ἥερα ἑσάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,
Πλεῖστοτάι. Καὶ τὐτο γέρας Βασιλῆϊον ἔσχον.

Hesiod. Oper. & Dies. L 1. v. 101.

to what his Name signifies in *Greek*: For *Cronos* which is the *Greek* Name of *Saturn*, if you give it the Aspiration, is the same with *Chronos*, *Time*. Thus, according to *Cicero*, when it was said *Saturn* devoured his Children, it was a plain Allegory taken from *Time* which devours and consumes all things: *Tempus edax rerum*, as *Horace* has it. In like manner the Name of *Saturn*, which the *Latins* gave him, signify'd according to that Author, one *who is full of Years*: *Quod Saturatur Annis*. Other Philosophers considered only the Planet that bears the Name of *Saturn*, which is the greatest and highest of all. And from that Planet the same Philosophers drew also several Allegories; thus, according to them, what the Poets say of the Prison of *Saturn*, where he is chained up by *Jupiter*, signifies merely that the malignant Influences emitted from the Planet *Saturn* were corrected by the milder Influences that proceed from *Jupiter*. In like manner they believed that *Saturn*, as a Planet, being Cold and Dry, over-ruled Persons of a melancholy and splenatick Disposition. As to the Seasons of the Year, the same Planet presided over *Autumn*; and in the Week over the seventh Day. The *Platonicks*, according to *Lucian* (1), fancy'd that *Saturn*, as being nearest Heaven, that is to say, the most distant from us, presided over Contemplation. But let us wave these vain Subtilities, to come to something more solid.

Gerard Vossius (2) justly distinguishes several *Saturns*: 'Tis even thought, as we find in the Book of equivocal Names, which some learned Men ascribe to *Xenophon*, that in the earliest Times most Kings took this Name; but not to vouch for a Fact which is nowhere to be found but in that Work, whose Author is uncertain, the most ancient *Saturn*, according to *Vossius*, is *Adam* himself: the second is *Noah*; the third is he whom *Sanchoniathon* speaks of, under the Name of *Il*, which *Eusebius* takes to be only a con-

VOL. II.

S

traction

(1) De Astrol.

(2) De Idolis. l. 1.

traction of the Name *Israel* or *Jacob*. The fourth is the *Moloch*, whom we have discoursed of at full Length in the History of the Gods of *Syria*; and he again appears to be *Abraham*, from the Affinity we have observed to be between the one and the other. The fifth is the *Titan* Prince who reign'd in *Italy*, whom some have even confounded with *Janus* whose History we are coming to, giving the one two Faces as well as the other.

Virgil (1) has told the Story of this latter *Saturn* in such fine Verses, that I can't choose but quote them here.

*Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis.
Is genus indocile, & dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
Maluit, bis quoniam tutus latuisset in oris:
Aureaque, ut perhibent, illo sub rege fuere
Sæcula, sic placida Populos in pace regebat.*

To say something now of the Worship of *Saturn*, we are to observe in the first Place, that this Worship was neither so solemn nor so extensive as that of his Son *Jupiter*; and it would seem that his cruel Manner of using his Sons, made him lose that Superiority which undoubtedly he would otherwise have had over the rest of the Gods; whereas *Rhea* his Wife, for the zealous concern she had to save her Children from the Cruelty of her Husband, preserved hers, and was worship'd all over the *Pagan* World as the Great Mother of the Gods.

However several Places are distinguished for the Worship paid to *Saturn*; but it was chiefly among the *Carthaginians* that he was particularly honoured. Our ancient *Gauls* and the neighbouring Nations were also distinguish'd Votaries of *Saturn*. No body doubts but human Sacrifices were offered to him, as well as to *Moloch*, especially in the *Gauls* and at *Carthage*; and this barbarous custom continued in that City till the *Romans* made themselves Masters of

(1) *Æn.* 8. 319.

of it. It was also practised in *Italy* tho' it did not subsist there long. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1), who was better versed in the Antiquities of *Italy* than any other Author, tells us that *Hercules*, upon his Return from *Spain* into *Italy*, abolish'd it entirely; and having erected an Altar to that God upon the Saturnin Mount, offered to him those Sorts of Victims which the *Greeks* call *Τύματα ἀχνα*, which, according to the Scholiast on *Thucydides* (2), were of Paste figured like Animals; or, if we may believe *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, in the Similitude of Men (3).

The same Author makes mention of the Places and Cities where *Saturn* was worship'd. *Tatius, A. Sempronius, M. Minutius*, and *Atracinus*, dedicated Temples to him, and appointed Festivals and Sacrifices to his Honour, as we learn from the same *Dionysius Halicarnassus* (4). *Macrobius* informs us that *Tullus Hostilius* likewise consecrated a Temple to him, and that under that Prince were the *Saturnalia* founded. This God had likewise a Temple upon the Brow of the Capitol, which *Valerius Poplicola* made the publick Treasury, because in *Saturn's* Time, that is in the golden Age, no Thefts were committed. Lastly, *Suetonius* makes mention of a Temple which *Munatius Plancus* had built in Honour of him.

The Ancients observe that the Custom was to sacrifice to this God, with the Head uncovered, while it was veiled during the other Sacrifices made to the celestial Gods. The Statues of *Saturn* commonly wore Chains, to represent those with which he had been bound by his Son, which were taken off on his festival Day, to teach us that Liberty and Happiness had flourish'd in his Reign, as we learn from *Lucian*.

I have enlarged a little upon the Worship that was paid to this God, to shew how little Solidity there is in the Sentiment of a learned Author above named,

S 2

who

(1) L. 1.

(2) In L. 1.

(3) *Εἰδωλα, ἀνδρείκελα*.

(4) L. 1.

who will have the dethroning of *Saturn* by his Son to mean the entire abolishing of his Worship.

As to what remains, few Monuments of *Saturn* are to be found in the Antiquaries. *Boissart*, however, gives us an Image of him, which represents an old Man, leaning upon a Trunk of a Tree, round which a Serpent wreaths itself. He is also to be seen upon the consular Medals, where appears the Head of an old Man, with a Scythe behind. He was generally drawn old and stooping, with a Scythe in his Hand, to denote that he presided over *Agriculture*, which he had taught the *Latins*.

If he was sometimes represented with his Feet chain'd, it was to signify, says *Apollodorus*, that the Seeds of the Earth, over which he presided, are bound, and, as it were, inanimate till the Time of his Festival, when they begin to grow and sprout forth; but I have already said oftner than once, how little Regard is to be had to those Allegories, which the Philosophers had invented only that they might not be thought to follow with the Vulgar, a Religion of such palpable Absurdity, and to worship like them meer Men, most of whom had led a very irregular Life. But vain was this Resource. Nothing has more the Air of a true History than all that we have now been reciting of the *Titan* Princes. It sets before us consistent Genealogies, Atchievements that made a great Noise in the World, the taking and founding of Cities, Battles, Victories, &c. And if there are intermix'd with it some Circumstances that lean towards the marvellous, where are not like Instances to be met with? And is it not easy with the least Attention, either to explain them, or else to reject them as overstrained Flatteries or Ornaments wherewith it was thought proper to embellish the Recital of this History.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Janus.

THE History of *Janus* has too close a Connection with that of *Saturn*, not to be inserted here. All the *Roman* Historians agree that this Prince reigned in *Italy* in the Time that *Saturn* was there, and that this God succeeded him; *Picus* the Son of *Janus*, being then too young to wear the Crown.

All the Ancients are also unanimously of Opinion that *Janus* was not a Native of *Italy*, but that he came thither from the Country of the *Perrhebi*, a People in *Thessaly*, who, according to the Ancients, dwelt along the River *Pineus*. The Author of the Original of the *Romans*, says he had arrived there before *Saturn*, whom he received into his Dominions; and that this is the Reason why he was first named in the Sacrifices, and was honoured with the Appellation of *Father*. The learned *Don Pezron*, whom I have already cited in the History of the *Titans*, is the only one, as I know, who has advanced that *Janus* did not reign in *Italy*, and that he was only one of *Saturn's* Lieutenant Generals; but the general Voice of Antiquity agrees that he was King of the *Latin* Territory, that he had come thither before *Saturn*, who did not reign till after his Death.

Theodorus Rickius, in the ingenious Dissertation he has made upon the ancient Inhabitants of *Italy*, has not omitted the Arrival of *Janus* in that Country, and has fixed the Date of it, in the Manner that shall be mentioned hereafter. If we credit *Aurelius Victor*, this Prince's Original is thus. “ ’Tis said that
 “ *Creusa* the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*,
 “ a Lady of surpassing Beauty, was surprized by
 “ *Apollo*, and had a Son by him who was sent to
 “ *Delphos*, there to be nursed and educated: That
 “ her Father not knowing any Thing of what had
 “ happened, gave her in Marriage to one *Xipheus*;

“ he not likely to have Children by her, went to
 “ consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, and ask’d how
 “ he might become a Father. The God answered
 “ him that he must adopt the first Child whom he
 “ should meet the next Day. The first he found was
 “ *Janus*, whom *Apollo* had got upon *Creusa*, and him
 “ accordingly he adopted. *Janus* being grown up
 “ equipp’d a Fleet, landed in *Italy*, there made
 “ Conquests ; and having taken Possession of a Moun-
 “ tain, built there a City which he called after his
 “ own Name, *Janiculum*. In the Time of his Reign,
 “ *Saturn*, banish’d his own Country, landed also in
 “ *Italy* ; *Janus* gave him a kind Reception, and
 “ made him his Associate in the Empire. *Saturn*
 “ built a Fortrefs near *Janiculum* and called it
 “ *Saturnia*.”

This Prince having set sail for *Italy*, as has been
 now said, drew to his Party a good many of the *Oe-*
notrians and *Ausonians*, and with their Assistance made
 himself Master of a part of the Country which lies
 between the River *Liris* and the *Tyber* ; this is what
 has been since called *Latium*, because it was *Saturn*’s
 Retreat (1) ; or *Saturnia*, because that Prince there
 took up his Abode (2). Before this Retreat, it was
 named the Country of the Aborigines, importing
 that it was possessed by Nations of different Original.
 Further, *Janus*, who was their first King, was said
 to have two faces, only to figure that he commanded
 two Nations ; or because upon his sharing the King-
 dom with *Saturn*, he caused Medals to be struck,
 representing on one Side a Head with two Faces, to
 signify that his Power was divided between *Saturn*
 and himself, and that his Dominions were to be go-
 verned by the Counsels of both (3). *Plutarch* how-
 ever assigns another Reason for it (4) : It was, says
 he, to teach us that this Prince and his People, had
 by the Counsels of *Saturn*, pass’d from a wild and
 rustick Life, to a Life of Politeness and Humanity.
 And

(1) *Latium a Latitando.*(2) *Virg. En. l. 8.*(3) *Or. fast. l. 1.*(4) *In Numa.*

And indeed, that *Titan* Prince taught them to cultivate the Ground, and to live in Peace; and this is perhaps what made that happy Period pass for the golden Age, when *Italy*, under *Saturn's* auspicious Sway, applied itself during a profound Peace, to the improvement of Arts and Sciences, and to Agriculture. Accordingly *Janus* was since that Time look'd upon as the God of Peace, and his Temple was never shut but when the whole *Roman* Empire enjoyed a Cessation from War, as happened especially in the Time of *Augustus*. This Temple was shut only thrice; under *Numa* the Founder of it; after the second Punick War; and after the Battle of *Actium*.

'Tis very certain that *Janus* received divine Honours; but he, no more than *Saturn*, never was rank'd among the great Gods, or the Gods of Council, whose Names are preserved to us by *Ennius* in two Verses, which we have quoted elsewhere; thus we are only to look upon him as a Home-made God, or as one of their Gods *Indigetes*, just as *Eneas* who after him received the same Honours in the *Latin* Country.

Tho' the Passage in *Macrobius*, which I am going to quote, is very long, yet it contains so many Particularities which that Author had collected from the Ancients, that I could not help transcribing it in its full Length. "According to Mythologists says he, " (1), every Family in the Time of *Janus* was full " of Religion and Sanctity. Therefore divine Ho- " nours were ascribed to him, and to him all the " Passages from or to the Houses were consecrated. " *Xeno* says he was the first who built Temples, " who instituted the Ceremonies of Religion, and " that this is the Reason why since that Time they " were usher'd in with mentioning his Name. Some " alledge he was called *Bifrons*, that is to say " double faced, because he knew the Past and " foresaw the Future. Others would have it that " *Janus* was the same as *Apollo* and *Diana*, and that " both these Divinities were comprehended in that

“ single God. And indeed *Apollo*, according to
 “ *Nigridius*, was called by the *Greeks* Θυγάιος, that
 “ is to say who presides over the Gates. They set
 “ up his Altars before the Gates, to denote that he
 “ directs the going in and coming out. They call
 “ him likewise Ἀγυιεύς, as much as to say the Pre-
 “ fect of the Streets; for among them the Ways that
 “ lead to Cities are called Ἀγυιαί. Just so *Diana*,
 “ who is called *Trivia*, has Power over the Ways.
 “ The very Name of *Janus*, signifies with us that he
 “ presides over all the Gates, which are called
 “ *Januæ*, which comes to the same with Θυγάιος.
 “ He is likewise drawn with a Key and a Rod,
 “ to signify that he is the Keeper of the Gates and
 “ the Prefect of the high Ways. *Nigridius* affirms
 “ that *Apollo* is *Janus*, and *Diana* *Jana*. *Diana* was
 “ formed from *Iana*, by the Addition of a D, which
 “ is frequently put before the I, to soften the Pro-
 “ nunciation; as in these Words *reditur*, *redbibetur*,
 “ *redintegratur*, &c. Some undertake to prove *Janus*
 “ to be the Sun, and that he is represented double,
 “ as being Master of both the Gates of Heaven,
 “ because he opens the Day when he rises, and shuts
 “ it when he sets. They say he is first invoked
 “ when Sacrifices is made to any other God, that
 “ by his Means Access may be obtain’d to him
 “ for whom the Sacrifice is designed, as if it were
 “ thro’ his Gate that the Prayers of Suppliants must
 “ be allowed to pass to the other Divinities. His
 “ Statues are often mark’d on the right Hand with
 “ the Number three hundred, and on the left with
 “ sixty five, to signify the Measure of the Year,
 “ which is the Sun’s principal Effect.

“ Others will have *Janus* to be the World or Hea-
 “ ven, and that he is so called *ab eundo*, because the
 “ World is always in Motion, revolving upon its
 “ own Center. *Cicero*, says *Cornificius*, in his third
 “ Book of Etymologies, calls him not *Janus*, but
 “ *Eanus*, *ab eundo*. Hence the *Phenicians* figure
 “ this Divinity by a Dragon which turns itself in a
 “ circular

“ circular Motion, and bites and devours its own
 “ Tail, to signify that the World nourishes and sup-
 “ ports itself, and turns upon its own Axis. ’Tis for
 “ the same Reason that among us he is represented
 “ with four Sides, as appears by his Statue brought
 “ from *Falerii*. *Gavius Bassus*, in his Book of the
 “ Gods, says he is drawn with two Faces, as being
 “ the higher and lower Porter ; and that he is figured
 “ also with four Faces, as he whose Majesty compre-
 “ hends all Climates. In the ancient Poems of the
 “ *Salii*, he is stiled the God of Gods, *Marc. Mes-*
 “ *sala* the Consul, Colleague of *Cn. Domitius*, who
 “ was Augur fifty-five Years, began his Discourse
 “ upon *Janus* thus : *He who forms and governs all,*
 “ *united together the Nature of Water and Earth,*
 “ *which by their Gravity always tends downward, to*
 “ *that of the Fire and Spirit, which by their Lightness*
 “ *mount nimbly upwards, and these he has confined to*
 “ *the Heavens ; and to these Heavens he has annexed*
 “ *such an attractive Force as unites and binds together*
 “ *different Natures and Qualities.* In the Worship
 “ we ascribe to this God, we invoke *Janus Geminus*,
 “ or double faced, *Father Janus*, *Janus Junonius*,
 “ *Janus Consivius*, *Janus Quirinus*, *Janus Patulcius*,
 “ and *Clusivius*. We have already given the Reason
 “ why we invoke him under the Name of *Geminus*,
 “ or double faced : We call him *Father*, as being
 “ the God of Gods : *Junonius* because he keeps the
 “ Entrance, not only of *January*, but of all the other
 “ Months, and all the *Kalends* are under *Juno’s* Do-
 “ minion ; ’tis for this Reason that *Varro* (1) says
 “ twelve Altars were consecrated to *Janus*, for just so
 “ many Months. We call him *Consivius*, a *confe-*
 “ *rendo*, that is because of the Propagation of Man-
 “ kind whereof *Janus* is the Founder ; *Quirinus*, for
 “ his warlike Virtue : This Name is taken from the
 “ Spear, which the *Sabines* call *Curis*. We call him
 “ *Patulcius* and *Clusivius*, because his Folds are
 “ open in Time of War, and shut in Time of Peace :
 The

(1) Book fifth of divine Things.

“ The Rise of which Denomination is as follows.
 “ In the War, we are told, which the *Sabines* made
 “ upon the *Romans* to be revenged for the Rape of
 “ their Daughters, the *Romans* made Haste to shut
 “ the Gate which was at the Foot of the Hill called
 “ *Viminalis*, since named *Porta Janualis*, from
 “ that Rape, because the Enemies used their utmost
 “ Efforts to make themselves Masters of it : But after
 “ it was shut it opened of itself, and the same Thing
 “ happening three Times, many of the Soldiers not
 “ being able to shut it quite, stood in Arms at the
 “ Entry to keep it. And as at the same Time there
 “ was a very bloody Engagement on the other Side,
 “ the Report spread that the *Romans* were overcome
 “ by *Tatius*. Then those who guarded the Entry
 “ fled, and when the *Sabines* were like to be Masters
 “ of that Gate, ’tis said that from the Temple of
 “ *Janus* issued Torrents of boiling Water, which dis-
 “ charging itself thro’ that Gate, suffocated one Party
 “ of the Enemy by their Heat and drowned the other.
 “ From that Time a Law was made that this Gate
 “ should be opened in Time of War, as it were to
 “ give Admission to that God who came to the As-
 “ sistance of the *Romans*.

Draco, in *Athenæus* (1), has followed another Tra-
 dition, tho’ at Bottom it returns to the same. We
 are told, says he, that *Janus* had two Faces, the one
 before, the other behind, he gave his Name to a Ri-
 ver and to a Mountain on which he had settled. He
 is said to be the first who invented Crowns, Ships
 and Barges, and the first who coined Money of Braís.
 Hence it comes that several Towns in *Greece*, *Italy*,
 and *Sicily* coin Monies with a double Head, with a
 Barge on the Reverse, or a Crown, or a Ship.

What gives a great deal of weight to the Opi-
 nion of these two Authors, is that the Monuments of
Janus we have now extant, perfectly agree to it.
 And indeed, he was always represented upon them
 with two Faces, or with two Heads Back to Back, and
 com-

commonly each of them with a Beard. He often appears in this Manner upon Medals, with a Prow of a Ship upon the Reverse, as may be seen in those publish'd by *Beger*, *Voillant*, *Bonanni*, and other Antiquaries. The Difference that is found among them is but inconsiderable: Sometimes the two Heads are crown'd; sometimes they are without a Beard; sometimes they carry a Flower which separates them; sometimes too you find *Janus* upon Monuments with four Heads, and then he was called *Janus Quadri-frons*: For which you may consult the learned Dissertation of *M. de Boze*. As to the Key and Club which *Macrobius* speaks of, they are not to be met with upon any Monument, no more than the Dragon or Serpent, that form'd itself into a Circle, and bit its Tail, as we have it in the same Author.

The Ancients give the Reason of all these Representations. *Plutarch* (1) tells us that he was drawn with two Heads, either because being a *Greek* originally, and a Native of *Perrhebia* he had come from thence into *Italy*, or because finding himself among Barbarians in Comparison of the *Greeks*, he had changed his Language and Manner of Life: Or rather because he taught his new Subjects Politeness and Arts, especially that of cultivating the Ground. It was for much the same Reason, as shall be said in the sixth Volume, that *Cecrops* was called Διφρωνς, as you would say of a double Nature, because he reigned over two Sorts of People, the *Egyptians* whom he had brought with him, and the *Athenians* into whom he infused the Manners and Politeness of the *Egyptians*.

Other Authors think that by these two Faces was intended the Knowledge of the past and of the future, or, as he presided over *January*, that he was represented as having equally a Respect to the past and to the ensuing Year. Those who took him for the Sun, alledged that it was designed to signify the
Sun

(1) Quæst. Rom.

Sun rising and the Sun setting ; others that he was thus represented as the higher and lower Porter.

However as *Janus* had reign'd jointly with *Saturn*, some Authors have maintained that the two Heads represented, the one *Janus* and the other *Saturn* ; and that when there are four Heads set back to back, it is *Janus*, *Saturn*, *Picus* and *Faunus*, the first Kings of the Country : In Place of the two last, some Authors put *Romulus* and *Numa Pompilius*. Others with more Probability alledge that *Janus* with the four Heads, denotes the four Seasons of the Year. We were told just now from *Gavius Bassus*, quoted by *Macrobius*, that these four Heads denote that he comprehends all Climates.

As the Name of *Janus* is evidently *Latin*, 'tis thought that he was called *Oenotrus*, and that he had given his Name to the Colony which he conducted into *Italy*.

The learned *Ryckius*, speaking of that Colony, makes the Date of *Janus*'s Arrival in *Italy* to fall in the 150th Year before that of *Eneas* in the same Country, and by Consequence the 146th Year before the taking of *Troy* ; *Æneas* having landed in *Italy* four Years after the Destruction of that City. *Janus* set out from *Perrhebia* in *Thessaly* and came by Sea into the *Latin* Territory ; and tho' *Draco* in *Athenæus* did not positively say it (1), yet the Prow of the Ship which we see upon some of his Medals, would leave no room to doubt of it. 'Tis likewise certain that he came from *Thessaly*. As he descended from *Deucalion* by *Ion* his Son, who settled in that Country in the Neighbourhood of *Perrhebia*, it was doubtless from thence he set out when he conducted his Colony. There arises however a great Difficulty from what is declared by the general Voice of Antiquity that he received *Saturn* into *Italy* ; for the Chronology by no means answers to this. *Theophilus* of *Antioch* assures us, from the Authority of *Tallus* (2), that *Chronos*, whom the *Latins* called *Saturn*, lived 321 Years before the taking of *Troy*, which
supposes

(1) Loc. cit.

(2) L. 3. adv. Ant.

supposes more than an Age and an half between him and *Janus*, and indeed, *Minos* the first of the Name, lived two hundred and twenty five Years before the *Trojan War*, about the thirtieth Year of *Pandion* the first. This *Minos* was the Son of *Jupiter*, and Grandson of *Saturn*. He had a Son named *Lycastus*, who was Father to *Minos* the second, whose Son assisted at the Siege of *Troy*; which makes much about the hundred and fifty Years between *Saturn* and *Janus*. Whence we ought to conclude, either that *Saturn* never came into *Italy*, or that he arrived there long before *Janus's* Time. But as all Antiquity attests that these two Princes were contemporary, we may suppose that another *Saturn* is there designed, and that he who was contemporary with *Janus*, was *Sterces*, the Father of *Picus*, who, after his Apotheosis, was denominated *Saturn*: *Janus*, who succeeded him till *Picus* came to be of Age to wear the Crown, having deify'd him, as he found the *Athenians* had done to his grand Father *Erechtheus*, as we learn from *Cicero* (1).

Saint *Augustin* (2) confirms this Opinion: “ The
 “ *Assyrian Monarchy*, says he, was still subsisting;
 “ and they reckoned *Lampares* their twenty third
 “ King, when *Picus* first reigned over the *Lauren-*
 “ *rentins*. It belongs to the Worshippers of these
 “ Gods to see what they will make of *Saturn* the
 “ Father of this *Picus*, for they will not allow him
 “ to have been a Man. Others have written that
 “ he reigned in *Italy* before *Picus*, and *Virgil* speaks
 “ of him to this Purpose (3): *He joined in Society*
 “ *a dissolute untractable Race, gave them Laws;*
 “ *and called the Country Latium, because he had there*
 “ *found a safe Retreat from the Fury and Persecution*
 “ *of his Son; His Reign is said to have been the golden*
 “ *Age.* But let them treat this as other poetical
 “ Fictions, and say if they will, that the Father of
 “ *Picus* was called *Sterces*, and that he was so named,
 “ because

(1) De nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 19.
 (3) En. L. 8.

(2) De Civ. Dei L. 18. c. 15.

“ because being an excellent Husbandman, he had
 “ taught Men to improve Ground by Dung, whence
 “ some call him *Stercutius*. Be that as it will ; this
 “ however is the Reason for their making him the
 “ God of Agriculture.”

Ryckius judiciously observes upon this Subject, that the ancient *Latins*, being destitute of the Use of Letters till the Time of *Evander*, who arrived in *Italy* but a few Years before the War of *Troy*, seeing in that Country so many Places called by *Saturn's* Name, took him for the antient one who had reigned there.

It has been already observed that under the Reign of *Janus* and *Saturn*, be he who he will, was the golden Age, on which the Poets gave so much Scope to their Imaginations: Not to mention others, I shall only quote the Description given of it by *Ovid*. “ Then, says he, were the Rules of Faith
 “ and Justice practised without the constraint of
 “ Laws. Men were not influenced to their Duty by
 “ Motives of Fear ; nor were Punishments known
 “ in those Days. There was no need, in that happy Age, for engraving upon Tables of Brass
 “ those menacing Laws that have since been used as
 “ a Curb to Vice. Criminals were not then to be
 “ seen trembling before their Judge ; nor was the
 “ Security of human Life owing to the Force of
 “ Laws. The Trees were not yet form'd into Ships
 “ to visit an unknown World : nor did Mortals expose themselves to the Fury of the Sea, but dwelt
 “ contentedly in their own native Land. Cities
 “ unfortify'd and without Walls were perfectly secure. Trumpets, Helmets and all the Instruments
 “ of War were then unknown, and there was no
 “ Occasion for Soldiers to secure the Peace and
 “ Tranquillity of the Citizen. The Earth, without being torn up with the Plough spontaneously
 “ supply'd all Sorts of Fruits ; and her Inhabitants,
 “ satisfied with the Food which she yielded them
 “ without Culture, lived upon wild Fruits, or the
 “ Acorns

“ Acorns that drop’t from the Oaks. A perpetual
 “ Spring reigned all the Year round ; the soft Ze-
 “ phirs with their warm Gales cherish’d the Flowers
 “ that sprung up without Seed : The Harvests suc-
 “ ceeded one another, without ploughing or sowing.
 “ Rivers of Milk and Nectar flowed every where ;
 “ and Honey distilled in Abundance from the hol-
 “ low Oak (a).”

As nothing is more celebrated in Antiquity than this golden Age, I shall consider what may have given rise to it. The ancient Inhabitants of *Latium* led a savage Life, without Laws and almost without Religion, when *Janus* arrived there. That Prince softened the Ferocity of their Manners, brought them to live together in Cities and Villages, gave them Laws, and the Subjects under his Reign enjoy’d a Happiness they never knew before : Which made them look upon the Time of his Reign, as halcyon Days and the golden Age. For to make it continue as long as *Saturn’s* Life, is an Opinion not tenable. Never was Age more full of Wars and Blood-shed than his, and never did Crimes with more Fury, over-run the Earth. *Saturn* dethroned his Father to make way for himself : And *Jupiter* his Son served him precisely with the same Measure as he had done his Father, and this Prince fortify’d his Throne by the Defeat and Overthrow of all his Relations.

Eusebius (1) having quoted the fragment of *Sancho- niathon* makes much the same Reflection. Here then, says he, we see the History of *Chronos* or *Saturn*, here what Truth is in that happy Life, which is placed under his Reign, a Life so celebrated in the Works of *Greek* Authors : These are the Men whom they call *πρώτων γενέσεσιν τὸ γένος* ; *the first Race of Mortals, the Race of the golden Age*, who, according to

(a) Aurea prima fata est ætas, quæ vindice nullo,
 Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat,
 Poena metusque aberant, &c. *Ovid. Met. L. 1. F. 3.*

(1) *Præpar. L. 1. c. 10.*

to Authors lived so happy in the primitive Ages of the World.

We may add however that this Idea of the golden Age was undoubtedly taken from the Tradition importing that our first Parents, or at least the human Race from *Noah*, till the Dispersion under *Peleg*, had enjoyed all Things in common, and led a happy Life, in Comparison of the succeeding Ages.

C H A P. V.

The History of Atlas, of the Pleiades his Daughters, and of the Hesperides.

FEW Persons in Antiquity are more celebrated than *Atlas*. All the Ancients agree that he gave his Name to that Mountain or rather that Ridge of Mountains which run across one Part of *Africa* from East to West, as far as the Extremities of that Continent; as also to the Ocean, and the Island *Atlantis*.

According to *Hesiod* (1), *Atlas* was the Son of *Japetus*, and of *Clymene* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, and Brother to *Mencæti*, *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*, all of them *Titan*-Princes, whom we shall speak of hereafter. “*Atlas*, says that Poet, bears the Heavens upon his Shoulders, at the Extremities of the Earth, in the Country of the *Hesperides*; such was the Doom allotted to him by *Jupiter*.” *Apollodorus* (2), *Diodorus Siculus*, and all the Ancients in like Manner, make *Atlas* to have been the Son of *Japetus*; but the Former of these two Authors gives him for his Mother *Asia* the other Daughter of *Oceanus*.

Our Moderns, always guided by Etymologies taken from the eastern Languages, have receded from the Opinion of the Ancients, and make *Atlas* come from *Phenicia*, or the neighbouring Countries in the Extremity of *Africa*. Thus it is that *Bochart*
and

(1) Theog.

(2) L. 1.

and *Vossius* (1) speak of him. *M. Fourmont* the elder who is persuaded that *Abraham* is *Saturn*, takes *Atlas* to be the same with *Lot*. But without entring here into Discussions that may be seen to more Advantage in the Works of those learned Writers, I think we may hold to the Opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, who thus relates the History of this celebrated *Titan*.

“ After the Death of *Hyperion*, the Sons of *Uranus* divided the Kingdom among them. The
 “ two of greatest Renown were *Saturn* and *Atlas*.
 “ The maritime Places having fallen to *Atlas*’s lot
 “ this Prince gave his Name to the *Atlantes* his Subjects, and to the highest Mountain in his Country.
 “ He is said to have excelled in Astronomy, and to
 “ have been the first who represented the World by
 “ a Globe. This is the Reason of its being alledged
 “ that *Atlas* prop’d the Heavens with his Shoulders;
 “ a Fable plainly alluding to his Invention. He
 “ had several Sons; but *Hesperus* distinguish’d
 “ himself most by his Piety, his Justice, and Generosity. He having gone up to the highest top of
 “ mount *Atlas*, to observe the Stars, was suddenly
 “ carry’d away by an impetuous Wind and never
 “ more seen. The People much moved with his
 “ Fate, and calling to mind his Virtues, decreed to
 “ him divine Honours, and consecrated his Name
 “ by giving it to the brightest of the Planets.
 “ *Atlas* was also Father of seven Daughters, who
 “ were all called *Atlantides*, but their proper Names
 “ were *Maia*, *Electra*, *Taygeta*, *Asterope*, *Merope*,
 “ *Alcyone*, and *Celæno*. They were beloved by the
 “ most illustrious of the Gods and Heroes, and had
 “ Sons by them who in after Times became as renowned as their Fathers, and were the Founders
 “ of many Nations. But the eldest of all had by
 “ *Jupiter* a Son called *Mercury*, who was the Inventor of several Arts. The other *Atlantides* had
 “ also illustrious Children; for some gave Rise to
 “ several Nations, and others built Cities: And

VOL. II.

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“ therefore

(1) De Idol. L. 1.

“ therefore not only some *Barbarians*, but even several *Greeks* make their ancient *Heroes* descended from the *Atlantides*. They are said to have been very intelligent, and this is the Reason why Men look’d upon them as Goddesses after their Death, and placed them in the Heavens under the Name of the *Pleiades*. These *Atlantides* were also called Nymphs, because all Women were so designed in their Country. ”

The same Author adds in his fourth Book (1):
 “ The Mythologists gave out that in the Country called *Hesperitis*, lived old *Atlas* and *Hesperus*, two Brothers, both very famous: That *Hesperus* having got a Daughter named *Hesperis*, gave her in Marriage to his Brother *Atlas*, and that from this Daughter had the Country *Hesperitis* taken its Name. *Atlas* had by *Hesperis* seven Daughters who were called *Atlantides*, from the Name of their Father, or *Hesperides* from that of their Mother. They are said to have been of such extraordinary Beauty and Wisdom, that their Fame reached *Buſiris* King of *Spain*, and induced him to form a Design of making himself Master of them, commanding Pirates to enter into their Country, to carry them off and bring them to him. These Pirates finding the Daughters of *Atlas* diverting themselves in a Garden, seized upon them; and flying precipitately to their Ships, put them on board with them: But *Hercules* having surprized them while they were taking a Repast near the Shore, and being informed by the young Virgins of the Misfortune that had befallen them, he slew all their Ravishers and returned the *Atlantides* to their Father *Atlas*. That Prince in Gratitude to *Hercules* (a) made him a Present of the Apples which he had come in Quest of.”

The same Author had said in the preceeding Chapter, “ The Mythologists are very much divided
 “ as

(1) Ch. 7.

(a) We shall speak further of this Voyage of *Hercules*, and of the Garden of the *Hesperides* in the History of that Heroe. Vol. VI.

“ as to those Apples; for some say that there ac-
 “ tually grew golden Apples in certain Gardens of
 “ *Africa*, which belong'd to the *Hesperides*; but
 “ that they were kept by a dreadful Dragon which
 “ never slept: Others alledge that the *Hesperides*
 “ were possessed of such fine flocks of Sheep, that
 “ by a poetical License the Surname of golden
 “ was given them, as it had been to *Venus* upon
 “ Account of her Beauty. Some, in short, have
 “ written that those Sheep were of a particular Co-
 “ lour inclining to Gold. These last added too, that
 “ by the Dragon we were to understand the Shepherd
 “ that kept those Sheep, a Man of great Strength
 “ and Courage, who used to put to Death such
 “ as attempted to force from him any of his
 “ Flock.”

Atlas not only gave *Hercules* the Present which *Diodorus* mentions, but also taught him *Astronomy*. That Science he himself had studied with great Assiduity and Application, and became a vast Proficient in it. As *Hercules* was the first who brought into *Greece* the Knowledge of the Sphere, he too acquired great Reputation by this Means, and hence it was feigned that *Atlas* rested upon his Shoulders the Burthen of the World; which, as the Author now quoted observes, is only a fabulous Manner of relating a true Matter of Fact.

After what has been now said, we may easily judge that *Atlas* was a Man distinguish'd by his Talents; that he addicted himself to the speculative Sciences, and especially to *Astronomy*; and that his making use of the Sphere whereof he was the Inventor, together with the Height of the Mountains on which he had made his Observations, was Foundation enough for the Fable of his bearing the Heavens upon his Shoulders; and of his being transformed into the Mountain, which was called *Hatlba*, or *Talab*, from the *Hebrew* Word which signifies *to be suspended*, merely upon Account of the huge Rocks that hang from Mount *Atlas*, which is so high that it seems to

touch the Skies, and whose Summit is even rarely to be seen by Reason of the Snows and Fogs that encompass it (*a*). We may add, that, in all Probability, *Atlas* united together the vagrant disjointed People of that Extremity of *Africa*, that he reigned over them, gave them Laws, and polished their Manners. *Herodotus* (1) speaks of these People whom he calls *Atlantes*, the only People, according to him, who had no particular Name, being only known under that of *Atlantes*. That Author, and after him *Pomponius Mela*, gives a Description of Mount *Atlas*, which the Inhabitants of the Country called the Pillar of Heaven.

The Pleiades.

To return to the Daughters of *Atlas*, who form the Constellation of the *Pleiades* in the Bull's Head, the Fable of their Transformation had no other Foundation but that their Father was the first who discovered those Stars, and gave them the Name of *Pleiades* after his own Daughters, who had that Name from their Mother, called *Pleione*, according to some of the Ancients; or rather those Stars were named *Pleiades* because they appear in the Month of *May*, a proper Season for Navigation (2). The *Latins* call them *Vergiliæ*, because they rise in the spring Season; and as there is one of them that has not been visible for a long Time past, namely *Merope*, she is said to hide her self for Shame that she had married a Mortal, while her Sisters had been married to Gods: Where 'tis easy to see Astronomy mixed with History; for 'tis true enough that six of *Atlas's* Daughters match'd with *Titan* Princes, who were commonly look'd upon as Gods, and that *Merope* married *Sisyphus*, who was not of that Family.

But, according to a Tradition better vouched by the Ancients, this *Pleiad* was *Eleëtra* the Wife of *Dardanus*,

(*a*) Father *Pezron* derives the Name from the Word *Altus*, by the Transposition of a single Letter, and this Derivation is conformable to the other Name of that Prince who was called *Telamon*, which in the *Celtick* Language imports a Man of a high Stature.

(1) L. 4. ch. 184.

(2) Πλέω *Navigo*.

Dardanus, who had disappeared at the Time of the *Trojan* War, that she might not be a Spectator of the Misfortunes of her Family. Be that as it will, I shall give you the Fable as it is related by the Poets. We reckon, says *Ovid* in his *Fasts*, seven Stars in the Constellation of the *Pleiades*, tho' there are only six of them seen.

Quæ septem dici, sex tamen esse solent.

Because *Electra* the Wife of *Dardanus*, one of those seven Nymphs, the Daughter of *Atlas*, hid herself that she might not behold the sad Catastrophe of *Troy* (a).

Hyginus, Contemporary with *Ovid*, relates the same Fable ; but with Circumstances that will help us to find out the historical Fact that may have given rise to it. “ *Electra*, says he, being grieved to see the
“ unseasonable Dancing of her Sisters at the Time of
“ *Troy's* Disaster, left the Zodiac, and withdrew
“ towards the Arctic Pole, moving in the Disorder
“ of a Person overwhelm'd with the most lively Sor-
“ row ; upon Account of her dishevelled and neg-
“ lected Hair she got the Name of Comet (b).”

The *Latin* Scholiast upon *Aratus* says the same :
Electram dissolutis crinibus propter luctum ire asserunt,
Et propter comas, quidam Cometem vocant. To the Circumstances related by *Hyginus*, *Avienus*, upon the Authority of *Smythæ*, added that *Electra* shew'd herself again to Mortals from Time to Time, but always with the Apparatus of a Comet (c).

T 3

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(a) ———— *Trojæ spectare ruinas*

Non tulit, ante oculos opposuitque manum.

(b) *M. Freret*, in a curious Dissertation printed in the tenth Volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, has improved what the Ancients say of the Progress of this Star, as a Proof that it is meant of a Comet, which having first appeared in the Sign of the Bull, near the *Pleiades*, moved on towards the Pole : But this belongs not to my Subject.

(c) *Non nunquam Oceani tamen istam surgere ab undis*

In convexa Poli, sed sede carere Sororum,

Diffusamque comas cerni, crinisque soluti

Monstrare effigiem ; diros hos fama Cometæ

Commemorat

I ought not to omit the Reflections, rather ingenious than solid, of *Olaus Rudbeck* in his *Atlanticks*. This Author attempts to prove that *Atlas* and his Successors reigned in the North, which Country he will have to be the true Atlantick mentioned by *Plato* in his *Timæus* and *Critias*; that these Princes were there very powerful, and extended their Conquests in Process of Time into *Greece*, *Italy*, the *Gauls*, *Asia Minor*, and *Egypt*; and that what gave a Handle for the Fable of *Atlas's* bearing the Heavens upon his Shoulders, is that his Empire reach'd over all the Earth.

The Hyades.

The *Hyades* are also said to have been Daughters of *Atlas*, and we have the Names of six of them, *Eudora*, *Ambrosia*, *Prodice*, *Coronis*, *Phileto*, and *Pollis*. Others add a seventh, *Tbione*; but 'tis probable these pretended *Hyades*, a Word signifying in *Greek*, *rainy*, are nothing but so many poetical Personages, whose Names were given to certain Stars that *Atlas* had discovered; unless we will say that the great *Atlas* had the Children of all the rest who bore that Name father'd upon him. They are commonly reckon'd three in Number, the first was King of *Italy*, the second reign'd in *Arcadia*; and the third is he whom we are now upon: I am also of Opinion, that his Successors frequently bore the same Name: Hence we find the Name of *Atlas* in the History of *Perseus*, and in that of *Hercules*, both of them later than that of the first *Titan* Princes.

Atlas, as has been said, had a Brother who also came and settled in the West; which probably procured him the Name of *Hesperus*, whence the *Greeks* called all the Countries to the West of *Greece*, *Hesperia*. *M. le Clerc*, however, derives this Name from a Hebrew Word that imports beautiful, *unde Vesperugo, pulcherrima Stella, the beautiful Star*. Hence the celebrated

*Commémorat tristi procul istâ surgere formâ,
Vultum ardere, diam persunderè crinibus Æthram,
Sanguine sub pingui, ratiloque rubere cruce.*

celebrated Gardens of the *Hesperides* his Daughters, because the Gardens in *Mauritania Tingitana* were very fine of their kind ; and abounded with Orange Groves and Citrons, which the Poets have taken the liberty to call Golden Apples, as they have to represent the Mastive Dogs that watch'd them, under the Figure of Dragons (1).

C H A P. VI.

The History of Japetus, Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Pandora.

THAT *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus* are of the *Titan* Family is a Truth attested by *Hesiod*, and adopted by several of the Ancients, especially by *Lucian*. They were the Sons of *Japetus* and *Clymene*, as *Hesiod* tells us (a). *Japetus*, says he, married the fair *Clymene*, the Daughter of *Oceanus*, by whom he had the great *Atlas*, the illustrious *Mencæti*, the crafty *Prometheus*, and the foolish *Epimetheus*.

Japetus had settled in *Thessaly*, where he became very powerful ; but being a wicked Man, and of a mischievous Disposition, he gained a greater Reputation by his Children than by any Deeds of his own. The *Greeks*, however, look'd upon him as the Founder of their Race, and were not able to trace farther back than him : Accordingly they usually called decrepid old Men *Japets*, as we are told by *Hesychius* and *Suidas* (b).

Prometheus became exceeding famous by means of the Fable I am going to relate. Being a Man of a subtle and crafty Genius, he attempted to put a Cheat upon *Jupiter*

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(1) See the History of *Hercules*, V. vi.

(a) *Theog.* v. 508. Others give him for his Mother a Nymph named *Asia*.

(b) We shall prove, in the Beginning of the sixth Volume, *Japetus* to be the same with *Japhet* the Son of *Noah*, whose Sons *Javan* and *Gomer*, and their Descendants, peopled the North and West to the inmost Parts of *Spain*.

in a Sacrifice, and thereby to find out whether or not he was really worthy to be reckoned a God. Having for this Purpose slain two Oxen, he stuffed one of the Skins with the Flesh, and the other with the Bones of the Victims. *Jupiter* was out-witted by *Prometheus*, and made choice of the latter. The God, resolv'd to be reveng'd upon all Mankind, took away from them the Use of Fire: But *Prometheus*, with the Assistance of *Minerva*, whose Advice had already been of use to him in forming the Body of a Man of temper'd Clay, got up to Heaven, and approaching the Chariot of the Sun, stole from thence the sacred Fire, which he brought down to the Earth in a *Ferula* (a). *Jupiter*, incensed at this strange and audacious Enterprize, order'd *Vulcan* to form a Woman endued with all Perfections; whence she got the Name of *Pandora*. The Gods loaded her with Presents, and sent her to *Prometheus* with a Box full of all kinds of Misery. This Prince suspecting the Trick, would have nothing to do with her; but *Epimetheus*, to whom she offered herself, was so captivated with her Charms, that he took her to Wife, and had by her *Pyrrha*, the Wife of *Deucalion*. His Curiosity too led him to look into the fatal Box, which he no sooner had opened, than there issued out of it that Deluge of Miseries, which have since over-run this Earth. He shut it up again in haste, but all was gone but Hope, which had not Time to get off, and this of Consequence is the only Blessing that remains with wretched Mortals.

Jupiter at length, extremely vex'd that *Prometheus* had not been taken in this last Snare, order'd *Mercury* to carry him to Mount *Caucasus*, and bind him fast to a Rock, where an Eagle (1), the Daughter of *Typhon* and *Echidna*, was eternally to prey upon his Liver; for *Hesiod* tells us, it sprouted up as fast every Night (2), as the Eagle devour'd it by Day. This

Author

(a)

—— Audax Japeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit.

HORAT. Od. 3. L. 2.

(1) Others say a Vulture.

(2) L. 1. C. 1.

Author limits no Time to *Prometheus's* Punishment, he says on the contrary, it was to be eternal, *αἰώνιον*; other Authors, however, limit the Time to the Space of thirty thousand Years. Nor does the same Author say that *Jupiter* borrow'd the Assistance of *Mercury*, but that he himself bound that unhappy Wretch, not to a Rock, but to a Pillar.

Hercules however delivered him some Years after, or, according to others, *Jupiter* himself, as a Reward for his Service, in revealing to him the Oracle of the Destinies, who had foretold that the Son of *Thetis* should be mightier than his Father, and that consequently he ought to lay aside his Design of marrying her, for fear of being one Day dethroned. But as he had sworn to keep *Prometheus* bound to *Caucasus* for the Space of Time now mentioned, that he might not violate his Oath, he order'd him always to wear upon his Finger an Iron Ring, to which should be fastened a small Fragment of *Caucasus*, that it might be true in a certain Sense, that *Prometheus* still continued bound to that Rock: And this, according to the Ancients, is the Original of the first Ring. *Pliny*(1), who relates this Fable, has not troubled himself to seek after the true Meaning of it. But we are not to imagine that those Fictions were transmitted down to our Times in an uniform Manner. This same is related very differently by the Ancients. *Durius* of *Samos* alledges that *Prometheus* was banish'd Heaven for aspiring to marry *Minerva*; and this is given as the Reason why this Goddess is so much the Subject of the Fable. *Nicander* of *Colophon* will have *Prometheus's* Crime to have been, that he persuaded Men to make over to the Serpent the Privilege that had been conferred upon them by the Gods of renewing their Age. Others, in short, far from thinking that he had rejected *Pandora*, assure us that he had debauch'd her after she was married to his Brother.

Whatever be in this, these Fictions undoubtedly contain some ancient History, tho' exceedingly disguised:

(1) Lib. 13.

guised : There we may see a vast many Allegories ; the very Name of *Prometheus* furnishes us with several ; it imports one who *foresees Futurity* ; as that of *Epimetheus* signifies *one who knows what is past*. This Fable may likewise glance at some traditional Circumstances of the Fall of our first Parents, and of *Adam's* being seduced by his Wife *Eve* ; for there is hardly any thing but one may find in it. M. *Reland*, in his Dissertation, says it derives its Original from a Tradition that was current among the ancient *Persians*, importing, that the Heroes of the earliest Ages had vanquish'd certain evil Genii, and bound them to Mount *Cas*. Other learned Men go higher, and think the Pagans had couch'd under this Fable the History of the Fall of the Angels, who were condemn'd to Chains, not on Mount *Caucasus*, but in the Gulph of Hell, as we read in Scripture. For my part, as I am persuaded that the Fables may be explained without having recourse to Suppositions, that cannot be proved, I take this now before us to contain nothing any ways mysterious, but to be only a Continuation of the History of the *Titans*, told after the manner of those Times, that is to say, with somewhat of the marvelous Stile accompanying those ancient Narrations ; and I explain it in the following manner.

Prometheus, *Jupiter's* Cousin-German, in all Probability was not exempt from the Persecutions with which he harrassed the other *Titans* ; this is easily accounted for from the mere Ambition of the *Cretan* Prince, without supposing another Motive, which some Authors assign, namely, his being the Son of *Juno* by *Eurimedon*. As *Prometheus* returned into *Scythia*, which he durst not quit so long as *Jupiter* lived, that God is said to have bound him to *Caucasus*, by *Mercury's* Means, because *Jupiter* made use of him to distress *Prometheus*, and to keep him from removing. This Prince, solely addicted to Astrology, frequently retired to Mount *Caucasus*, as to a kind of Observatory, whence he contemplated the Stars, and was, as it were, prey'd upon by continual poring, or rather

rather Vexation, for being obliged to lead so melancholy a Life, and to spend his Days in so uncomfortable a Situation ; and this, to mention it by the by, is what had given rise to the Fable of the Eagle or Vulture that prey'd upon his Liver, which was said to sprout up again every Day, because *Prometheus* had continual Matter of Vexation.

We must not however forget to take Notice, that *Herodotus* explains this particularity otherwise, alledging this Prince was put in Prison for not being able to stop the over-flowing of a River, which, from its Rapidity was called the *Eagle* ; or at least that he was obliged, upon that Account, to fly with a Part of his Subjects to the Mountains, to escape the Inundation, till a Traveller, represented by *Hercules* (a), undertook to dam it up by a Mound, and to kill the Eagle, as one may say, by making its Course regular and uniform ; thus that Hero delivered *Prometheus* out of his Prison, or from his Retreat.

The Inhabitants of *Scythia* were at that time extremely savage, and lived without Laws, either written or traditional : *Prometheus*, a polite and knowing Prince, taught them to lead a more human Life, instructed them in Agriculture, Physick (b), &c. This is what had given rise to the Hyperbolical Expressions of his having form'd a Man, whom *Minerva*, the Goddess of Sciences, had animated (1). But we find another Explanation of this Fable in *Lactantius* (2), without having recourse to Allegories, for he takes it to have no other Foundation, but that *Prometheus* was the first who taught the Art of making Statues of Clay ; whence, by an Hyperbole not unusual, he was said to have formed Man, as it was afterwards fabled of *Dedalus*, that he had made his Statues to walk, because

(a) We are not to ascribe this Adventure to the *Theban Hercules*, as the Poets do, but to the *Phenician*, or some other, since *Prometheus* lived several Ages before *Amphitryo*.

(b) *Eschilus*, in his *Prometheus*, makes this Prince the Inventor of all Arts.

(1) Hyginus, Poet. Astron. l. 2. Ovid. Met. l. 1.

(2) L. 2. c. 10.

because he first shaped the Legs distinctly, as shall be said in his History.

This last Explanation is not a little confirmed by a fine Monument that has escaped the Injury of Time, and is to be seen in the first Volume of *Montfaucon's* Antiquities ; it represents *Prometheus* forming a Man, and there you see him working with a Chissel, a plain Indication that the Art of Statuary is intended by it. This Image, besides, is very singular ; *Minerva* there appears, because, according to *Lucian*, it was she that animated the Work of *Prometheus*. There you likewise see *Psyche* with her Wings, riding in a Chariot, because she was the Symbol of the Soul. 'Tis plain that all this was intended to signify to us, that *Prometheus's* Statues were so perfect, that they wanted nothing but a living Soul to be self-moved.

But unless we give into this Explication, how shall we account for what *Ovid* says at the Beginning of his *Metamorphoses*, that, Man being cut off from the Earth, *Prometheus* mixed Clay, and moulded him anew, since he was a Man himself, and Antiquity gives us the History of his Father and Ancestors.

To explain now the Fable of *Prometheus's* Theft, some Authors tell us, that what gave rise to it, was his having taught Man the Use of Fire (*a*) : But is it probable that this was a Thing so long unknown, even among the most barbarous Nations ? On the contrary, 'tis undoubtedly as ancient as the World itself ; (*b*) whether it was brought upon the Earth by Lightning, or that the Winds had set some Forests on Fire, by putting the Branches of the Trees into violent Commotion,

(*a*) *Pausanias*, in *Corinth*. says it was the Opinion of the Ancients, that *Phoroneus*, and not *Prometheus*, had invented the Use of Fire ; which may be true, in the Apprehension of the *Greeks*, who knew nothing prior to this *Phoroneus*.

(*b*) A Festival generally spread among all Nations, and still kept up at this Day in *China*, at *Mexico*, and in several other Places, which is called the Feast of Lamps, the Ceremony whereof consists in lighting by Night a great Number of Lamps and Torches, is, no doubt, a Tradition of the universal Joy that was expressed, for the Use of Fire, which *Adam* probably found out, and *Noah* preserved.

motion, or that Fire was made accidentally by striking two flint Stones against one another. *Diodorus Siculus* (1) says the true Sense of this Fable is, that *Prometheus* had discovered combustible Materials fit for kindling and maintaining Fire; but is it to be imagined that the Use of Fire being once introduced, Mankind would have continued ignorant till *Prometheus's* Time of what was, or what was not proper to kindle it, and keep it alive? Upon the whole therefore, I am of Opinion, that the Origin of this Fiction was, that *Jupiter* having ordered all the Shops where Iron was forged to be shut up, lest the *Titans* should make use of it against him, *Prometheus*, who had retired into *Scythia*, there establish'd good Forges; hence came the *Calybes*, those excellent Blacksmiths (2); perhaps too *Prometheus*, not thinking to find Fire in that Country, brought some thither in the Stalk of the *Ferula*, wherein it may easily be preserved for several Days.

M. de Tournesort, in his Voyage to the *Levant*, discovered this Plant, which the *Greeks* called *Narthex*, and the *Latins*, *Ferula*: Its Stalk is five or six Foot high, the Rind of it is very hard, and the Inside is full of a kind of Pith, which Fire is slow in consuming. The Sailors make use of it to transport Fire from one Island to another. This Custom is of the earliest Antiquity, and may serve to explain a Passage in *Hesiod* (3), who speaking of the Fire that *Prometheus* stole from Heaven; says he carried it in a *Ferula*, ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, since the Foundation of this Fable undoubtedly is owing to what *Diodorus Siculus* tells us of *Prometheus*, that he was the Inventor of the Steel, τὸ πυρρῆον, wherewith Fire is struck from the Flint (4). *Semina flammæ abstrusa in venis silicis*. In all Probability that Prince made use of the Pith of the *Ferula* instead of Tinder, and taught Men to preserve Fire in the Stalk of that Plant. These Stalks are strong enough to serve for a Support,

but

(1) L. 5. (2) M. le Clerc upon *Hesiod*, v. 563.

(3) Op. & Die, L. 1. v. 52.

(4) *Diod. Sic.* L. 3.

but too slight to wound those who are beat with them : Hence we are told by *Diodorus Siculus* (1), that *Bacchus*, whoever he was, one of the greatest Legislators of Antiquity, enjoin'd primitive Mortals, when they drank Wine, to use these *Ferula* Canes, because they frequently broke one another's Heads with those they used to wear of another kind.

As for the two Oxen, which *Prometheus* is said to have slain, that he might impose upon *Jupiter*, I take this Fable to be founded upon *Prometheus's* being perhaps the first who opened Victims, to draw Omens from the Inspection of their Entrails. As for the Metamorphosis of *Epimetheus*, who is said to have been transformed into an Ape, this, according to *Lucian*, figures that he, like his Brother, was an able Statuary, and imitated Nature to Perfection.

We must not however forget that the famous *Bochart* (2), and after him *M. le Clerc* (3), take *Prometheus* to be the same with *Magog* ; and it must be owned the Parallel answers pretty exactly, as it is drawn by the former. *Prometheus* is the Son of *Japetus*, and *Magog* the Son of *Japhet*, and Grandson of *Noah*. *Magog*, as well as *Prometheus*, came and settled in *Scythia* : The first invented or improved the Art of founding Metals, and of forging Iron, which the Poets likewise attributed to our *Prometheus* ; and *Diodorus* too says he invented several Instruments proper for making Fire. The Fable setting forth that *Prometheus* was devoured by an Eagle, takes its rise from the Import of the Name *Magog*, which signifies to be eaten up with Vexation (a). *M. le Clerc* adds, that *Epimetheus* is the same with *Gog*, whose Name signifies *burning* ; which, according to him, agrees to that Prince, whose Passion for Women was designed to be figured by the Story of *Pandora*. He adds other Conjectures, which at most only prove that the History of those two Princes was embellish'd with

(1) *Diod. Sic* L. 3. (2) *Peleg.* L. 1. C. 2. (3) Upon *Hesiod.*

(a) *Magog*, as much as to say *tabescere, liquefcere*. *Bochart.* Loc. Cit.

with those of *Gog* and *Magog*, who before them had practised in *Scythia* the Art of forging Iron. Lastly, according to other Authors, *Prometheus* is the same with *Noah*; and the Parallel which they draw between them wants not Probability; so easy it is to find a Resemblance between Persons who lived in Times so remote.

If the Opinion of *Sir Isaac Newton* were supported with any Authority, we would be better acquainted with *Prometheus*, and might determine exactly at what time he lived. According to him, *Prometheus* was Nephew to the famous *Sesostris*, whom he makes to have lived about the Time of the *Argonauts*, a few Years before the *Trojan War*. As that Prince had accompanied his Uncle in his Expeditions, he was left by him upon Mount *Caucasus* (1), with a Part of his Troops, to preserve the Conquests he had made in *Scythia*, as those he had made in *Colchis* were committed to *Ætes*. If this was the Case, *Prometheus* would be an *Egyptian* originally, and we might fix the Time when he lived, and his Deliverer would be *Hercules* the *Argonaut*, or the Son of *Alcmena*; but, as has been said, this Opinion wants Proofs, and according to the Ancients, whom I have quoted, and *Hesiod* himself, *Prometheus* was of the Race of the *Titans*.

Prometheus, weary of his melancholy Retreat in *Scythia*, quitted it at length to pass the Remainder of his Days in *Greece*, where he died, and the *Argives* shew his sepulchral Monument. *Pausanias* indeed says (2), he believed they were mistaken, and that the *Opuntians* gave an Account of it in a manner more conformable to Truth; but this still proves *Greece* to be the Country where he was reckoned to have died. Then it was too that divine Honours were paid to him, since the same Author, in his *Phocica* (3), says that in the Way to *Panopea*, there is to be seen a Chapel built of Brick, quite unconcocted, and in this Chapel a Statue of the Marble of Mount *Pentelicus*, which, according to some, represents *Esculapius*,

(1) Chron. of the ancient Kings, P. 234. (2) In Corinth. (3) C. 4.

culapius, and according to others *Prometheus*. The latter, adds this Author, prove their Assertion from Stones of an immense Bigness, that are in the Neighbourhood, alledging these to be the Remains of the wrought Clay, wherewith *Prometheus* had formed Mankind. I believe few will think this to be a very conclusive Argument; but what leaves no room to doubt that *Prometheus* received divine Honours, or at least such Honours as were destined to the Heroes, is what we are told by the same *Pausanias* in his Atticks, namely, that *Prometheus* had an Altar in the Academy itself, and that Games were instituted to him, which consisted in running from that Altar to the City, with Torches that were to be kept from going out. *He who would gain this Victory must keep his Torch burning; if he who runs first lets his Torch go out, he gives place to the second, the second to the third, and so on; but if all the Torches go out, no body gains the Victory, and the Prize is reserved for another time.*

We shall close this Article by observing that Time has preserv'd to us a fine Bas-Relief (1), which represents *Prometheus* delivered by *Hercules*. The Fable is admirably engraved upon this Marble; at the Extremity whereof you see on one Side an old Man between the Branches of a Tree, who is the Image of Mount *Atlas*, according to *Bellori*; but it is more probably Mount *Caucasus*, where *Prometheus* was delivered. *Hercules*, with his Bow bent, ready to shoot at the Eagle, has left behind him his Club, and the Skin of the Lion of *Nemea*. *Prometheus* bound to a Rock, bears upon his Knee the Bird that preys upon his Entrails. Lastly, *Mercury* appears in a proper Attitude to assist *Hercules*.

(1) Admir. Rom. Ant.

C H A P. VII.

Of the other Titans.

TH O' *Rhea* or *Ops*, *Oceanus*, *Tethys* and *Pluto* were celebrated among the *Titans*, that I may not however deviate from the Order I have proposed to follow, I shall speak of them only in the History of the Gods of the Sea, of the Earth and Hell. Those I am to speak of in this Chapter, tho' less noted, deserve however to be mentioned, since all the *Titans*, generally speaking, had contributed to the Happiness of the World. Accordingly *Diodorus Siculus* remarks (1), that all of them had signalized themselves.

“ The Mythology of *Crete*, says he, takes Notice
 “ that the *Titans* were born while the *Curetes* were
 “ but young. They first inhabited the Country of
 “ the *Gnosians*, where are still to be seen the Founda-
 “ tions of *Rhea's* Palace, and an ancient Wood.
 “ The Family of the *Titans* was composed of six Sons
 “ and five Daughters, all of them Sons of *Cælus* and
 “ *Terra* ; or, according to others, of one of the *Cu-*
 “ *retes* and *Titæa*, thus deriving their Name from
 “ their Mother. The six Sons were *Saturn*, *Hyper-*
 “ *ion*, *Cæus*, *Japetus*, *Crius* and *Oceanus* (a): And
 “ the five Daughters were *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*,
 “ *Phæbe* and *Tethys*. All of them blest'd Mankind
 “ with some Discovery or other, which made them
 “ be remember'd by them with eternal Gratitude.
 “ *Hyperion*, the second of the *Titans*, for we have al-
 “ ready spoke of *Saturn*, by his assiduous Observa-
 “ tions, discovered the Course of the Sun, Moon,
 “ and other Luminaries ; by them he regulated the
 “ Times and Seasons, and transmitted that Know-
 “ ledge to others. Hence he has been called the Fa-
 Vol. II. U ther

(1) L. 5. C. 11.

(a) *Hesiod* adds *Mencæti*, whom *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt threw down to *Tartarus*, as a Punishment for his Wickedness.

“ther of the Stars, and he must at least be allowed
 “to have been the Father of Astronomy.” This, no doubt, is what made him pass for the Father of the Sun and Moon, as we shall observe presently.

H Y P E R I O N.

Hyperion according to *Hesiod* (1), having married *Theia*, became the Father of the Sun and Moon (a). *Diodorus Siculus*, in the *Theogony* of the *Atlantides*, agrees with this Poet, that *Hyperion* was the Father of the Sun and of *Phæbe* or the Moon; but by another Wife. Where 'tis proper to remark, that altho' the Sun has been often confounded with *Apollo*, and the Moon with *Diana*, yet in the ancient Mythology they were plainly distinguish'd, as I shall prove in the History of *Apollo*.

M N E M O S Y N E.

To the *Titanide Mnemosyne* is ascribed, continues *Diodorus*, the Art of Reasoning, and the giving of Names suitable to every Being, so that we can describe them and converse about them without seeing them; an Invention, however, which others ascribe to *Mercury*: But *Mnemosyne* is generally allowed to have been the first who used Helps to assist the Memory in recalling things occasionally, and so much is intimated in her Name.

T H E M I S.

Tho' *Themis* is accounted only an allegorical Personage whose Name in the *Hebrew* Language (2) imports *perfect or upright*, and her pretended Marriage with *Jupiter* is but an Emblem of Justice which produces Laws, and regulates the Conditions of Men, yet I take her to be a real Personage and one of the principal *Titanides*. *Hesiod*, (3) who gives her Genealogy, says she was the Daughter of *Cælus* and

(1) *Theog.* v. 371. She is called *Thea* in *Hesiod*.

(a) Some before *Hesiod*, had called *Phæbe* the Daughter of *Cælus* and *Terra*.

(2) *Than.* (3) *Theog.*

and *Terra* or of *Uranus* and *Titæa*. “*Terra*, says he, “by her Commerce with *Cælus*, had *Oceanus* who dwells deep ingulf’d, and with him, *Thea*, *Creus*, “*Hyperion*, *Japetus*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, “*Phæbe*, *Tethys* and *Saturn*.” Whence we may see that she was elder than *Saturn*, and Aunt to *Jupiter*, and hence the Fiction of her pretended Commerce with that God falls to the Ground, since she was even elder than *Saturn* who was her Brother. Thus tho’ we are told by some of the Ancients that *Jupiter*, having been in Love with her, and pursued her as far as *Macedonia*, at Length offered Violence to her, and had by her three Daughters, *Justice*, *Law* and *Peace*; yet this is either a mere Allegory, or to be understood of *Carmenta*, who pass’d for *Themis*, and, according to *Eusebius* (1), had by *Jupiter* the three Children now named.

Themis distinguished herself by her Prudence and Regard to Justice; and if we may rely upon *Diodorus*, she was the Foundress of Divination, Sacrifices, the Laws of Religion, and whatever serves to maintain Order and Peace among Men. No wonder then that she has always been accounted the Goddess of *Justice*; and those Persons stiled from her *Thesmophylaces* and *Thesmothetæ*, whose Business it is to preserve the Worship of the Gods and the Laws of human Society. Hence also it comes that when *Apollo* delivers Oracles, he is said to do the Office of *Themis*, because she is the Inventress of Divination, as has been now said.

Themis had for her Lot a Part of *Thessaly*, and, according to the Practice of those Times the Office of administering Justice; wherein she acquitted herself with so much Integrity and Judgment, that she was always look’d upon afterwards as the Goddess of Justice, whose Name was therefore given her. As she had been addicted to Astrology, with the other *Titans*, she became very expert in the Art of Prediction; and after her Death she had Temples

(1) Præp. Evang. L. 3.

where Oracles were delivered. *Ovid* (1) mentions that which she delivered upon *Parnassus*, at the Time of her grand Nephew *Deucalion's* Deluge, which happened not till several Years after that Princess's Death.

We may remark by the by, *First*, That this Fable is not very consistent with itself, for since it informs us that *Terra* had delivered Oracles in the same Place before *Themis*, how is it possible that she was the Inventress of Divination? we may observe in the second Place, that, according to *Festus*, *Themis* was she who commanded Men to ask from the Gods what was just and reasonable: That she presided over the Pactions that are made between them, and kept a strict Eye over the Observance of them.

As for the Worship of this Goddess, no Account of it is preserved to us in Antiquity, except what we learn from *Pausanias* (2) that she had a Temple at *Athens*, pretty near the Citadel. Nor have we any Monument or Statue of this Goddess remaining; we only know from the Author now quoted (3), that in the Temple which *Juno* had in *Elis*, and upon the same Throne where were the Statues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, were likewise exhibited those of the Hours, and that of *Themis* their Mother.

C H A P. VIII.

An Examination into the Time when Saturn, Jupiter, and the other Titans lived, and when Men began to pay them divine Honours.

WE have already said that several Persons bore the Name of *Jupiter*, and we have fixed the Dates of some of them who were best known. The present Question therefore is only about the *Titan* Prince who went by this Name; and tho' Antiquity has left us few Lights as to the Time when he reigned,

(1) *Met.* L. 1.

(2) In *Attic*.

(3) In *Eliac*.

reigned, I presume however it may be deduced from *Deucalion's* Genealogy. The Marbles of *Paros* place his Reign in *Lycoria* near *Parnassus* in the ninth Year of *Cecrops*. This is their Account of it, contrary to what is said by *Pausanias* who takes *Lycoria* not to have been a Province, but a Town situated upon the Top of a Mountain. This date is very considerable, because it will serve to determine the Time when the Gods of *Greece*, *Uranus*, *Chronos*, and *Zeus*, lived, since *Deucalion* was their very near Relation according to the Genealogy of *Apollodorus*.

With the Help of this Date we may determine nearly the Age of *Jupiter*, who having reigned sixty two Years, may be reckoned to have begun his Reign 1842. Years before the vulgar Era, and to have died 1780. Years before the same Era, sometime before *Inachus*. *Deucalion*, no doubt, taking advantage of the Weakness or Indolence of the Sons of *Jupiter's* Successors, drew near to the Frontiers of *Thessaly*, and founded a new Settlement in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Parnassus* about 1573 Years before the vulgar Era.

To establish this Epoch we may borrow some Assistance from the Testimony of *Tallus*, who according to *Theophilus* of *Antioch* (1), expressly says that *Chronos*, or *Saturn* lived 321 Years before the taking of *Troy*, as has been already said (2); which is not far from the Date that I have now deduced from *Deucalion's* Genealogy; and agrees pretty well with the Opinion that is most commonly gone into by the Learned, who make *Saturn* to have lived in the Time of *Abraham*, about the Year 1914 before *Christ*, and *Jupiter* in the Time of *Isaac*; as also with profane Authors, who make *Belus* and *Saturn* contemporary.

The Memory of *Noah*, and of his Children was then recent enough, as well as the Tradition of their Partition of the World among them and of their Dispersion; and this is what makes the History

U 3

of

(1) L. 3. Adv. Ant.

(2) Hist. of *Janus*.

of the *Titan* Princes appear to be embellish'd with the Adventures of *Noah's* Offspring. The Strokes of Resemblance that are to be found between them seem so considerable to the famous *Bochart* (1), that he took the Family of the *Titan* Princes to be the same with that of the *Patriarchs*; making *Saturn* the same with *Noah*; and his three Sons, *Shem*, *Cham* and *Japhet*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*; the Cruelty that *Jupiter* practis'd upon his Father, only a bad Imitation of *Cham's* indiscreet Curiosity (a); the Division of the World between the Sons of *Noah*, the same with that which happened between the Sons of *Saturn*; in a Word, he makes the Parallel between the one and the other to hold exactly in almost every particular. *Gerard Vossius*, Father *Thomassin* of the Oratory, M. *Huet*, and lastly M. *Fourmont* the elder, have found other similar Characters of Resemblance between the *Patriarchs* and those first Gods of the *Pagan* World, as may be seen in their Works. The last, especially in the Parallel he draws between *Saturn* or *Moloch*, and *Abrabam*, which we have quoted in the second Volume (2), seems to have improved upon the Rest. But not to insist that nothing is so easy as to find some Strokes of Resemblance between Persons tho' ever so different, I can never be persuaded that the History of our first Parents was so well known to the Infidels as to be a Model for them to form their Gods and Heroes upon, as has been said in the eleventh Source of Fables. Thus all we can grant those learned Authors is, not that the Family of the *Patriarchs* is the same with that of the *Titan* Princes, since they cannot be confounded without overturning the most celebrated Remains of ancient profane History; but only that the *Greeks* might have learned from the Orientals, some Particularities of the History

(1) *Pelag. L. i. c. i.*

(a) He alledges that the same *Phenician* Word, signifying *demonstravit patris nuditatem*, imports also, *Patrem castravit*.

(2) B. 8. History of *Moloch*.

History of the Patriarchs, which they adapted to that of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*.

Such is the History of the first Gods of *Greece*. Those whose History is to be the Subject of the following Chapter, are descended from them and almost all of them claim *Jupiter* for their Father.

The End of the Third Volume of the Original.



The CONTINUATION *of the* HISTORY
of the CELESTIAL GODS.

* C H A P. IX.

The History of Minerva or Pallas, and of Bellona.

I Begin the History of the Gods of this second Race with that of *Minerva*, the noblest of *Jupiter*'s Productions. We shall first relate the *Greek* Mythology concerning her, then examine into her true Original. *Cicero* finds five Goddesses of this Name. " I have already, says he, mentioned
" one *Minerva* the Mother of *Apollo*. Another, the
" Offspring of *Nilus*, is worship'd at *Sais* a Town in
" *Egypt*. A third was the Daughter of *Jupiter*, as
" has been said. A fourth, born of *Jupiter* and
" *Coryphe* the Daughter of *Oceanus*, named by the
" *Arcadians* *Corea*, to whom is owing the Invention
" of Chariots drawn by four Horses. A fifth, who
" is pictured with winged Shoes, was the Daughter
U 4 " of

* Here begins the fourth Volume of the Original.

“ of *Pallas*, whom, we are told, she put to Death,
 “ because he offered Violence to her (*a*).”

St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who of all the Fathers was best acquainted with profane Antiquity, and had read a great Number of Authors whose Works are now lost, admits also five *Minervas*; but as to their Parents he differs somewhat from *Cicero*. The first, says he, was *Athenian*, and the Daughter of *Vulcan*; the second *Egyptian*, the Daughter of *Nilus*; the third, the Offspring of *Saturn*, invented the Art of War; the fourth, the Daughter of *Jupiter*; the last was the Offspring of *Pallas* and *Titanis*, the Daughter of *Oceanus*, who, after having put her Father to Death, slew him and covered herself with his Skin.

What first occurs here is the Mystery of this Goddess's Birth. *Jupiter*, we are told (*b*), after the War of the *Titans*, being now by the consent of the other Gods, Lord of Heaven and Earth, married *Metis* who was accounted the wisest of her Sex; but when she was ready to be delivered, having learned from *Calus* that she was to bring forth a Daughter of consummate Wisdom, and a Son who was fated to be one Day Sovereign of the Universe, he devoured her; and sometime after feeling a violent Pain in his Head, he applied to *Vulcan*, who with a Stroke of his Ax cleft his Brain asunder, whence sprung *Minerva* in compleat Armour, and already full grown; insomuch that she was in a Capacity to assist her Father in the War with the Giants, where she highly distinguish'd herself (1). *Jupiter*, according to some Authors, was already married to *Juno*; and what made him think of bringing forth *Minerva*

was

(*a*) *Minerva prima, quam Apollinis Matrem supra diximus: Secunda orta Nilo, quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt: Tertia illa quam Jove generatam diximus: Quarta Jove nata, & Coryphe Oceani Filia, quam Arcades Coriam nominant, & quadrigarum Inventricem ferunt: Quinta Pallantis, quæ Patrem dicitur interemisse, Virginitatem suam violare conantem; cui pennarum talaria affingunt. De Nat. Deor. L. 3. c. 192.*

(*b*) See Hom. Hymn. to *Pallas*. Hesiod. Theog. Philostr. *Picture of the Birth of Minerva*, and Lucian's Dial. of *Jupiter* and *Vulcan*.

(1) See what has been said upon that War.

was *Juno's* Barrenness. This Fiction has always appeared Mysterious, and very different Explanations of it have been offered. Some of the learned Moderns have been of Opinion that it veiled some of the sublimest Truths in Philosophy, and even the Mystery of that *Word* (1) whereby all Things were created; that is to say, the eternal Ideas in the divine Mind, which had been the Model of whatever omnipotent Wisdom brought into Being (a); that the tremendous *Egis* (2), given her by the Poets, which no other God but herself was able to carry, was intended to figure her being equal in Power with her Father; and that her being called the Goddess of Arts and Sciences, was only a figurative way of saying she was the Intelligence of her Father; in fine, that the Reason of consecrating to her the Owl, the Serpent, and the Cock, was to denote her Vigilance and to teach us that true Wisdom is eternally awake. But if these Authors be ask'd, where the Poets had got such high Conceptions of the most sublime Theology, they tell you it was from the Books of *Mercury Trismegistus*, that celebrated Author who seems to have discovered the Mystery of the Trinity; but there is too much Reason to think these Books spurious. Others say (b) the Poets borrowed those Ideas from the Books of *Moses*, the Knowledge whereof was brought into *Greece* by Colonies from *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Nations; and that a confused Idea of the eternal Word, was the Foundation of the Fables relative to this Subject. Father *Tournemine* is of this Opinion, since in an excellent Piece of his inserted in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, for *November* and *December* 1702, he says the Name of *Athena* or *Thena* comes from an *Hebrew* Word that signifies *Knowledge*; and he finds a great Affinity between that Goddess and the

(1) Λόγος.

(a) Called by S. Paul *figura substantiæ ejus*. See S. Augustine, de Civ. Dei. L. 7. from Varro.

(2) Hom. Il. B. 6.

(b) Father Tournemine, Scheme of the Explication of the Fables; Journal de Trevoux, November and December 1702.

the divine *Word* produced in the Way of Knowledge. Further, continues he, the *Arcadians* said *Minerva* was the Daughter of *Coryphé*, because that Word signifies the Crown of the Head. *Triton*, in like Manner, in the *Eolian* Dialect, signifies the Brain; For the same Reason her Father was said to be called *Cranus*. This learned Author goes yet farther, and is persuaded that the Serpent carried in Procession by the Virgins devoted to the Service of *Minerva*, was a Figure of that which had seduced *Eve*. But I can never give into these Notions; for how is it to be thought that the *Pagans* had the most distant Idea of these ineffable Mysteries?

M. *le Clerc*, in his Notes upon *Hesiod*, says this Fable is founded upon *Jupiter's* having adopted *Minerva*, and taken care of her Education. For my own Part, keeping to *Hesiod* who makes her spring from *Jupiter's* Brain, I would only remark that the Subject of that Fable is not, as is commonly thought the wise *Minerva*, but the warlike *Pallas*; since the Epithets he gives her agree to no other but her. *That God, says he, hatch'd from his Brain the blue-ey'd Tritonian Goddess; she is active, violent, untractable, that takes Delight in bloody Broils, the Din of War and Battles.*

Eusebius takes the Fable of *Minerva* to have risen from the Story of a Virgin, who appeared upon the Banks of the Lake *Triton*, and grew famous for her Works in Wooll; and as fine Arts are the Productions of the Mind, it was just to say that she sprung from the Brain of *Jove*. *Pausanias* (1) seems to confirm this Tradition followed by *Eusebius*, when he says; *As for the Goddess, she is Blue-ey'd, which I take to be founded upon a Fable current among the Libyans, for they say Minerva was the Daughter of Neptune and Tritonis the Nymph of a Marsh, and that she was therefore represented with blue Eyes like her Father.*

However, as Antiquity varies not a little in all these Matters, the same *Pausanias* tells us that
those

(1) In Att. c. 14.

those of *Aliphera* in *Arcadia* valued themselves for having *Minerva* born and brought up among them: Lastly the most common Opinion is that *Minerva* was the Daughter of *Cecrops* (a), and as she distinguish'd herself in the *Belles Lettres*, and perhaps in Arms, so she came to be accounted after her Death the Divinity who presided over them; and the Reason assigned for her being reckoned the Issue of *Jupiter's* Brain is only that her Name, according to the most natural Etymology, signifies either *Counsel*, or *Wisdom*, or *Wit* (1). All the Learned however are not agreed as to this Etymology. Others derive the Name *Athene*, either from *Atbanatos*, immortal, or from *Thanai*, *Knowing*, or from *Athrena*, *Sharpsighted*, or lastly from *Thena Knowledge*: And that of *Minerva*, anciently *Menerva*, is derived from *μένω*, or from *minuere*, to diminish, or from *minari*, to threaten, or from *monere* to warn (2).

But I reckon there was a *Minerva* more antient than those we have now mentioned, who was worship'd at *Sais* in *Egypt*, long before *Cecrops*; that this Prince who was a Native thereof, introduced her Worship into *Greece*, and that it was only in after Times this Goddess was confounded with his Daughter *Athené*, to whom he had given that Name to consecrate her to the Divinity who was worship'd in his Country. This *Minerva* of *Egypt* was called *Neitis*, according to *Plato* (3) and *Eratoſthenes*; and the Former adds that she was the Foundress of *Sais*, whence the *Greeks* had the Ceremonies of her Worship. And as the Kings of *Egypt* according to *Lucian*, often took the Names of their Gods, that of *Nitocris* the famous Queen, who during the Course of her Reign, distinguish'd herself no less by her glorious Deeds than by the Monuments she erected, signifies *Victorious Minerva*,

According

(a) This Conjecture is the more probable, that *Cecrops* is perhaps *Jupiter* King of *Athens*, whom ancient Mythology makes be the Father of *Minerva*.

(1) *Cælius Cælo Poet. Astro. in Geminis.*

(2) Consult likewise *Lyllo Gyraldi.*

(3) In his *Timæus.*

According to others of the Ancients, this *Minerva* of *Egypt* was called *Ogga*, or *Onka*; and it must be owned that their Opinion is better grounded than that of *Plato* and *Eratosthenes*. For indeed we have several Writers of Antiquity to attest that the most ancient Name of *Minerva* was that of *Ogga* or *Onka*. *Euphorion*, in *Stephen of Byzantium*, is positive on this Head; and *Hesychius* says in so many Words; *Athene was called Onka at Thebes*. The Scholiast upon *Pindar*, who mentions a Village in *Thebais* named *Onka*, is of the same Opinion with *Hesychius*: Now the City of *Thebes* in *Greece* was a *Phenician* Colony. *Eschilus* is the first from whom we learn this Name of *Minerva*; *Etbeocles* says in one of the Tragedies of that Poet; “First of all *Onka*, *Pallas*,
“ that Goddess who vouchsafes to dwell near us at
“ the Gates of this City, &c.”

The Scholiast on that Poet hence concludes that *Pallas* was worship'd among the *Thebans* under the Name of *Onka*: Now whence had the *Thebans* that Name but from the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians* whom *Cadmus* brought into *Beotia*? I say from the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*, because the Ancients were divided as to the Country whence *Cadmus* came, as we shall see in his History.

But what is the Derivation of this Name *Ogga* or *Onka*? As to this the Learned are not agreed, as may be seen in *Seiden* (1) and *Bocbart* (2). *M. Fourmont* (3) seems not so much at a Loss about it as the Rest. *Onga*, says he, which is the *Phenician* name of *Pallas*, must be in the Family of *Chronos*; now *Chronos* or *Saturn* according to him, is unquestionably *Abraham*. This Name imports a young Maid, or a Maid-servant: It is therefore the same Name, only taking away the *r* with that of *Agar*, the Mother of the Warlike *Ismael*; but I refer to the Author himself, for the Proofs of this Sentiment.

From

(1) De Diis Syriis.

(2) Geogr. sacr. L. 2. c. 24.

(3) Reff. Crit. 8, at Sect. 2.

From what has been said, I presume *Cicero* must be in a Mistake; when he says in the Passage before quoted, *Minerva Secunda, orta Nilo, quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt*; and what proves her Antiquity, is that among the *Egyptians* she was the Wife of *Vulcan*, the most ancient of all their Gods: Wherein as has been already remark'd, the *Greek* Mythology that made her a Virgin Goddess, differed very much from that of *Egypt*. The *Libyans*, who as we learn from *Herodotus* had received from the *Egyptians* the Worship of this Goddess, changed her whole History (1), making her the Daughter of *Neptune* and the Lake *Tritonis*, that she had given herself to *Jupiter*, who adopted her for his own Daughter. &c.

I ought to observe from the same Author, that the *Libyans*, who lived about the Lake *Tritonis*, celebrated every Year a solemn Festival in Honour of *Minerva*; during which the young Virgins divided themselves into two Bodies, and fought together with Stones and Sticks, and reckoned those not true Virgins who died of their Wounds: An ancient Festival according to those People, which they said was transmitted to them from their Ancestors. The same Author (2) likewise mentions a Festival celebrated at *Sais* in Honour of the same Goddess; but of that we have said enough in the History of the Gods of *Egypt*.

Pallas, *Minerva* and *Athene*, among the *Greeks* were but one and the same Divinity, with this sole Difference, that *Minerva* was properly the Goddess of Arts and Sciences; and *Pallas*, who had got her Name from the Giant *Pallas* her Father, was she who presided over War, whence she is sometimes confounded with *Bellona*, whom we shall speak of in the Sequel of this Article; but here the Poets often vary.

Several Cities were distinguish'd for the Worship they paid to *Minerva*; amongst others *Rhodes* and
Athens;

(1) L. 1. c. 180.

(2) L. 2. c. 59.

Athens ; but in that *Sais* rivalled all the Cities in the World ; there this Goddess had even a magnificent Temple, whereof you may see the Description in *Herodotus* (1). The same Author speaks also of Temples which this Goddess had in several Cities of *Greece* ; but it seems the Island *Dio*, or *Naxos*, tho' consecrated to *Bacchus*, was more remarkable for the Worship of *Minerva*, as may be proved by three Medals of that City, on which she is represented. One of these Medals is in the King's Cabinet, and has been explained by Father *Hardouin* ; and the other two are in the *Thesaurus Britannicus*. But now that I have mentioned *Rhodes*, I shall explain by the by the Fable which imports that on this Goddess's Birth-day, a Shower of Gold was seen to fall in that City (2) ; which has no other Foundation but that the City *Rhodes*, which had come under the Protection of *Minerva*, excelled in the Art of making fine Statues. To this Fable was added that the Goddess, offended with them for having once omitted to bring Fire to one of her Sacrifices, forsook that Island, and retired to *Athens* ; which means no more but that the *Rhodians* having neglected the Worship of that Goddess, and their former Care in improving the fine Arts, the *Athenians* began at that Time to distinguish themselves therein, and to take her for their Patroness. Accordingly they dedicated to her a magnificent Temple under the Name of *Parthenos*, the *Virgin*. *Phidias* adorned it with a Statue of Gold and Ivory, which was a Master-piece. But what made the Worship of *Minerva* still more solemn, was the Festival which the *Athenians* celebrated to her Honour, the Pomp whereof invited Spectators from all *Greece*. This Festival, accurately described by *Meursius* (3), whom I shall only copy, was called *Athenaia*, and had been instituted by *Erichthonius*, the third King of *Athens*. Afterwards when *Theseus* had united the twelve Towns of *Attica*, to form them into one

(1) L. 2.

(2) Pindar 7. Olym. and Claudian.

(3) Meurs. Panathenæa.

one City more considerable, and when this Festival was celebrated by all these People, it took the Name of *Panathenaia*. At first it lasted only one Day; but to add to the Solemnity of it, it was continued afterwards for several Days. It was at that Time the *Panathenæa* came to be distinguish'd into greater and less: The greater were solemnized every five Years, on the 23d of the Month *Hecatombæon*, which answers to our *June*; and the lesser ones every Year, on the 20th of *Targelion* that is of the Month of *Aprile*. The Games or publick Exercises that accompany'd this Festival, were the foot Race, with Flambeaus and lighted Torches, as in the Festivals of *Vulcan* and *Prometheus*: Then about the Time of *Plato*, when the Use of Horses was introduced into this Exercise, it became a Horse-race. The second Exercise was the Combat of the *Athletæ*, and the third a Trial of Musick; there the Poets too disputed the Prize, and exhibited four Pieces of Poetry, that were called *Tetralogiæ*. To these Games was added the Dance, especially the *Pyrrick*, and it was performed by the Youths. The Reason they gave for this Custom, was that *Minerva* herself, after the Defeat of the *Titans*, had practised this Dance. When the *Romans* became Masters of *Athens*, they added to them also the Combat of the Gladiators. They who presided over these several Games were called *Athletethi*; they were ten in all, according to the Number of the Tribes of *Athens*, and their Function lasted four Years. The Victor's Prize was an Olive Crown, and a Vessel full of Oil, which he might dispose of as he had a Mind, provided he did not carry it Home, and he was obliged to give an Entertainment to those who had been his Antagonists.

After these Trials of skill followed the Sacrifices, for which every Village of *Attica* was obliged to furnish an Ox, and on the Remains they kept a publick Feast.

As the great *Panathenaia* were more rarely celebrated, so they were likewise more solemn. To the Exercises

Exercifes and Sacrifices now mentioned, was added a Proceffion, in which the *Peplus* of *Minerva* was carried about. This *Peplus* was a white Robe without Sleeves, and all worked with Gold, on which were represented the Combats and great Atchievements of *Minerva*, *Jupiter* and the Heroes. In this Proceffion were joined People of all Ranks and Ages, and of either Sex, with this Distinction that the Youths led up the Rear; the old People carried an Olive Branch in their Hands, the young Virgins Baskets, and the blooming Boys crowned with Millet, fung Hymns known by the Name of *Pæans*, while thofe whom they called *Rhapsodists* recited Verfes of *Homer*. The Proceffion advanced from the *Ceramicus* to the Temple of *Ceres Eleufina*. This *Peplus* was faften'd to a Barge which was moved along by Machinery.

Antiquity makes mention of the Quarrel and Conteft between that Goddefs and *Neptune*, about giving a Name to the City *Athens*. The twelve great Gods were chofen Umpires of the Difference, and agreed that the one who produced a Thing of moft Ufe to the City, fhould have the naming of it. *Neptune* with a Stroke of his Trident, made a Horfe fpring from the Earth; and *Minerva* produced an Olive-Tree, which procured her the Victory, and accordingly ſhe gave the Name of *Athene* to the City of *Cecrops* (a).

S. Auguſtin (1) informs us from *Varro*, that what gave riſe to this Fable was, that *Cecrops*, in building the Walls of *Athens*, found an Olive-tree and a Fountain; and that the Oracle of *Delphos* being conſulted ſaid, *Minerva* and *Neptune* had both a Right to name the new City; upon which the People and Senate had aſſembled and decided in Favour of the Goddeſs.

But,

(a) *Apollodorus*, l. 3. relating this Fiction, ſays *Neptune* the firſt who arrived at *Attica*, had made a Sea to ſpring out of the Earth, and that *Minerva* in Prefence of *Cecrops*, had planted an Olive, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his Time in the Temple of *Pandora*, one of the Daughters of *Cecrops*.

(1) *De Civ. Dei*. l. 8.

But according to some Authors, this Fable is only founded upon the Change which *Cranæus* made, in transferring the Name of his Daughter *Athene* to that City, instead of that of *Posidonia* the Name of *Neptune* which it had before; and as the *Areopagus* confirmed this Change, they have fabled that *Neptune* had been cast by the Judgment of the Gods.

Tho' these two Explications are not without Probability, an ingenious Critic (a) has found out another which is still more satisfactory. The ancient People of *Attica*, says he, the Posterity of *Cethin*, a Savage and ferocious Race, dwelt only in Caves, and minded nothing but hunting. The *Pelasgi*, who made themselves Masters of their Country, taught them the Art of Navigation, and made Pirates of them. *Cecrops*, a Native of *Sais* in *Egypt*, led a Colony thither, abolish'd the barbarous Manners of that People, taught them to cultivate the Ground and to propagate Olives, for which the Soil was proper: Of Olives, says he, whence *Sais* derived its Name (1). He taught them likewise to worship *Minerva*, who was called *Athene*; highly adored at *Sais*, and to whom the Olive-tree was consecrated. The *Athenians* from that Time look'd upon that Goddess as the Protectress of their City, and called it after her Name. *Athens* became famous for its excellent Oil (2): The Profits that accrued from thence suggested a Project of reclaiming the People from Piracy, to apply them solely to the Culture of the Ground. The more effectually to promote this Design, they invented a Fable, (which was the ancient Way of proposing any Thing to the Populace) wherein *Neptune* was supposed to have been overcome by *Minerva*, who, even in the Judgment of the great Gods, had made a more useful Discovery than *Neptune*. This Fable was composed in the ancient Language of the Country, which was the *Phrygian*, blended with several *Phœnician* Words: And as in these two Languages the same

VOL. II.

X

Word

(a) Father Tournemine, *Journal de Trevoux*, January 1708.

(1) *Zanth*, An Olive-tree.

(2) See Herodotus.

Word signifies a Horse and a Ship (1), those who interpreted this Fable, took the Word in the former Signification, and substituted a Horse in Place of a Ship, which was the Emblem of the Fable, whose End was to reclaim the People from Piracy. Had it not been for this Mistake, adds that learned Father, would *Neptune* have got the Name of *Ippius* (2), and would they ever have made a Horseman of the God of the Sea? Or, to say it in a Word with *Vossius* (3), it was a Contest between the Seamen, who owned *Neptune* for their Head, and the People who sided with the Senate governed by *Minerva*, that gave Rise to the Fable. The People, by the Judgment of the *Areopagus*, carry'd it, and the Country Life was preferred to that of the Pirates; which made them say *Minerva* had got the better of *Neptune*.

How probable soever these Explications appear, I am of Opinion that a more natural one may yet be given, such a one as may suit with the other Fables, that are of a similar Kind; for this Quarrel among the Gods is not the only one that Antiquity mentions. *Pausanias* tells us the *Corinthians* alledged that the Sun and *Neptune* had a Contest for their Country, much like this between *Neptune* and *Minerva* for *Athens*, and that they chose *Briareus* to decide the Difference, who adjudged the Isthmus to *Neptune*, and the Promontory which commands the City to the Sun; and from that Time *Neptune* continued in Possession of the Isthmus.

The *Argives*, according to the same Author (4), had another Fable among them, conform to these two now related. *Neptune*, they said, had flooded a great Part of their Lands, when the River *Inachus* and the other Arbiters pronounced Sentence that the Country ought to belong to *Juno* and not to *Neptune*. *Juno* upon this pray'd *Neptune* to stop the Inundation; the God granted her Request, and at the

(1) Consult the Place now cited.

(2) ἵππεύς, a Horseman.

(3) De Idol. L. 1. c. 15.

(4) Loc. cit. c. 22.

the Place where the Waters of the Sea retired, the *Argives*, in Commemoration of this Event, built a Temple to *Neptune*, whom they surnamed *Proclystius* (1). Thus I am of Opinion that these and the like Fables, which the same Author speaks of, refer to the Introduction of the Worship of those Gods into those Countries, and to the Opposition that was made upon that Occasion. Arbiters were then chosen, and that God whose Worship was establish'd in Preference to the other, was reckoned to have gained the Victory: Which is plainly the Case, especially in the two first Examples. Thus the *Athenians* who at first preferred Agriculture to maritime Commerce, paid more Honour to *Minerva* than to *Neptune*; and the *Corinthians* situated between two Seas, preferred the Worship of *Neptune* to that of *Apollo*, that is maritime Commerce, to the fine Arts and Sciences.

This was not the only Contest that *Minerva* had. *Arachné* the Daughter of *Idmon*, of the City *Colophon*, disputed with her the Glory of working better than she in Cloth and Tapestry. The Challenge was accepted; and the Goddess seeing the Work of her Rival exquisitely beautiful, threw the Shuttle at her Head, which so provoked *Arachné* that she hanged herself in Spight; but the Gods in Pity transformed her into the Spider, as we are told by *Ovid* (2).

Bochart thinks this Fable has no other Foundation but the Word *Arach*, which signifies to Spin, and tells us that the Scripture uses the same Word to signify the Webs which that Insect works; but with due Respect to that learned Author, we may well suppose that the Vanity of an ingenious female Artist who had pretended to surpass *Minerva* herself, and her having come to a tragical End had given a handle to the Invention of the Fable now related. *Pliny* (3) who gives the History of *Arachné*, says she hang'd herself, without telling the Reason of her Despair.

X 2

The

(1) From the Greek Word Περικλύειν, to dry up.

(2) Met. L. 1.

(3) L. 11. c. 24.

The Contest of this Goddess with *Tiresias* was very soon ended. He having had the Presumption to look upon her when she was bathing herself, was deprived by her of the Use of Sight, as shall be said in the sixth Volume.

I shall dwell but little upon the Adventure between *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, it suffices to observe that he by *Jupiter's* own Permission, having offered Violence to her, met with such stout Resistance, that tho' he became the Father of *Eriethonius* by her, yet her Chastity did not suffer (1). The Goddess having taken the Infant who was lame and deformed, shut him up in a Basket, and gave the Daughters of *Cecrops* the Charge of nursing him; but I shall explain this Fable in the sixth Volume, when I come to speak of that Prince.

It only now remains that I speak of the Names that were given to this Goddess, and of the Manner in which she was represented.

These Names she derived either from her Qualities, or the Places where she was worship'd. That of *Alalcomene* given her by *Homer*, was derived according to some, from the Name of him who had erected her Statue, or, according to others, from her giving Assistance to her Favourites, as to *Hercules*, whose great Protectress she was against *Juno*: And it was, according to *Pausanias* (2) in the Attitude of a Woman ready to defend that Heroe, she was represented by the *Megareans* in the Statue of her which they had placed in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*. She was called *Musica*, or the Musician, a Name given her from the Statue of her which *Demetrius* made, where the Serpents of the *Gorgon*, when they were struck, resounded like a Lute. The Name of *Tritonea*, or *Tritogenia*, came from the River *Triton*, near which she was born, and where she had been seen for the first Time. That of *Gigantophontis*, from the Aid she had given *Jupiter* against the Giants. That of *Parthenia*, because she preserved her

(1) Paus. in Att.

(2) In Eliac.

her Virginity ; that of *Cæſia*, becauſe ſhe was Blue-ey'd : She was called *Ippia* ; that is to ſay the female Cavalier, and then ſhe was taken for the Daughter of *Neptune* ; *Sthenias*, or *Robuſt* ; *Poliuchos* or *Polias*, as you would ſay the Patroness of the City ; this is the Name ſhe went by at *Athens*, and it is to be ſeen upon a Medal of that City, as to which you may conſult a Diſſertation in the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles Lettres* (1). Under this ſame Name ſhe had a Statue at *Athens*, according to *Strabo*, all of Ivory, done by *Phidias*. She bore likewiſe the ſame Name in the other Cities where ſhe was ſpecially worſhip'd. She was called *Ellotes*, for Reaſons to be given when we come to the Hiſtory of *Europa* ; *Coriphagena*, becauſe ſhe ſprung from *Jupiter's* Brain ; this Epithet is given to her by *Plutarch*. She was denominated *Lyndia*, from the City of that Name in the Iſland of *Rhodes* ; *Ergane*, or the Inventress, becauſe to her was aſcribed the Invention of ſeveral Arts, ſince beſides that of the Art of War, *Lucian* aſcribes to her that of Architecture ; the Art of Spinning, of making Cloth, Tapeſtry, Silk and Woollen Stuffs, is alſo aſcribed to her by the Ancients. In fine, ſhe was reckoned the firſt who had taught to plant and cultivate the Olive. She is alſo honoured with the Invention of Chariots and of the Uſe of Trumpets and the Flute, &c.

A great many other Names of this Goddeſs are to be found in *Pausanias* and *Lylio Geraldi*, who may be conſulted ; 'tis enough that I have explained the Chief of them.

Minerva is commonly repreſented with a Helmet on her Head, a Pike in one Hand, and a Buckler in the other, with the *Egis* upon her Breſt. The *Egis*, according to the Etymology of the Word, was a Goats Skin that ſerved for a Cuirasſ to the Goddeſs, whereon was engraved the Head of *Meduſa* (2). *Minerva's* Helmet is differently figured

X 3

upon

(1) Tom. 3.

(2) See the Hiſtory of *Perſeus*.

upon the Monuments we have now extant, as may be seen in the Antiquaries; but *Pausanias* is the only one I know who says (1) that the *Elians* surmounted the Helmet with a Cock, because that Animal is very courageous, or because it was consecrated to her under the Name of *Ergané*. *Pausanias* in his *Atticks* speaks of a Statue of *Minerva* with a Sphinx in the Middle of her Helmet, and Griffins on either Side. In a Medal belonging to the Queen of Sweden's Cabinet, the same Helmet is surmounted with a Chariot and four Horses; in another from the Cabinet of M. *Maffei*, is a Serpent, or Dragon with winding Spires, marching before her. 'Tis thought that this is probably the *Minerva Polias*, worship'd on the *Athenian* Rock, which was kept by a Dragon; besides we know that the Animals consecrated to this Goddess were the Dragon and the Owl. Accordingly we see, on Numbers of *Minerva's* Statues, Dragons upon her Helmet and Breast-plate, as also the Owl upon several Medals of her: In the Cabinet of M. *de la Cbause*, is a *Minerva* holding in the left Hand a Rod wreathed about with a Serpent, such as is to be seen in the Images of *Esculapius*, and which was the Emblem of Medicine: *Montfaucon* (2) was in the Right to say, that this was *Minerva Medica*, who had a Temple, or a Pantheon at *Rome*. She was also worship'd among the *Greeks* under the Name of *Hygieia*, which signifies *Medica*, or Goddess of Health. But I have no mind to explain all the Monuments we have of this Goddess, nor all the Singularities that therein occur, these I leave to the Antiquaries.

I must not however forget that the Inhabitants of *Teutbis*, a Village of *Arcadia*, had, according to *Pausanias* (3), a Statue of *Minerva*, wherein the Goddess was represented with a Wound in the Thigh, for which this Reason is given. "Near to *Thisoa*, says that Author, there is a Village named *Teutbis*, "anciently it was a City, which as we are told, "raised

(1) In *Eliac*.(2) *Diarium*.(3) In *Arcad*.

“ raised Troops at its own Expence for the Siege of
 “ *Troy*, and sent them under the Command of a
 “ particular Captain named *Teuthis*, others say, *Or-*
 “ *nythus*: This Captain, while the *Greeks* were de-
 “ tained in *Aulis* by contrary Winds, quarrelled
 “ with *Agamemnon*, and would needs return with
 “ his *Arcadians*. They add that *Minerva* having
 “ assumed the Similitude of *Melas*, the Son of *Ops*,
 “ endeavoured to dissuade *Teuthis* from his Purpose;
 “ that *Teuthis* transported with Anger, struck the
 “ Goddess with his Javelin; and wounded her in the
 “ Thigh; after which he set out with his Troop, but
 “ upon his coming home had a Vision, where he
 “ thought he saw *Minerva* pointing him to her
 “ Wound; the Effect of which was that he instantly
 “ fell into a languishing Distemper, whereof he died;
 “ that the Land where he dwelt was cursed, and for
 “ that Reason was the only Canton of *Arcadia* which
 “ produced no kind of Fruit. Afterwards the In-
 “ habitants came to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*,
 “ who advised them to appease the Goddess; with
 “ this Intention they erected to her a Statue, where
 “ she is represented with a Wound in the Thigh:
 “ I have seen that Statue, one of the Thighs has still
 “ a Ligature of a purple Colour.”

I said *Minerva* appeared almost always upon the Monuments we have now extant, with her *Egis*; and shall now give the Reader a more particular Explanation of this Piece of Armour.

Tho' this Word in its natural Signification signifies a she-goat, and the *Egis* is commonly thought to have been the Skin of that Animal, yet some Authors are persuaded that it was that of a Monster named *Egis*, that vomited Fire, and is said to have made vast Havock of old, in *Phrygia*, *Phenicia*, *Egypt* and *Libya*. This Monster *Minerva* destroyed, and wore its Skin upon her Buckler (1). There she also had engraved the *Gorgon's* Head, entwined with Serpents;

X 4 and

(1) Diod. L. 3. c. 35.

and this dreadful Buckler made all who looked upon it to quake and tremble (a).

Anciently all the Bucklers of the Gods, especially that of *Jupiter*, covered with the Skin of the Goat that had suckled him, and whose Name he took (1) were called *Egides*; but from the Time of *Minerva's* Victory, this Name was appropriated to her Buckler alone. 'Tis probable that *Minerva* destroyed some famous Robber who laid Waste the Country; and that this gave Rise to the Fable. But as the *Greeks* had always fabulous Reasons to alledge for their ancient Ceremonies, I choose rather as to this Article to rely on *Herodotus* (2), who says the *Greeks* borrowed from the *Libyans*, the Habit and Buckler with which they adorn *Minerva*, who is very much honoured in that Country, especially about the Lake *Triton*, where she is thought to have been born. The very Name of *Egis* sufficiently denotes that this Sort of Buckler came from *Libya*, where the Inhabitants wear upon their Cloaths Skins of Goats dress'd, which the *Greeks* name *Egides*. But as they pretended their Country was the Birth Place of *Minerva*, to obscure the Tradition which set forth that her Worship had come from *Egypt* and *Libya*, whence *Cecrops* had brought it, they invented the Fable concerning this Monster, and the Victory of the Goddess. Hear how *Homer* paints this formidable *Egis* (3). “ *Minerva*
“ the Daughter of *Jupiter Ægiobus*, sheathes herself
“ in Armour; her Shoulders she covers with the *Egis*,
“ the tremendous *Egis*, encompassed round with
“ Terror, φόβος; Discord, Ἔρις; Force, Ἀλκή; Assault,
“ ἰσχύς: In the Middle was the *Gorgon's* Head, the
“ dire portent of *Jupiter Ἀργιόχαιρ* the awful *Egis*-
“ bearer.

Virgil

(a) Tho' the *Egis* ordinarily signifies the Buckler of *Minerva*, this Goddess however frequently bears *Medusa's* Head upon her Cuirass.

(1) L. 2.

(2) L. 4.

(3) *Iliad*.

Virgil the faithful Imitator of *Homer*, gives the following Description of it (1).

*Ægidaque horrificam, turbatæ Palladis arma,
Certatim squammis serpentum, auroque polibant,
Connexosque angues, ipsamque in pectore Divæ
Gorgona, defecto vertentem lumina collo.*

BELLONA.

I have already said that *Bellona*, whom the *Greeks* named *Enyo*, was sometimes confounded with *Pallas*; however in the better Authors of Mythology, they are often distinguish'd from one another. Accordingly *Hesiod* calls *Bellona* the Daughter of *Phorcys* and *Ceto*, which was never said of *Minerva*. *Varro* adds that she was the Sister of *Mars*, and that she was anciently named *Duelliona* (a); there are even Authors who make her his Wife.

The Poets vied with one another in painting her as a Warlike Divinity who prepared the Chariot and Horses of *Mars*, when he set out for War, as may be seen in *Statius* (2); According to *Virgil* (3) this Goddess armed with a Whip animated Warriors to the Battle.

*Et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia pallâ,
Quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello;
Or in Lucan's Stile (4):*

Sanguineum veluti quatens Bellona flagellum.

She was represented, further, with her Hair dishevelled, holding a Torch in her Hand.

*Ipsa facem quatens, ac flavam sanguine multo
Sparsa comam, medias acies Bellona pererrat (5).*

Bellona had a Temple at *Rome* in the ninth Region, near the *Porta Carmentalis*, and in that Temple the Senate

(1) *En.* L. 8.

(a) These two Names *Bellona*, and *Duelliona*, originally *Latin*, differ not from one another, both of them signifying the Goddess of War.

(2) *Theb.* L. 2. v. 1718.

(3) *En.* l. 8. v. 703.

(4) *Phars.* l. 3. v. 568.

(5) *Sil. Ital. Punic.* l. 5. v. 221.

Senate gave Audience to the Embassadors, who were not allowed to enter the City, as also to Generals who returned from War. At the Gate was a small Column called the *Warlike Column*, against which they threw a Spear whenever they declared War.

Servius says this Goddess had her Rank among the Gods who were called *Common*, and was reckoned equal in Power to *Mars*, the God of War. The Priests of *Bellona* called *Bellonarii*, received their Priesthood by Incisions that were made upon their Thighs, the Blood whereof they received in the Palms of their Hands, as we learn from *Tertullian*; but *Eleanus Lampridius*, in the Life of *Commodus* (1), tells us this Incision was made in the Arm: *Bellonæ servientes vere exsecare Brachium præcepit, studio crudelitatis*. These poor Wretches, after having thus drawn Blood from themselves by those cruel Incisions, made a Sacrifice of it to the Goddess. This Cruelty in latter Times however was only counterfeited. These Priests were Fanaticks, who in their Fits of Enthusiasm predicted the taking of Towns, the Defeat of Enemies, and boded nothing but Blood and Havock; which makes *Juvenal* say (2):

— — Sed & Fanaticus æstro

Percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat, &c. (a)

The Worship of *Bellona*, tho' celebrated at *Rome*, was yet much more so at *Comana*: There were two principal Cities of that Name, where she was honoured with a peculiar Worship, as has been said at more Length in the first Volume.

Bellona is represented upon some Monuments, and upon the Medals of the *Bruttians*, together with *Mars*, armed with a Pike and Buckler; but 'tis very difficult to distinguish her from *Pallas*, as has been said in the first Volume.

C H A P.

(1) C. 9. (2) Sat. 4. v. 124.

(a) You may consult *Rosinus*, Ant. Rom. L. 4. Ch. 10. and *Casaubon* upon *Lampridius*, Loc. cit.

C H A P. X.

The History of MARS and of VICTORY.

TO *Bellona* and the Warlike *Pallas* 'tis natural to join the God of War. *Mars*, called *Ares* by the *Greeks*, was, according to *Homer* (1) and the other *Greek Poets*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and 'tis only among the *Latin Poets* we find the ridiculous Fable setting forth that *Juno*, to be reveng'd on *Jupiter* for having got *Minerva* without her Concurrency, had conceived *Mars* by touching a Flower in a Meadow, which the Goddess *Flora* had shewed her: A Fiction unknown to most of the Ancients, and which probably had only an allegorical Meaning, which it would be very needless to dive into; or which was invented, as an ancient Mythologist pretends (2), only upon Account of *Mars's* ferocious Character, whom they could not conceive to be the Son of so polite a Prince as *Jupiter*. 'Tis true *Apollodorus* says in his *Bibliotheca*, that *Juno* brought forth *Mars*, without the Assistance of a Man; but he says nothing of the Rest of the Fable.

Whatever be in it, *Lucian* informs us (3) that *Juno* gave the young *Mars* to be educated by *Priapus*, who according to the same Author, was one of the *Titans*, or of the *Idæi Dactyli*; who taught him Dancing and other Exercises, as the Preludes of War; and that of a rustick and clumsy God he made him a great Captain (a). The *Bythinians*, adds the Author now quoted, tell us that this was the Reason why the Tithe of the Spoils consecrated to *Mars*, used to be offered to *Priapus*.

If

(1) Il. L. 1.

(2) *Boccace*, Gen. of the Gods, L. 19.

(3) Dial. of the Dance.

(a) As Mythology varies a great deal as to these ancient Fictions, several Authors alledge it was *Mars* who taught *Priapus* Dancing and War. Accordingly *Homer* gives *Mars* the Epithet of Dancer.

If we would fully unravel the History of this God, we must distinguish several Princes of his Name. The first, to whom *Diodorus* attributes the Invention of Arms, and the Art of marshalling Troops in Battle, is undoubtedly *Belus* whom the Scripture calls *Nimrod*, *that mighty hunter before the Lord* (1), who, after having practised his Skill upon wild Beasts, turned it against Men; and having subdued a great Number of them, declared himself their King. *Justin* ascribes to *Ninus*, and the Chronicle of *Alexandria* to *Thutas*, one of his Descendants, what *Diodorus Siculus* says of *Belus*. We learn from *Hyginus* (2) that the Name of *Belus* was given to that ancient King because he was the first who waged War with Animals (a).

The second *Mars* was an ancient King of *Egypt*: The third was King of *Thrace* named *Odin*, who signalized himself so much by his Valour and Conquests, that he was promoted by that Warlike People to the Honours of being their God of War, and this is he whom they call the Hyperborean *Mars*. This undoubtedly is he whom *Pausanias* makes (3) to have been nursed by a *Thracian* Woman named *Thero*, who was perhaps his Mother.

The fourth is called the *Mars* of *Greece*, surnamed *Ares*; the fifth and last is the *Mars* of the *Latins*, who enter'd into the Prison of *Rhea Sylvia*, and begat upon her *Romulus* and *Remus*: And this was *Amulius Numitor's* Brother. In fine the Name of *Mars* was given to most warlike Princes, and every Country valued itself on having one, as well as a *Hercules*. Accordingly we find one among the *Gauls* under the Name of *Hesus*; and that ancient People, if we may believe *Lucan*, and after him *Lactantius* (b) sacrificed to him Human Victims (c).

We

(1) Gen. c. 5.

(2) Fab. 274.

(a) *Belus* a *Belluis*; but are we to rely upon a Latin Etymology derived from a Word that to be sure has no Relation to it?

(3) In Lacon.

(b) Galli *Hesum* & *Teutatem* Sanguine humano placabant Deos. *Lact.* l. 1. c. 21.

(c) Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine cæso

Teutates, horrendæ feris altaribus *Hesus*. *Phars.* l. 1.

We find him also among the *Scythians*, who honoured him under the Figure of a Sword, and among the *Persians*, under the Name of *Orion*, who, if we may credit *Vossius* (1), was the same with *Nimrod*, whose name was changed at the Time of his Deification. In fine, *Julian* the Apostate makes mention of a *Mars* of *Edessa*, surnamed *Azifus* (2).

The *Greeks* threw into the History of their *Mars* the Adventures of all those I have now named. What we know particularly concerning him is the Adventure that happened to him with *Allirrotius* the Son of *Neptune*. That young Prince, as we learn from *Apollodorus* (3), *Pausanias* (4), *Demosthenes* and *Plutarch*, being in love with *Alcippe*, the Daughter of *Mars*, but not being able to gain her Affection, offered Violence to her, which so highly incensed her Father against the presumptuous Youth, that he put him to Death. *Neptune*, enraged for the Death of his Son, had *Mars* summoned in Judgment, and the gravest *Athenians* being assembled upon so serious an Affair, declared him innocent; and acquitted him in the usual manner. The Place where this famous Judgment was pronounced, was called the *Areopagus*, a Name formed from that of *Mars* named *Ares*, and the Word *Pagos*, because the Assembly was held upon an Eminence; or, which comes to much the same, from *Ἀρεῖς πάγος*, *Martis Rupes*, the Rock of *Mars*; and this, by the by, is the Origin of the famous Tribunal of *Areopagus*, so known afterwards.

This celebrated Event, which makes a considerable Era in the *Greek* History, happened according to the Chronicle of *Paros*, under the Reign of *Cranæus*, that is, in the Year 1560. before *Jesus Christ* (a). As they seldom wrote the Transactions of those early Times without some Embellishments, it was given out that *Mars* had been absolved by the Judgment of the twelve great Gods, because the Judges employ'd

in

(1) De Idol. l. 1. c. 16.

(2) Orat.

(3) Bibl. l. 3.

(4) In Atticis.

(a) See the Interpreters of this Chronicle.

in his Process were in Number twelve, chosen from the first Families in *Athens*.

Servius gives another Account of this Adventure ; but he grants that it gave rise to the Erection of the Court of *Areopagus*. *Allirrotius*, according to that Author, to avenge the Defeat of his Father, whom *Minerva* had got the better of, resolv'd to cut down all the Olive-Trees round about *Athens*, because they were consecrated to that Goddess ; but the Ax having drop'd out of his Hand, he was wounded by it, and died some time after. *Neptune* his Father accused the God *Mars*, his Enemy, of his Son's Death ; but he was absolved by the Judgment of the *Areopagus*.

The Poet *Eschylus* must have been ignorant of these two Traditions, when he composed his Tragedy of the *Eumenides*, since he makes *Minerva* say that the Place where the Court of *Areopagus* was held, had got that Name when the *Amazons* had offered Victims there to the God *Mars* ; and that the first Cause try'd there was that of *Orestes* ; but we know from *Apollodorus* (1), that *Cephalus* had been judged there long before, and condemned to perpetual Exile, tho' the Murder of *Procris* his Wife had been involuntary ; and that *Dedalus*, for having flung his Nephew *Talus* from the Top of the Citadel of *Minerva*, after having been in like manner condemned there, was obliged to fly to *Minos's* Court, as shall be said in his History. Now *Cephalus* and *Dedalus* lived before the Trojan War, and *Orestes's* Acquittance was not till after the taking of that City.

Arnobius, when he is proving to the Pagans that the *Mars* of Greece was only a deify'd Man, acquaints us with several Particularities of his History. He reproaches them in the first place with knowing that he was born at *Sparta*, or according to others, in the Extremities of *Thrace* ; that he had lived thirteen Months in *Arcadia* in a Prison, where the *Aloides* kept him in Confinement (2) ; that in *Caria* Dogs

were

(1) Bibl. 1. 3. (2) See the History of the infernal Regions.

were sacrificed to him, and among the *Scythian* Affes (a).

It only remains now that we explain the Names which the Ancients gave to this God, whose History we are now upon. The *Greeks* call'd him *Ares*, *Mischief*, because of the Ills which flow from War; but 'tis probable that this Name comes from the *Hebrew* *Arits*, which imports *strong, terrible*. The *Latins* derived their Name of *Mars* from *Mares, Males*, because Men are employ'd in War. They called him likewise *Gradivus* & *Quirinus*, between which Names they put this Distinction, that the former expressed *Mars* in time of War, and the other in time of Peace. They had even two Temples dedicated to this Divinity under these two Titles, the one in the City, and the other without the Gates. The *Romans*, in *Romulus's* Apotheosis, gave the first King of *Rome* the Name of *Quirinus*, to support the Fable of his Birth, which made him pass for the Son of *Mars*. We learn from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1) that the *Sabines* gave the same Name to their God *Enyalius*, and tho' he is doubtful whether it was *Mars* himself, yet as that Author adds that the same People called a Spear *Cæres*, whence the *Latins* formed the Name of *Quirinus*, 'tis very probable that these two Divinities were the same, and that the Spear among them was his Symbol, as the Sword among the *Scythians*. The same *Sabines*, according to the Testimony of *Varro*, called *Mars Mamercus*, which Name was afterwards given to the Family *Emilia*. The name of *Enyalius*, was derived to him from *Bellona*, and seems to confirm the Opinion of those who will have her to have been his Mother. That of *Thurius*, denotes his Impetuosity in Battle.

The

(a) Quis Spartanum fuisse Martem, nonne Epicharmus autor vester? Quis in Thraciæ finibus procreatum, non Sophocles Atticus? — Quis mensibus in Arcadia tribus & decem vinctum? Non Milo fluminis filius? Quis ei Canes a Curibus, quis a Scythiis afinos immolari? Non principaliter cum cæteris Apollodorus? Quis dum genitalibus insultat alienis, hæsisse in laqueis involutum, non commentarii vestri, non Scenæ? Arnob. l. 4. adver. Gent.

(1) L. 2.

The *Greeks* and *Latins* often gave *Mars* the Epithet of *Common God*, as may be seen in *Homer*, *Cicero*, and in *Servius* upon the eight *Eneid*; and 'tis to be observed that this Appellation was given to the Gods who equally favoured both Parties. The *Romans* and the other *Latin Nations* gave him also the Name of *Pater, Father*. He was likewise stiled *Sylvestris*, and was invoked according to *Cato*, for the Preservation of the Fruits of the Field. The ancient *Latins* called him *Salisubfulus*, from the warlike Dances, as shall be said afterwards when we come to his Priests. Sometimes he got the Epithet of *Cæcus*, as you may see in *Virgil*, *Cæco Marte resistunt*. We find in *Homer* that of *resisting*, and in other Poets that of *Corithaix*, as you would say waving his Helmet; of *Sanguinarius*, *Crudelis*, *terribilis*, &c. Epithets which perfectly agreed to his character.

A great many Fables were delivered relating to this God, which will not detain us long, their Sense being easily discovered; as when it was said that his Chariot was drawn by *Bellona*; that his Horses engendred by *Boreas* and *Erynnis*, were called *Terror* and *Dread*; that he was wounded at the Siege of *Troy* by *Diomedes*; that upon his Cuirass were several Monsters represented; that the Ornaments of his Helmet were *Fury* and *Wrath*; that *Fame* was his Harbinger wherever he came; and that *Fury* marched before him, &c.

Tho' *Mars* was worship'd in several Places, yet no where was he in so high Veneration as at *Rome*, where he had several Temples, among which that dedicated to him by *Augustus* after the Battle of *Philippi*, under the Name of *Mars the Avenger*, was one of the most celebrated. Among the sacerdotal Colleges, that of the *Salii*, the Priests of *Mars*, who were set apart for keeping the *Ancilia*, or sacred Bucklers, owed its Institution to *Numa Pompilius*; who founded it upon an Occasion related by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.

A Shield having fallen from Heaven, the Haruspices were consulted about this Prodigy, and they answered, that the Empire of the World was destined to that City, where this Shield was preserved. *Numa Pompilius*, for fear of its being stole away, ordered several to be made quite similar, that the true one might not be known, and put them all in the Temple of *Mars*. *Plutarch* adds, “ That King *Numa* fore-
 “ told Wonders as to that Buckler, which he said he
 “ had learned from *Egeria* and the Muses. This *Ancilium*, said he, was sent for the Preservation of the
 “ City, and designed to be kept with eleven others
 “ of the same Figure and of the same Size, that the
 “ Difficulty of knowing it might prevent its being
 “ stolen away. *Mamurius* was he who forged these
 “ Shields, and had no other Recompence for his Labour, but the Glory of the Workmanship.”

Thanks to the Monuments now extant, for letting us know the Form of these Shields; and the Description given of them by the Author last quoted comes nearest the Truth. They are arched, says he, in Form of a Scollop Shell, and therefore not quite round; they would rather be Oval did not the Arching on both Sides put them out of that Form: Their greatest Length appears to be two Foot and a Half.

Numa Pompilius restricted the Number of the *Salii* to twelve, *Tullus Hostilius* doubled that Number, as well as that of the *Ancilia*. To conclude, the Ceremony of carrying these Shields in the publick Festivals, was performed in this Manner. They were removed from their Place, and the *Salii* carried them in Procession thro’ the City, leaping, dancing, and singing Verses that had a Relation to the Solemnity. The Festival lasted thirteen Days, and began on the Calends of *March*, *Mars’s* Month. During that whole Time no Affair of great Consequence was allowed to be done, such as marrying, undertaking a Journey, or a military Expedition: Which Custom was religiously observed in the most early Times; but afterwards it was somewhat abated.

The ancient Monuments represent *Mars* in a pretty uniform Manner under the Figure of a Man armed with a Helmet, a Pike and a Shield, sometimes naked, sometimes with the military Dress, even with a Cloak about his Shoulders: Sometimes bearded; but for the most part without a Beard; sometimes, in short, with the Rod of Command in his Hand. *Mars* the Conqueror appears carrying a Trophy, and *Mars Gradivus* is represented in the Attitude of a Man walking with a quick pace. Sometimes he has upon his Breast the *Egis* with *Medusa's* Head.

The *Scythians*, as has been said in explaining their Gods, worship'd *Mars* under the Form of a Sword; and the *Romans*, according to the Testimony of *Varro* quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, represented him under that of a Spear, before they had found out the Art of giving a human Figure to their Statues; a Custom which they learned from the *Sabines*.

V I C T O R Y.

To *Mars* and *Bellona* we shall join Victory (1), an imaginary Being whereof the *Greeks* had made a Divinity, whom *Hesiod* makes to be the Daughter of *Styx* and *Pallas*, or of *Acheron* if we may believe *Phurnutius*. The Ancients add that she assisted *Minerva* in the Battle of the Giants. *Pausanias* informs us that this Goddess had several Temples in *Greece*, and *Titus Livius* speaks of those which she had at *Rome*. When the *Romans* brought from *Pessinus* the *Phrygian Goddess*, they carried her Statue into the Temple of Victory, till they got one of her own built for her. But the Temples she had at *Rome* were not the most ancient ones of *Italy*, since *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* informs us that the *Arcadians* upon their Arrival in that Country, erected one to her upon the *Aventine Mount*. *Sylla*, according to *Cicero*, instituted Games in Honour of this Goddess.

Victory, as appears from Medals and Marbles, was always represented with Wings, flying thro' the
aerial

(1) The *Greeks* called her *Nixē*.

aerial Regions, and holding a Crown in her Hand, or a Palm: But the *Egyptians* represented her under the Figure of an Eagle, a Bird always victorious in the Combats it has with the Rest. The *Romans* in representing her, sometimes used the Laurel, or Palm-Branch. Sometimes she was to be seen mounted on a Globe, to teach us that she rules over all the Earth; and thus it is she appears upon the Medals of the Emperors, because they reckoned themselves the Masters of the World. When they would design a naval Battle, she was drawn mounted on the Prow of a Ship, and when she holds a Bull by the Muzzle, it points out the Sacrifices that were offered after any Advantages won.

This Goddess had several Names given to her, as all the other Gods of *Paganism*. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Egyptians* called her *Napthe*, without letting us know the Signification of this Name. The *Sabines*, as we learn from *Varro*, called her *Vacuna*, and from this Name came the Festival which the Ancients called *Vacunalia*. The *Greeks* gave her the Epithet of ἀπτερος, which imports *without Wings*; and *Pausanias* says the *Athenians* represented her thus to induce her to fix her Residence with them. A Victory at *Rome*, whose Wings were burnt with a Clap of Thunder, gave rise to a pretty Epigram: *Rome great Queen of the World, thy Glory shall never Fade, since Victory now stripp'd of her Wings, can never fly away.* *Piso* informs us that this Goddess had the Name of *Vitula*; and tho' several Etymologies of this Word be given, I hold to that which derives it from *voce lætari*, to shout for Joy, because of the Joy that accompany'd the Sacrifices offered to her.

It will be easy to understand the Epithets that were given her, such as *Eteralcea* which *Homer* makes use of, to intimate that she inclined to both Sides; that of *Præpes* and *Volucris*, to denote her Swiftnefs; that of *Cæligena* given her by *Varro*, because Victory comes from Heaven, and so of the Rest.

In fine, it appears from the Ancients that no bloody thing was offered to her in Sacrifice, but only the Fruits of the Earth.

C H A P. XI.

The History of Venus, Cupid, Psyche, and the Graces.

There are few Subjects in fabulous Antiquity on which the Wits of *Greece* gave more Scope to their Imagination, than what I am to treat of in this Chapter ; and consequently there is none wherein they have more obscured the ancient and true Tradition. *Hesiod* makes *Venus* spring from the Foam of the Sea, and from the Blood of the manly Parts of *Cælus* which *Saturn* had thrown into the Sea. From this hideous Mixture sprung, as this Poet tells us, the most charming of the Goddesses, in the Neighbourhood of *Cythera*, whence she came into *Cyprus*. The Flowers sprung up under her Steps ; and accompany'd by her Son *Cupid*, by Sports and Smiles, and all the wanton Train of Love, she became the Author of Joy and Happiness both to Gods and Men. The Poets getting hold of this agreeable Idea, vy'd with one another who should refine most upon the Description of this Goddess : The Painters and Sculpters imitated the Poets, and the Goddess always appeared accompany'd with whatever is lovely in Nature. “ Look with Attention upon this *Venus*, “ the Work of the skilful *Apelles*, says *Antipater* of “ *Sidon* : See how that excellent Master has express’d “ to the Life that watery Foam, which flows down “ her Hands and Hair, without hiding any of their “ Graces: Accordingly no sooner had *Pallas* surveyed “ her Charms, than she thus address’d herself to “ *Juno* : Let us resign, O *Juno*, let us resign to this “ rising Goddess all the Prize of Beauty.”

This

This ancient Tradition, which makes *Venus* spring from the Sea, was best received in *Greece*, and almost all the other Poets have followed it. *Homer*, however, of no less Antiquity and full as good Authority as *Hesiod*, has followed another, since according to him *Venus* is the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Dione*. If we may rely upon *Cicero*, there were four *Venus*'s. The first was the Daughter of *Cælus* and the Day. The second was she who sprung from the Sea-foam, the Mother of *Cupid*. The third was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Dione*; this is the Wife of *Vulcan* and *Mars*'s Mistress, by whom he had *Anteros* or the Counter-*Cupid*. In fine the fourth was *Astarté*, born at *Tyrus* in *Phenicia*, who wedded *Adonis* (a).

Pluto, in his Banquet, allows only two, the one the Daughter of *Cælus*, and the other of *Jupiter*. “ Sure I am, says that Author, speaking of two “ *Cupids*, no Body is ignorant that *Venus* is never “ without *Cupid*; but because there are two *Venus*'s “ there must be two *Cupids*. Now who can deny “ that there are two *Venus*'s? Is there not that ancient “ *Venus*, the Daughter of *Cælus*, whose Mother is “ not known, and whom we call the celestial *Venus*; “ and that other modern *Venus*, the Daughter of “ *Jupiter* and *Dione* whom we call the vulgar *Venus*?”

Epimenides seems to acknowledge one different from those of *Plato*, since he says this Goddess was the Daughter of *Saturn* and *Eronyme*.

Pausanias distinguishes three of them: One Celestial, who presided over chaste Loves; one Terrestrial, or popular, who was the Goddess of Marriages; a third, whom they named *Apostrophia* or the averting *Venus*, who banish'd infamous Passions. “ The *Thebans*, “ says

Y 3

(a) *Venus prima, Cælo & die nata, cujus Elide Templum vidimus. Altera spuma procreata, ex qua & Mercurio Cupidinem secundum Natum accepimus. Tertia Jove nata & Dione, quæ nupsit Vulcano; sed ex ea & Marte, natos Anteros dicitur. Quarta Syria, Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi nupsisse traditum est.*

“ says he, have also several Statues of *Venus*, and so
 “ ancient, that they pretend they were consecrated
 “ by *Harmonia*, and that they were made of the
 “ Beaks of those Ships that carry’d *Cadmus*; which
 “ Beaks were of Wood and not of Iron. Be that as it
 “ will, one of those Statues is *Venus Urania* or the
 “ Celestial; the other the vulgar *Venus*, and the
 “ third is the *Venus Apostrophia*: These Names were
 “ given them by *Harmonia* herself, to distinguish
 “ the three Sorts of Love; the one celestial, that is
 “ to say, chaste and detached from all sensual
 “ Commerce; the other vulgar, which is attached
 “ to Women, and corporeal Pleasures; the third,
 “ inordinate, which leads Men to Unions incestuous
 “ and abominable. There was therefore a *Venus*
 “ called *Apostrophia* or guardian Goddess, because to
 “ her Men addressed their Prayers to be guarded
 “ from those irregular Desires.” But in another
 Place, this Author admits only two of them, the
 celestial and the popular.

Such is the Variety that we find among the ancients with Respect to *Venus*, which is indeed so great, that it is impossible to determine how many of them they acknowledged: For to say with the Author of a Dissertation printed in the seventh Volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres* (1), that their Number may be reduced to seven, is what cannot be maintained, since here we have reckoned ten of them compleat, which ten could not however be brought down to seven, should we even unite those that seem to be the same.

Among the Moderns, the celebrated *Newton* (2) seems to own no other *Venus* but *Calycopis* alone, the Mother of *Eneas*, and Daughter of *Otreus* King of *Phrygia*, whom *Thoas* surnamed *Cinyras*, married (a), and erected Temples to her at *Paphos*, at *Amathus* in the Island of *Cyprus*, and at *Byblos* in *Syria*; instituted

(1) M. Fourmont the younger.

(2) Chronology.

(a) This *Thoas*, according to him, was the same with *Vulcan*, which Opinion we shall examine in the History of that God.

instituted Priests to her Honour, a sacred Worship, and the scandalous Feasts called the *Orgies*: For which Reason she got the Name of the *Cyprian* and *Syrian* Goddess. This Author relies solely upon the Authority of *Tacitus* (1): who thus speaks of her: “ We are told that *Cinyras* consecrated an ancient Temple to *Venus* of *Paphos*, the landing Place of this Goddess who sprung from the Foam of the Sea.” The Opinion of this Author, may well enough be reconciled to what *Lactantius* quotes from *Eubemerus*’s sacred History, namely, that this was a Woman of *Cyprus* who by her Behaviour encouraged Gallantry, and gave Rise to the Fable of *Venus*.

’Tis not possible to draw any rational Conclusion from what the *Greeks* say of this Goddess, since all their Narrations are blended with Physiology, Morality and History. They look upon *Venus*, sometimes as a debauched Woman, sometimes as a Goddess: Now they will have her to be a Planet, and then one of the Passions. Hence those figurative Expressions in *Homer*, *Orpheus* and other Poets, who speaking of the Power of *Venus*, say it was she that formed the World, and subjects Gods and Men to her Empire.

’Tis certain several Persons had the Name of *Venus*; and without insisting upon the various Etymologies of the Name, should we hold to that of an ingenious Author (2) who derives it from *Vener*, which in the *Celtick* Language signifies *fair*, we may presume it was given to most of the fine Women, especially when they became famed for Gallantry as well as Beauty: But this Derivation is as little supported as those which fetch it from *venire*, or *convenire*, since they are only taken from the *Latin* Name of this Goddess, a Name unknown to the *Greeks* who named her *Aphrodite*.

To give my Judgment of this Fable, I reckon the Origine of it must be traced in *Phenicia*. And indeed

Y 4

there

(1) Hist. L. 2. c. 3.

(2) Don Pezrom Ant. of the Language of the *Celtæ*,

there never was another *Venus* worship'd among the Orientals but the *Venus Celestis*, that is to say the Planet of that Name, as has been said in the first Volume ; and *Astarté* the Wife of *Adonis*, whose Worship was intermix'd with that of the Planet, or which comes to the same, that *Syrian Venus*, the fourth in *Cicero*, so celebrated in Antiquity. The *Phenicians*, in conducting their Colonies into the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea and into *Greece*, introduced thither the Worship of this Goddess. They stop'd first in the Island of *Cyprus*, which lies next the Coasts of *Syria* ; and there the Worship of this Goddess was generally received. From thence they went to *Cythera*, an Isle near the Continent of *Greece* : There the *Greeks* began to traffic with them, and to get some Knowledge of their Religion ; and this is the Reason of their giving out, that it was near this Island the Goddess was seen for the first Time, because it was there they came to hear of her first. A very convincing Proof that the Worship of *Venus* was establish'd in that Island, before it pass'd into the Continent, is that the Temple of *Cythera* was accounted the most ancient of any that *Venus* had in *Greece*, as *Pausanias* remarks (1).

From *Cythera* the Worship of this Goddess pass'd into *Greece* ; and as those who had brought it thither came by Sea, the *Greeks* who endeavoured to give every thing a marvellous Dress, say she had sprung from the Sea, and gave her the Name of *Aphrodite*, a Word which imports Foam (*a*) : This, no doubt, is the true Explication of this Fiction, and 'tis needless to search into it for any other Mystery. Here it is proper to make a transient Remark, that *Hesiod* is mistaken as to the Course which he makes that Goddess

(1) In Lac.

(a) *Aristotle* gives another Derivation of the Word *Aphrodite*, and *Didymus* thinks she was so called upon Account of her Softness ; but the one I have given is the most natural, and is the same, according to *Plutarch*, with the Epithet of *Saligena*, which was given to that Goddess, as having sprung from the Sea, whose Water is Salt.

Goddeſs take, when he brings her from *Cythera* into *Cyprus*, whereas it would be more natural to have put the Caſe as it is, that ſhe came from that Iſland into *Cythera*, and from thence into *Greece*. We might add, in order to confirm this Explication, that if the *Greeks* have given *Venus* both Sexes, it is, according to *Selden* (1), upon Account of the Fable of *Dagon*, or *Atergatis*, who was confounded with *Venus*, and who among the *Philiftines* and *Phenicians*, was a Divinity who partook of both Sexes.

But will this Account enable us to explain what the *Greek* Poets have fabled concerning their *Venus*? As to that 'tis not neceſſary, nor indeed is it poſſible to explain all that they have ſaid either in this or the other Fables. 'Tis well known, when they had the Management of a Subject, they embellish'd it according to their Fancy. Thus they had heard of *Aſtarte's* having been paſſionately in Love with *Adonis* (a), and they took care to apply this Circumſtance to their *Venus*. Nor did they ſtop here; they conſidered Love as the Son of this Goddeſs, and gave her the three Graces for her Daughters. In fine, they form'd that Love-ſyſtem, whereof the Ideas have ſerved, in after Ages, to embellish the Works of their Brother-poets. A young Virgin riſes out of the Foam of the Sea, and appears upon a Shell-fiſh; ſhe ſits down on Mount *Cythera*, where the Flowers ſpring up under her Feet; the Hours charged with the Care of her Education, conduct her to Heaven, where all the Gods, charmed with her Beauty, make Love to her; ſhe matches with *Vulcan* the moſt deformed of all; ſhe diſgraces herſelf by her Gallantries with *Mars* and *Mercury*; by the one ſhe has *Cupid* (b),
and

(1) De Diis Syr. Syn. 3. c. 3.

(a) I ſay nothing here of this Fable which is fully explain'd in the History of the *Phenician* Gods. Vol. III. B. 7.

(b) This is *Cupid* II. for the firſt, according to *Hefiod*, was the Son of *Chaos*; or of the Night, according to *Ariſtophanes*; or of the God of Plenty, or the Goddeſs of Poverty, if we believe *Plato*.

and by the other *Anti Cupid* ; *Bacchus* is her 'Squire ; in fine, she presides over Marriages, and Gallantry ; and therefore has a mysterious Girdle given her, called the *Cestus* of *Venus*, which not only makes herself amiable, but has Virtue to kindle the Flame of an extinguish'd Passion (1), &c.

This was not all, they foisted into the History of the Goddess *Venus*, most of the celebrated Pieces of Gallantry. Some Beauty being surpris'd in an Intrigue, gave Rise to the Adultery of *Mars* with *Venus*, and to the Stratagem of *Vulcan* ; and perhaps it will not be disagreeable to know the Origin of this Fable. *Palæphatus* (2) says *Sol* the Son of *Vulcan* King of *Egypt*, designing to put strictly in Execution the Law of his Father against Adulterers ; and having been informed that one of the Court-Ladies had an Intrigue with a Courtier, enter'd by Night into her House, and having surpris'd her with her Gallant, punish'd her severely ; which gain'd him the goodwill of his People. 'Tis, says that Author, the double-meaning of the Word *Sol*, that gave rise to the Fable which *Homer* set forth to the *Greeks* under a Veil, and to which *Ovid* joins Reflections not very proper to raise an Abhorrence to Vice.

I lay no great Stress upon this Explication of *Palæphatus*, who has often invented new Fables to explain the old ones. I say the same of that of Father *Hardouin*, no less ingenious than singular. That learned Jesuit (3) is surpris'd that *Homer* has been censured for employing an hundred Verses, in the eighth Book of his *Odyssey*, to make *Ulysses* sing this Fable, which appears no ways morally instructive ; but, says that Author, they censure what they did not understand. 'Tis by no means, says he, the History of an Adulterer which that Heroe sings, 'tis the War of *Troy* itself. *Mars* and *Venus*, that is to say, the Genius of War, and the *Trojans* who supported *Paris's* Amours, resolv'd to unite in *Vulcan's*

(1) *Iliad*.(2) *In fragm.*(3) *Apol. d'Homere*, p. 200.

can's House, and to defile his Bed ; that is to use the Arms that were kept in the Arsenal, but which ought to have been better employed.

Mars and *Venus* formed this Design with all Secrecy ; but the Sun beheld them and revealed the Secret to all the World. *Vulcan*, famed for his Art, made chains to bind *Mars* and *Venus*, the Genius of War, and *Troy* that countenanced *Paris's* Amours, in such a Manner that whenever they embraced one another, they should not be able to extricate themselves : Which means no more, but that the *Trojans*, when they took up Arms, which they ought not to have done in such a Cause, were so blocked up within their City, that they were no longer able to get out. *Vulcan* then complains that *Venus* is not virtuous ; which signifies that the *Trojans* were in the wrong to draw their Swords in so dishonourable a Cause. *Mercury* on his Part tells *Apollo* that he would heartily side with *Venus*, that is the Body of the *Trojan* Merchants, tell the Cross-bow Men, that they will bear the Charges of this War. They were laughed at by the Gods ; *Neptune* alone laughed not ; he intreated *Vulcan* to set *Mars* at Liberty, and he would repair his Loss. This is the *Grecian* Fleet, that acted vigorously, and at last obliged the *Trojans* to lay down their Arms, after which *Mars* went into *Thrace* there to make War ; and *Venus*, or the Love of Women into *Cyprus*. This, continues the Author, is the true Sense of the Fable which modern Criticks had not understood. I may well add which *Ovid* as little understood ; for to be sure what *Mercury* says to *Apollo*, has a much less serious meaning in the Poet, than what is put upon it by that learned Jesuit.

This is not the only Piece of Gallantry has been laid to *Venus's* Charge. *Anchises*, to screen himself from the Jealousy of his Wife, gave out that he had begot *Eneas* upon that Goddess, and so others. In the mean time, whatever bad Idea they entertained of *Venus* she was still look'd upon as one of the greatest of Goddesses ; and as she patronised scandalous Passions,

sions, she was worship'd in a Manner worthy of her. Her Temples open to Prostitution, taught the corrupt World, that in order to pay due Honour to the Goddess of Love they were to have no regard to the Rules of Modesty. The Virgins prostituted themselves publickly in her Temples, and there the married Women shew'd as little Reserve. *Amathus, Cythera, Gnidos, Paphos, Idalia*, and the other Places especially consecrated to this Goddess were distinguish'd by the most infamous Abuses.

Farther, as there were several *Venus's*, her Worship was not every where the same. In some Places they only burned Incense upon her Altars ; elsewhere they made her an Offering of sweet Odours, one Ingredient whereof was the Flesh of a Sparrow ; in other Places they sacrificed to her a white Goat. The Women had also a Custom of consecrating their Hair to this Goddess, for which you may consult in the second Volume the History of *Berenice*, whose Tresses, that she had vowed to *Venus*, were placed among the Stars.

Among the Flowers the Rose was particularly consecrated to this Goddess, because this Flower had been tinged with the Blood of *Adonis*, whom one of its Thorns had wounded, which changed it into red from white, which it was before this Adventure (1). The Myrtle too was dedicated to her, because it commonly grows upon the Borders of the Water where this Goddess was born. The Swans and Sparrows were peculiarly consecrated to her, but above all the Pigeons, from the Fable which sets forth, that while this Goddess was one Day playing with *Cupid*, the little God would needs wager to gather more Flowers than she, and a Nymph named *Peristera*, having assisted the Goddess, she won the Wager, with which *Cupid* was so provoked, that he transformed the Nymph into a Pigeon. But, by the by, this Fable is founded upon a mere Quibble ; for in *Greek* the Name of the Nymph signifies a Pigeon (2) ; tho' *Theodotius*

(1) See Vol. II. the History of *Adonis*.

(2) Περίστέρα, Columba.

dontius (1) alledges, that *Peristera* was a Coquette in *Corinth*, who was said to have aided *Venus*, only because she imitated her Character.

As for the Names of *Venus*, they were derived like those of the other Divinities of the Pagan World, either from the Places where she was worshipped, or from particular Circumstances that had given rise to her Worship. I shall explain the chief of them. Those of *Cytherea*, *Paphian* Goddess, Queen of *Gnidus*, &c. were given her from the Cities of those Names; that of *Urania*, or Celestial, because she was believed to have dropp'd down from Heaven to *Paphos* on one of her festival Days, under the Form of a Star. The Name of *Aphrodite* was given her, because she had sprung from the Sea; that of *Pandemos*, or *Popular*, as she is called by *Theocritus*, was given her by way of distinction from the celestial *Venus*: That of *Verticordia*, because she turned Men's Hearts towards, or from Love.

The *Romans* gave her the Name of *Murtia*, from the Myrtle that was consecrated to her (a). They called her *Astarte*, when she was confounded with the *Syrian* Goddess; *Anaitis*, is a Name under which she was adored by the *Persians* and *Cappadocians*, as we have related in the History of their Gods; *Amathusia* was given her from the City *Amathus* in the Island of *Cyprus*; *Dione*, or *Dionea*, from the Name of her Mother. *Migonitis*, because she presided over Marriage. *Calypiga*, upon account of her Beauty. *Philomedeia*, in Allusion to her Original. *Speculatrix*, is the Name which *Phedra* gave to the Temple she consecrated to this Goddess, whence she might view *Hippolitus* performing his Exercises in the Plains of *Trezene*. *Anosia*, and *Androphonos*, as much as to say *Impious* and *Manslayer*; a Name which was given her when *Lais* was wounded to Death with Needles in one of her Temples by the *Thessalian* Virgins. *Armata*, because

(1) Apud Bocc. Gen. Deo.

(a) Ara vetus fuit Veneri Myrtæ quam nunc Murtiam vocant. Plin. l. 25.

because the *Lacedemonians*, who worshipp'd her under this Name, represented her armed in her Temple. We have to this purpose in the *Anthologia*, an Epigram which *Ausonius* has turned into *Latin Verse* (a). *Barbata* and *Mascula*, because as she was believed to have both Sexes, she was sometimes represented with a Beard. The *Romans*, as *Macrobius* tells us, worshipped her under the Name of *Genitrix*, or the *Mother*; the *Greeks* under that of *Colias*, from a Promontory of that Name in *Attica* (1). According to *Pausanias*, she had a Temple in *Greece*, where she was worshipped under the Name of *Praxis*; and under that of *Hortensis*, when her Statue was in Gardens; for which *Lucian* may be consulted (2); under that of *Elicopis*, that is to say, the *black-ey'd Beauty*; of *Nicophoros*, as you would say, who brings Victory; of *Byblia*, when she was confounded with the Goddess of *Syria*; of *Symmachia*, because she was thought to assist Warriors, which was the reason of her getting the Name among the *Romans* of *Victrix*, or Victorious: *Elephantina* is a Name she had from a Town of that Name in *Egypt*; *Arbitis*, a Name under which, according to *Macrobius*, she was worshipped by the *Assyrians*: *Erycina*, from Mount *Eryx* in *Sicily*, where *Eneas* built a Temple to her when he landed in that Island (b): *Argynnis*, from the Name of a young Man who was drown'd in the River *Cephissus*, and from the Temple which *Agamemnon* built to this Goddess under the Name of *Venus Argynnis*. She was likewise called *Zerynthia*, from the Cave named *Zerynthion*, where were celebrated the Mysteries of *Hecate*, and of the *Corybantes*.

The *Egyptians* sacrificed to her under the Name of *Nephtis*, as much as to say *the End*, or *Death*, or, according

(a) *Armatam Venerem vidit Lacedæmone Pallas :*

Nunc certemus ait, Judice vel Paride.

Cui Venus; armatam tu me temeraria temnis,

Quæ, quo te vici tempore, nuda fui.

(1) *Paus. in Attic.*

(2) *De Imag.*

(b) ————— *Erycino in vertice sedem*

Fundabat Veneri Idaliæ, &c. En. l. 5.

according to others, *Victory*; and the *Romans*, under that of *Libitina*, because she presided over Sepulchres. She was worshipped by the *Tarentines*, a People in *Italy*, under that of *Basilis*, whence came the Name of a Game in use among them, which consisted in making one of their number King to command the rest during his imaginary Reign: By the *Albenians*, under that of *Etaira*, or Mistress, because she presided over the Union of Hearts: Under that of *Pelagia*, or the Sea-Goddes, because she sprung from the Sea: Under that of *Aurea*, used by *Homer* and *Virgil*, in praising the Beauty of her Feet. But I have no mind to run over all the Epithets which were given to this Goddes by the Poets.

From what has been now said it is obvious to conclude, that she was represented in a thousand different Ways; either holding a celestial Globe in her Hand, as is to be seen in *Maffei*, to denote the *Venus Urania* or *Celestis*; or armed, as she is to be seen on some Medals of *Gorléus* and of *Beger*; or sitting upon a Dolphin, holding a Pigeon in her Lap; or with *Adonis* accompany'd by his Dogs; or with *Cupid* and the three *Graces*; but more frequently rising up from the Sea, seated upon a Shell born by two (1) *Tritons*; or upon a Chariot drawn by two Sea-horses; or by a female Sea-goat, or rather by a He-goat; since, according to *Pausanias*, her Statue made by the famous Statuary *Scopas*, was upon that Animal; and in that Case she is accompany'd by *Nereids* and *Cupids*, mounted upon Dolphins; only one of her *Nereids*, holding a Lute in her Hand, is mounted upon a Sea-Centaur: But still more frequently her Chariot is drawn by Swans, or by Pigeons, Birds that were consecrated to her. Sometimes she appears herself supported by a *Triton*, having a Buckler in her Hand, on which is represented a Head. Sometimes mounted upon Sea-horses, she seems to skim over the Waves of the Sea, her Head
cover'd

(1) Admir. Rom. Antiq.

cover'd with a Veil which swells in the Wind, and *Cupid* swimming at her Side. An Oar at the Foot of the Goddess seems to design the *Venus Pelagia*, or *Marine*. That Figure where she holds in her Hand a *Cornucopia*, marks the Blessings produced by maritime Commerce.

Of all these Statues the finest, without doubt, is the *Venus* of *Medici*: But the most singular are those that seem to be made for the Sake of that Verse in *Terence*, *Sine Cerere & Baccho frigit Venus*; and that of *Maffei*, where this Goddess, accompany'd with two *Cupids*, and crown'd with Ears of *Corn*, holds a *Thyrus* wrapp'd about with Leaves and Clusters of Grapes; and as she carries in her Hand three Arrows, she seems to teach us that her Arrows fly more unerringly, when *Ceres* and *Bacchus* concur. The lighted Torches which this Goddess and *Cupid* bear, in a Monument of *Boissart*, mark the Flames which either of those Divinities kindle in the Heart. She appears triumphant for her Victories, in an Image publish'd by *Beger*, in a Chariot drawn by two Lions. She holds a large Veil over her Head, and an Arrow in her left Hand. A *Cupid* flies fluttering above to crown her; *Laurels* drop down upon her as it were of themselves, without any thing to move them: A naked Man walks before with his Lyre, on which he is playing to grace the Solemnity. Two Men are walking by the Lions, each with a Torch over his Shoulders to usher the Company. A Satyr marches up behind the Chariot, playing upon his Flute, and closes the whole Scene.

We shall end with the Description of two Statues of this Goddess mentioned by *Pausanias*. That Author tells us he had seen in *Elis* a fine Statue of *Venus Urania* or *Celestial*, whose Feet were resting upon a Tortoise's Back; and another of terrestrial *Venus*, placing her Feet upon a He-goat; but he frankly owns that he knows not the Signification of these Mysteries, and this Acknowledgment is doubtless more to the Purpose, than what some Mythologists

logists say upon this Occasion, namely, that all this was intended to represent to us that God, designed under the Name of *Venus Urania*, was the Author of universal Harmony, signified by the Tortoise, which was the Symbol of that Harmony.

LOVE or CUPID.

As *Venus* was always accompany'd with *Cupid* her Son, and the Graces, 'tis proper to exhibit what the *Greek* Mythology teaches us as to those two Articles. 'Tis obvious that we are not to reckon *Love* a real Personage, but a Being who has no other Original but in the Imagination of the Poets; and to what a Degree have they embellish'd this Subject in their works? with what sparkling and wanton Ideas has it supply'd them? Not that they have allowed *Cupid* to be without Parentage, for the Ancients never were at a Loss as to the Affair of Genealogy; and when we come to examine them nearly, we must needs own that they admitted several Loves or Cupids. Accordingly we can reckon about thirteen of them. First of all *Cicero* admits of three; the first was the Son of *Mercury*, and of the first *Diana*; the second of *Mercury* and the second *Venus*; and the third whom he calls the *Anticupid*, or *Anteros*, the Son of *Mars* and the third *Venus* (a).

Plato (1) reckoned there were two of them. He laid down as a Principle, as we have seen above, that since *Venus* was never without *Cupid*, and since there are two *Venus*'s, we must therefore necessarily acknowledge two *Cupids*.

Hesiod, in the Beginning of his *Theogony*, seems to acknowledge but one produced at the same Time with the *Chaos* and the Earth. But *Tzetzes*, in his Commentary, explaining the first Verses of that Poet, admits a second: *Three things, says he, were created*

VOL. II.

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at

(a) Cupido primus Mercurio, & Diana prima, natus dicitur: Secundus, Mercurio & Venere secunda: Tertius quidem est Anteros, Marte & Venere tertia. De Nat. Deor. L. 3.

(1) In his Banquet.

at first; the *Chaos*, the *Earth*, and the *Celestial Cupid*, who is the *God*; but there is one more modern, the *Son of Venus*: Which agrees with what we are told by *Pausanias* (1) that at *Elis* in the Temple of *Neptune*, was to be seen *Cupid* receiving into his Arms *Venus* rising out of the Sea, on whose Head *Pitbo* or *Suada* was putting a Crown; which supposes one *Cupid* ancienter than *Venus*.

The same Author remarks further in his *Beotica*, that *Olenus* of *Lycia*, the most ancient Poet of *Greece* who composed Hymns, had said in one of these Hymns in Honour of *Lucina*, that this Goddess was the Mother of *Cupid*.

Sappho had too much Gallantry to be ignorant of *Cupid's* Parentage; and it was doubtless in order to adjust Delicacy of Sentiment to the Effects of this Passion, that she imagined two Loves; the one, the Son of Heaven; the other, the Son of Earth.

Acusilaus would needs have it that there was another *Cupid* born of *Night* and *Ether*: *Alceus* too thought to have introduced one the Offspring of *Discord* and *Zephyrus*: According to *Orpheus*, there was one the Son of *Saturn*. In fine, if we regard *Plato's* Authority, this God was the Son of *Porus*, the God of Riches, and of Poverty. *Diſtimus*, one of the Speakers in his Dialogue intitled the *Banquet* says, while the Gods were celebrating a great Feast, *Porus*, who had drunk too hard, falling asleep at the Gate of the Hall, *Penia* or *Poverty*, who had come thither to gather up the Remains of the Feast, having made up to him, he had a Son by her who was *Cupid*.

These are the several *Cupids* that are spoken of in ancient Authors. 'Tis evident that all their Genealogies have no other Foundation but the Fancy that invented them; and that it were easy to reduce them to a small Number; since the Ancients, whom we have now mentioned, give them frequently either the same Father, or the same Mother. But not to dwell on frivolous Disquisitions, we may
affirm

(1) In *Eliac.* L. 1.

affirm that there never was another *Cupid* but he of whom *Sanchoiathon* and *Hesiod* speak ; I mean that physical Principle which served to unite together the disjointed Parts of Matter that formed the *Chaos*. And to be sure in the History of the true *Venus*, or *Astarté*, we find nothing of that wanton System of a blind Infant *Cupid* armed with Darts to wound the Heart ; the Product of the leizure Hours of the *Greek* Poets. 'Tis true *Ovid* tells us *Cupid* wounded *Venus*, who became desperately in Love with *Adonis*, which seems to agree only to the *Astarté* of the *Phenicians* ; but this is but a mere Fiction of that Poet, who has confounded the *Venus* of *Phenicia* with that of *Greece*.

But not to insist on this, the different Manners in which *Cupid* was represented were nearly these following, as appears from the Monuments now extant. First, he was figured as a young Child blind, or with his Eyes covered with a Fillet, leaping, dancing, playing, toying, clambering up Trees : He is represented in the Air, upon the Earth, the Sea, and sometimes in the Fire. He rides upon Animals, manages Chariots, plays upon Instruments ; in a Word, he is made to personate every Character. 'Tis no Rarity to see him sporting with his Mother *Venus* : Sometimes *Venus* holds her Quiver high in the Air ; *Cupid* trys to leap up and catch it, and has got hold of one of her Arrows ; at other Times she hugs him in her Bosom and between her Arms. Sometimes he plays upon a Horn, sitting before his Mother who shews him an Arrow. Sometimes with one Foot in the Air he seems meditating some Trick ; or seated upon a Base, holds in his Arms some Instrument which Time has defaced ; or sounds the Trumpet, with his Face turn'd up to Heaven. Sometimes he holds a Fowl which seems to be a Swan, and embraces it. You see him also playing upon *Pan's* Flute ; or asleep with the Bow and Quiver at his Feet ; sometimes he marches in a triumphant Attitude, with a Helmet

on his Head, the Pike over his Shoulder, and the Buckler on his Arm, to denote that *Mars* disarm'd surrenders himself to love.

Planted at other Times before a flaming Altar, he is playing upon the Flute with many Holes; the Question is whether this be to intimate that even the Exercises of Religion are no Security against his Attacks: Doubtless it has an allegorical Meaning, as well as in another Representation where, under the Shade of a Palm-tree he embraces a Ram, that looks towards a flaming Altar. Engaged in a boxing Match with a Cock, he is represented superiour even to that most amorous Animal.

He is seated upon a Centaur, to teach us that he Rules over every Creature that Breathes, even over Monsters. We find in the Antiquaries a *Venus* sitting and playing upon a Harp, and before her a Cupid holding at the End of two Rods a Mask, which represents *Sport* or *Focus*. Each of these Figures has its Inscription, *Venus, Cupido, Focus*; a Statue that seems made upon these two Verses of *Horace*.

*Sive tu mavis Erycina, ridens
Quam Focus circum volat & Cupido.*

He is sometimes riding on a Dolphin, to shew his Empire over the Sea; and what proves the Truth of this Conjecture, *Neptune* appears by him with his Trident, as it were to do Homage to his Power. Lastly, he is planted about the Chariot of *Pluto* carrying off *Proserpina*, to signify that his Empire extends even to Hell itself.

But we should never have done, were we to follow the Imaginations of the Poets, Painters, and Sculptors, who gave free Scope to their Invention, in Relation to a God, whom Heaven, Earth, Sea, and the Empire of the Dead were all thought to obey.

We need not doubt, but after worshipping *Venus*, they would also pay religious Homage to her Son.
Accordingly

Accordingly as their Temples and Altars were the same, so were the Vows, Prayers, and Sacrifices offered in them. *Plato* however who brings in *Socrates* so often speaking of this God, introduced into his Banquet *Phædrus* complaining that no Poet has sung Hymns and *Pæans* in Honour of so great a Divinity: Which is only to be understood with respect to Feasts, during which it was a Custom to sing those Hymns in Honour of *Bacchus*, and the other Gods. For were the Proposition to be understood in general, we might say that *Phædrus* is mistaken, since the Poets have not forgot *Cupid* in their Works: As he is certainly in an Error when he asserts that they had never given the Parentage of that God, the contrary whereof has been already made appear. After all, the single Authority of *Pausanias* would decide the Question, since he says this God was honoured at *Thespis* with a particular Worship.

A N T E R O S.

Anteros (a) or the Counter-Love, was the Son of *Venus* and *Mars*. The Account given of his Birth is to this Effect.

Venus, say the Ancients, complaining to *Themis* that *Cupid* her Son continued always a Child, this Goddess answered, he was ever to be so till she had another Son. This was a sufficient Hint to a Goddess who had so good Inclination to Gallantry: She entertained the Passion which *Mars* had for her, and *Anteros* was the Offspring of their Embrace. *Cupid* however grew never the Bigger, he and his Brother continued always Infants, and we find them thus represented with Wings and a Quiver, Arrows and a Baldrick. You see them upon an old Bas relief sporting together, and striving to pull

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to

(a) This Name is composed of two Greek Words, *Eros* Love, and *Anti* against.

to them a Palm Branch, which each draws with all his Might; and what is singular in the Monument which *Beger* has inserted in his *Treasure of Brandenburg*, it appears to be the same which *Pausanias* speaks of. The same Author (1) makes mention of another Figure of *Anteros*, where he holds two Cocks at his Breast, and is provoking them to peck his Head.

Anteros shared divine Honours with his Mother and Brother, since *Pausanias* (2) speaks of an Altar which the *Athenians* had erected to him.

P S Y C H E.

Tho' the Fable of *Psyche* contains no historical Fact, and only resembles our fairy Tales; however as it is connected with that of *Cupid*, or Love, I cannot forbear giving it a Place here. A King and a Queen, says *Apuleius*, had three Daughters, of whom the youngest was the greatest Beauty, in the Formation of whom Nature seemed even to have surpass'd herself. The Fame of her Beauty having spread on all Hands, People came in Crouds to her Father's Court, and so soon as they had seen her, from admiring they were led to adore her. *Venus* jealous of this rising Beauty, for whom *Gnidos*, *Paphos*, and *Cythera* were deserted, order'd *Cupid* to wound *Psyche* with one of his Darts, and to captivate her Heart with an Object unworthy her Charms. *Cupid* instead of executing his Mother's Orders, fell desperately in Love with her himself. In the mean time her Sisters less handsome than she, were married to Sovereigns, while no Body durst aspire at gaining her. The Oracle of *Apollo*, consulted about the Fate of this young Beauty, answered that she was not to look for a mortal Spouse, but a God formidable to all the Gods, even to Hell itself; adding that she must be expos'd upon a high Mountain on the Brink of a Precipice, dressed in funeral Ornaments.

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(1) In Att.

(2) Loc. cit.

The Oracle was obey'd, and no sooner was *Psyche* come to the Place mark'd out by the Oracle, than a *Zephyr* embrac'd her and carry'd her away into the Middle of a Wood, where was a stately Palace glittering with Gold and Silver, and its Pavements of precious Stones. The Palace appeared uninhabited, but she heard Voices inviting her to make this her Place of Residence. Tho' she saw not the Nymphs who served her, yet she wanted for nothing. She was regaled with sumptuous and elegant Repasts, to which succeeded harmonious Consorts of Musick. And in this Manner was she entertained from Day to Day, Pleasure still following Pleasure in a perpetual Circulation: Soon as Night arrived, she was visited by the destined Spouse, who withdrew from her at the Approach of Day, for fear of being discovered; thus he continued for several Nights successively.

In the mean time the King and Queen anxious for their Daughter, sent her Sisters in quest of her. *Cupid*, informed of this, at first prohibited *Psyche* to see her Sisters, but upon this observing her sad and pensive, he at last allowed her to speak to them, on Condition she should not follow their Counsel. The same *Zephyr* who had conducted her into this enchanted Palace, was also the Conductor of her Sisters. *Psyche* after having told them she was the happiest of Mortals, and that her Husband young and Handsome loved her extremely, dismiss'd them loaded with Presents. These two Princesses envying the Happiness of their Sister, resolved to dispatch her, and hearing at a second Interview, that she never saw her Husband, they put her in Mind of the Oracles of *Apollo*, which had spoke to her confusedly of some Monster or other; and made her believe that her Spouse was a Serpent, who at last would put her to a miserable Death. *Psyche* affrighted with this Discourse, and not being able to find out the Reason

son why her Husband chose to continue invisible, told them she was disposed to follow their Advice, if they knew how to extricate her from her Perplexity; they advised her to keep a lighted Lamp somewhere concealed, and together with it a Razor; and when the Monster fell asleep, to view him by the Help of the Lamp, and with the Razor to cut off his Head. *Psyche* followed her Sisters Counsel; and no sooner had got out of Bed, and taken up her Lamp, than instead of a Monster she discovered *Cupid* asleep, known by his Vermilion Complexion, his waving Wings and his white Tresses. Seized at once with Astonishment and Remorse for having questioned her own Happiness, she resolved to cut her own Throat with the Instrument she had prepared against her Husband; but it drop'd out of her Hands, and the Sight of so charming an Object calmed her Perturbation. In the mean Time while she is examining *Cupid's* Bow, and Quiver, that were at the Foot of the Bed, she wounded herself in the Finger, in trying the Point of one of his Darts; but neglecting so slight a Wound, she continued to feed her Eyes with the lovely Object, when a Drop of Oil, dropping from her Lamp upon *Cupid's* right Shoulder awaked him.

Forthwith he wings away: *Psyche* takes hold of his Foot, but *Cupid* raises her up from the Ground, and at Length lets her fall down. Then alighting upon a Cypress, upbraids her bitterly for the little Confidence she had put in his Counsels, and upon this quite disappeared.

Psyche in Despair precipitates herself into a River, but the Waves from their Respect to the Spouse of *Cupid*, immediately threw her out upon the Banks. She meets the God *Pan* who condoles with her, and tells her nothing now remained for her but to make her Peace with *Cupid*. In her wanderings thro' the World, she arrived at the House of
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one of her Sisters, to whom she recites her Adventure, and tells her that *Cupid* as a more signal Revenge had threatened to marry one of her Sisters. Her Sister swelled with vain Hope, abandons her Father's Court, repairs to the Rock which led to *Cupid's* Palace, and fancying the *Zephyr* would support her as he had done before, let herself drop down, and perish'd by a miserable Death. *Psyche* took the same Way to revenge herself upon her other Sister, who was caught in the Snare. In the mean while, *Venus* apprized that *Cupid* suffered cruel Torment, endeavoured to find out *Psyche*, to chastise her for her Presumption.

Psyche was still in search of *Cupid*, and arriving near a Temple, made up a Sheaf of some loose Ears of Corn that lay scattered in the Field, which she offered to *Ceres*, begging to be taken under her Protection; but the Goddess answered her that all she could do in her Favour was, not to deliver her up to her Enemy. *Juno* whom she met in one of her Temples gave her much the same Answer. *Psyche* however still retains some Hope: She resolves to have Recourse to *Venus*, hoping to find *Cupid* with her, and so to make her Peace. Accordingly she found out *Venus*; but the haughty Goddess, without seeming to vouchsafe her the smallest Regard, ascended *Olympus*, and prayed *Jupiter* to send *Mercury* to seek out *Psyche* over all the Earth, and bring her to her, she having declined to keep her when she had her in her Power, because she had appeared before her as a Suppliant. While *Mercury* is in quest of this unfortunate Lover, she meets with *Custom*, one of *Venus's* waiting Maids, who dragging her by the Hair brings her to *Venus*. The incensed Goddess flies at her Hair, tears her Robe, gives her Blows upon the Head; and then having made up a great Heap of Grains intermixed, Wheat, Barley, Millet, Poppies, Wood-pease, Lentils, and Beans, she orders her

her to separate all these Grains, and that before Night, leaving for her Companions two of her other Attendants, Sorrow and Anxiety. *Psyche* remain'd as one thunderstruck and quite insensible, but officious Ants separated the Grains, and extricated her out of this Difficulty. *Venus* next commanded her to bring her a Tuft of golden Wooll, from certain Sheep that fed beyond a River, in Places inaccessible; but instead of thinking to execute the Goddess's Orders, she went to drown herself in that River, when a Reed whisper'd some articulate Sounds that taught her how to come at the Wooll, which she carried to the Goddess. *Venus*, not appeased with such prompt Obedience, order'd her further to fetch her a Pitcher of a blackish Water that flowed from a Fountain kept by Dragons. An Eagle took the Pitcher, filled the Water into it, and gave it her to deliver to *Venus*. An Order still harder to be obeyed succeeded these many Labours. *Venus* regretting that some of her Beauty had been lost in dressing *Cupid's* Wound, orders *Psyche* to go down to *Pluto's* Kingdom, and demand from *Proserpine* a Box with some of her Charms. *Psyche* believing there was no other Way of visiting the Dead but by dying herself, was going to throw herself headlong from a high Tower, when an audible Voice taught her the Way to the infernal Regions, by bidding her go to *Tenarus*, near *Lacedemon*, where she would find a Way that led thither; but that she was to fortify herself with two Cakes, one in each Hand, and two Pieces of Money, which she was to hold in her Mouth: That *Charon* would convey her into his Boat, and to him she was to give one of her Pieces of Money, which he himself must take out of her Mouth; and that upon meeting the huge Dog that kept *Proserpine's* Court, she was to give him one of the Cakes. That at last she should come up to *Proserpine* and receive from her a gracious Reception; be invited
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by her to a sumptuous Feast she was to prepare for her; but that she was to decline her Offer, sit down upon the Ground, and eat nothing but brown Bread: that at last the Goddess should give her the Box, but that she was to beware of opening it. All these Directions given her by the Voice, *Psyche* followed, and received from *Proserpine* what *Venus* demanded.

After she had got out of the infernal Regions, she had the Curiosity to open the Box, with a Design to take some of the Beauty it contained to herself; but she found nothing there besides an infernal and soporiferous Vapour, which seized her in an instant, and made her sink down to the Earth fast asleep. She never had risen again, if *Cupid* now cured of his Wound had not got out at his Mother's Palace Window to go in Search of his beloved *Psyche*. He found her fast asleep, waked her with the Point of an Arrow, put back the Vapour into the Box, and bid her carry it to his Mother. *Cupid* flew away to Heaven, and appeared before *Jupiter*, who assembled the Gods, and ordered him to keep his *Psyche*, and that *Venus* should no longer oppose his Marriage with her. At the same Time he commanded *Mercury* to carry her up to Heaven. *Psyche* now admitted into the Society of the Gods, drank Ambrosia, and became immortal. The nuptial Feast was prepared, there every God played his Part, and even *Venus* danced. Thus were the nuptials solemnized, and *Psyche* soon after was delivered of a Daughter who was named *Pleasure*.

This Fable, as we see, is entirely allegorical, and denotes the Evils that Concupiscence, figured by *Cupid*, entails upon the human Soul under the Symbol of *Psyche*. It would be needless to attempt an Explanation of all its Circumstances, since many of them are merely the Product of their Imagination who invented it. I shall only observe

observe that the Ancients represented *Psyche* with the Wings of a Butter-fly, as we see on some Monuments, and Intaglios, and that the Butter-fly, and the Soul, in the *Greek* Language were both called *Psyche*; but where was the Necessity of loading this Fiction with so many childish Circumstances, for the Sake of a trite vulgar Moral?

The GRACES.

Among the many Divinities invented by the Ancients, none were more amiable than the *Graces*, since it was from them the Rest borrowed their Charms, Sources of every Thing agreeable and smiling in Nature. They gave to Places, Persons, Works, and to every thing in its kind, that finishing Charm which crowns all its other Perfections, and is as it were the Flower of its Excellence: In fine, it was only from them a Person could derive that Talent, without which all other Qualifications are lost; I mean the Talent of pleasing. Accordingly of all the Goddesses, none had a greater Number of Adorers than they. To them all Ranks, all Professions, Persons of every Age and Character address'd their Vows, and offered Incense. Every Science, every Art had its tutelar Divinity in particular; but all the Arts and all the Sciences acknowledged the Empire of the *Graces*.

As the *Abbé Maffieu* has left a Dissertation in the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1), wherein that learned and ingenious Academic has omitted little or nothing material with Respect to these Divinities, I cannot do better than take him for my Guide. I shall therefore inquire with him, but in few Words, into the Origine of the *Graces* and their Number, the different Names that were given them, their Attributes, the Worship that was paid them, and lastly what Blessings they were thought to be the Dispensers of.

Some

(1) Tom. 5. p. 2.

Some Ancients believed them to be the Offspring of a legitimate Marriage, and that they were the Daughters of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; but *Hesiod* asserts that they were the Offspring of that God and of the fair *Eurynome*, the Daughter of *Oceanus*, whom *Onomacritus* names *Eunomia*, and *Laëtantius*, the old Commentator on *Statius*, *Harmione*. According to *Antimachus* a very ancient Poet, their Mother was called *Eglé*, and according to others, *Eurymedusa*, or *Antinome*. In fine, the most general Opinion is that they owe their Birth to *Bacchus* and *Venus*.

The Ancients were not more agreed about the Name and Number of the *Graces*, than about their Original. The *Lacedemonians* admitted only two of them, whom they worship'd under the Names of *Clito* and *Phaenné*. The *Athenians* allowed no more, but they called them *Auxo* and *Hegemone*. *Hesiod*, and after him *Pindar*, *Onomacritus*, and most of the other Poets, fix the Number of the *Graces* to three, and name them *Eglé*, *Thalia*, and *Euphrosyne*. What perplexes some People is that *Thalia* is commonly reckoned one of the *Muses*: But where is the Inconsistence in a *Muse* and a *Grace* having both the same Name? *Homer* changes the Name of one of the *Graces*, and calls her *Pasithee* (1) wherein he is followed by *Statius* (2).

Notwithstanding the Authority of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, there were several Places in *Greece*, where four Goddesses of this Name were acknowledged, and then they were confounded with the Hours, or rather with the four Seasons of the Year; this was the Reason of representing them crown'd, one with Flowers, another with Ears of Corn, the third with Vine-branches and Grapes, and the Fourth with a Branch of Olive, or of some other of those Trees that preserve their Verdure even in Winter. It was also for the same Reason that *Apollo* was sometimes represented

(1) Il. l. 14.

(2) Theb. l. 2.

represented supporting with his right Hand small Figures of the four Graces. This is all the Certainty Antiquity gives us as to their Number. For as to the Expression of *Aristenetus*, who says that the Graces fluttered by Hundreds around *Cydippe*: And that of the Author of the Poem upon the Loves of *Hero* and *Leander*, who asserts that when *Hero* vouchsafed to smile, her Eyes alone displayed more than an hundred Graces; and lastly that of *Nonnus*, who, in the Poem he has made in Honour of *Bacchus*, says there were no less than three Hundred of them in his Train; all these are of the Nature of such hyperbolical Expressions as impose upon no Body. The Case is otherwise as to what is said by *Pausanias* (1), that some Authors reckon the Goddess of Persuasion in the Number of the Graces, insinuating thereby, that the great Secret of Persuasion is to please.

At first these Goddesses were represented only by mere Stones that were not cut; and such were the ancient Statues, as has been already remark'd elsewhere. But they came very soon to be represented under human Figures, clad in Gauz in the early Times, and afterwards quite naked. *Pausanias* owns (2) that he could not trace the Time when the Custom of giving them Drapery came to be laid aside. They were thus represented, to signify that nothing is more amiable than simple Nature; and with a thin plain covering of Gauz, to intimate to us that if sometimes Art be induced to assist Nature, foreign Ornaments ought to be employed only discreetly and with Reserve. They were painted young, because Charms have always been considered as the Lot of Youth. They were commonly thought to be Virgins, *Homer* however marries one of them to the God of Sleep, and the other to *Vulcan*. Further, the Graces were represented in the Attitude of Persons dancing; which makes

(1) In Bect.

(2) Loc. cit.

makes *Horace* say (1), *Alterno terram quatunt pede*: Add to this, that they held one another fast by the Hand, *Segnesque nodum solvere gratiæ*. (2)

Pausanias tells us that there were to be seen at *Elis* the Statues of three Graces, where they were represented, one holding in her Hand a Rose, the other a Die to play with, and the third a Branch of Myrtle: Symbols which the Author himself explains. 'Tis says he because the Myrtle and the Rose were particularly consecrated to *Venus* and the Graces; and as for the Die, 'tis a Mark of the Inclination of Youth, the Age which the Graces peculiarly love, to Sports and Pastimes. But what shall we say of a Custom among the Ancients of representing the Graces in the midst of the most ugly Satyrs? Inasmuch that even the Statues of the Satyrs were often made hollow, so that you could open and shut them; and when they were opened, you discovered within them little Figures of Graces. What could be the Meaning of such an odd Assemblage? was it to point out to us, that we must not judge of Men by Appearance, that the Deformities of Shape may be rectify'd by the Charms of the Mind; and that very often great internal Endowments lie concealed under an ungraceful Outside?

We may easily judge that such lovely Divinities would neither be without Altars nor Temples. *Etheocles*, King of *Orchomenos* in *Beotia*, is reckon'd the first who erected any to them, and who regulated the Ceremonies of their Worship; which has made some Ancients say that he was their Father. The *Lacedæmonians* however ascrib'd the Glory thereof to *Lacedæmon* their fourth King, alledging that the Temple which he had built to them upon the Banks of the River *Tiasis* was the most ancient one of *Greece*. According to *Pausanias* they had Temples at *Elis*, at *Delphos*, at *Perga*, at *Perinthus*, at *Byzantium*, and in several other Places of *Greece* and *Thrace*. Ordinarily

(1) L. 1. Od. 4.

(2) Hor. L. 3. Od. 21.

narily the Temples consecrated to *Cupid*, were also consecrated to the Graces. It was also the Custom to give them a Place in those of *Mercury*, to teach us that even the God of Eloquence had need of their Assistance. But above all, the Muses and the Graces had commonly but one and the same Temple, and 'tis easy to perceive the intimate Union that must have been between these two Sorts of Divinities: Accordingly *Pindar* invokes the Graces almost as often as he does the Muses.

Tho' Festivals were celebrated to their Honour thro' the whole Course of the Year, the Spring however was principally consecrated to them, as to *Venus* their Mother. But it was not only at certain stated Times that the Ancients signalized their Devotion to these Goddesses, there was hardly a Day that was not distinguish'd by some piece of Homage that was paid them. They took few Repasts without invoking the Muses and the Graces: With this Difference, that in order to procure the Favour of the Muses they drunk nine Glasses, whereas those who would be favoured of the Graces drank only three.

All *Greece* was full of Monuments consecrated to these Goddesses. Their Figures were to be seen in most Cities, done by the greatest Masters. There was at *Pergamus* a Picture of them, drawn by *Pythagoras* of *Paros* (1). Another at *Smyrna*, which was by the Hand of *Apelles*. *Socrates* had made their Statues in Marble, as *Rupalus* did in Gold. *Pausanias* speaks of several other of their Statues, where the Richness of the Matter vied with the Beauty of the Workmanship. *Demosthenes* in his Oration for the Crown, tells us that the *Athenians* having aided the Inhabitants of the *Chersonesus* in a pressing Exigence, these to eternise the Memory of so signal a Service, had erected an Altar with this Inscription, *An Altar consecrated to that Grace who presides over Gratitude*. And
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(1) Paus. in Beot.

to conclude with Monuments of another Kind, there were a great many Medals on which the Graces were represented; whereof several are transmitted to us. Such is a *Greek Medal of Antoninus Pius*, struck by the *Perinthians*; one of *Septimius Severus*, by the Inhabitants of *Perga* in *Pamphilia*; another of *Alexander Severus*, by the *Flavian Colony* in *Thrace*; and lastly one of *Valerian*, the Father of *Galian*, by the *Byzantines*.

Lastly, As to the Favours that were look'd for from these Goddesses, they were thought to dispense to Men not only a good Grace, Gayety, Equality of Temper, but also Liberality, Eloquence and Wisdom, as we are told by *Pindar*; but the most noble of all the Prerogatives of the Graces was, that they presided over Kindnesses and Gratitude; insomuch that, in almost all Languages, their Names are made use of, to express both Gratitude and Favours.

We shall close with the Allegories that have been found in the Names of those Goddesses and their Attributes. First they were called *Charites*, a Name derived from the *Greek Word* that signifies *Joy*, to denote that we ought to have an equal Pleasure in doing good Offices, as in shewing Gratitude to those from whom we have them. They were young, to teach us that the Memory of a Favour ought never to decay; sprightly and nimble, to shew that we must be prompt to oblige, and that a Favour ought not to be long deferred. Accordingly the *Greeks* had a Way of speaking, that a Favour which comes lingering ceases to be a Favour. They were said to be Virgins, to give us to understand, first, that in doing good, our Views ought to be pure, the Want of which marring the Favour; and in the second Place, that the Beneficent Disposition ought to be accompany'd with Prudence, Reserve and Discretion. It was for this second Reason that *Socrates* seeing a Man who lavish'd away his Favours without Distinction upon

every Object: *May the Gods confound thee*, cry'd he, *the Graces are Virgins, and you would make them common Prostitutes*. They were linked in one another's Hands, to signify that we ought by mutual Acts of Kindness to bind the Cords of Love that unite us to one another. Lastly, they danced in a Circle, to intimate that there ought to be among Mankind a Circulation of Kindnesses; and moreover, that by Acts of Gratitude, the Favour ought, according to the Order of Nature, to return to the same Source from whence it was derived.

C H A P. XII.

The History of Vulcan.

TIS proper to join the History of *Vulcan* to that of *Venus* and the Graces, since according to the Ancients, he had married either the Mother of *Cupid* herself, or according to *Homer*, one of these three Goddesses. If we believe *Cicero* (1), there were several *Vulcans*; the first, was the Son of *Cælus*; the second, of *Nilus*; the *Egyptians* who acknowledged him their Protector, called him *Opas*; the third was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, or of *Juno* alone, according to *Hesiod*, who is followed by the other Poets. The fourth was the Son of *Menalius*; this is he who inhabited the *Vulcanian* Islands. We may find another *Vulcan* even more ancient than all these: That is the *Tubal-cain* of the Scripture, who having apply'd himself to the forging of Iron, as *Moses* informs us, became the Model and Original of all the Rest.

Mythologists give several Derivations of *Vulcan's* Name *Hephaistos*. *Phurnutus* derives it ἀπὸ τῆ ἡφθαι, as you would say *Burning*. *Plato* in his *Socrates*, says it comes from φαῖς ἐστῶς, *He who presides over*
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(1) L. 3. de Nat. Deo.

the Light. Servius alledges that he was called *Vulcanus quasi Volitanus*, to signify that the Sparks of Fire fly in the Air in the forging of Iron. But what Stress is to be laid upon an Etymology of a Name given to that God by the *Latins*, and which was unknown to the *Egyptians* who introduced his Worship into *Greece*? That of *Pburnus* is no doubt more rational, since the *Greeks* called that God *Ephæstos*: But without insisting any longer on these Etymologies, we observe that the *Greeks* reckoned *Vulcan* the God of Blacksmiths, and a Blacksmith himself; and this is the Idea given of him by *Diodorus Siculus*, when he says (1) “*Vulcan* is the first Founder of Works in Iron, Brass, Gold and Silver, in a Word, of all fusible Materials. He also taught all the Uses to which the Artists and others can imploy Fire; for this Reason all those who work in Metals, or rather Men in general, call Fire by the Name of *Vulcan*, and offer Sacrifices to that God, in Acknowledgment of so useful an Invention.”

There is a great deal of Probability that the second *Vulcan* was an ancient *Egyptian* King, as we shall prove at the End of the History of this God; or rather he was the most ancient Divinity of the *Egyptians*, since we find him in *Herodotus*, *Syncellus*, and other Authors, at the Head of the Divinities of that People; unless we will trace back to *Tubal-cain*, or to some one of the Kings of those Countries, who signalized himself in the Art of forging Iron.

As for the third *Vulcan*, in whose History the *Greeks* have inserted that of all the Rest, we may take it for granted that he was a *Titan* Prince, the Son of *Jupiter*, or at least one of his Relations, who having been disgraced, was obliged to retire into the Island of *Lemnos*, where he establish'd

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Forges.

(1) L. 5.

Forges. Sir *Isaac Newton*, who confounds him with *Tboas* King of *Lemnos*, explains the Fable of his Fall from Heaven very ingeniously. *Tboas*, says he (1), wedded *Colicopis*, the same *Venus* who was reckoned the Mother of *Eneas*, and Daughter of *Otbreus* King of *Phrygia*. *Tboas* got the Name of *Cinyras* from his Dexterity in playing upon the Lyre, which gave a Handle to say that he had been beloved by *Apollo* or *Orus*. *Bacchus* falling in Love with the Wife of *Tboas*, was surprized in an Intrigue with her, but he found a Way to appease the Husband by making him drink Wine, and made up the Affair by creating him King of *Byblos* and *Cyprus*; after which he pass'd the *Hellspont* with his Army, and conquered *Thrace*. 'Tis to all these Events, subjoins the Author now quoted, that the Poets allude, in feigning that *Vulcan* fell from Heaven into the Island of *Lemnos*, and that *Bacchus* after having pacified his Wrath by making him drink Wine, got him to be recalled to Heaven. He fell from the Heaven of the Gods of *Crete*, when he departed from *Crete* to *Lemnos* to forge Metals; he was reinstated in Heaven, when *Bacchus* made him King of *Byblos* and *Cyprus*; for the Courts of the Princes of those Times, in Imitation of that of *Jupiter*, were look'd upon as Heaven. *Tboas* reigned to a great Age, lived to the Time of the *Trojan* War, and grew immensely rich (a).

Thus it is that the *Greeks* by ingenious Fictions had disguised a History, which of itself was very simple and natural; and to find some Pretext for the Removal, or if you please the Expulsion of *Vulcan*, they gave out that *Jupiter* seeing him very ugly, or rather being jealous that *Juno* had brought him

(1) Chronology.

(a) *Newton* cites for Authorities, Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gen. Apollodorus, Pindar. Pyth. Od. 2. Hesychius in *χινύρας*. Steph. in *Ἀμείβης*.

him forth without his Concurrence, had kicked him down from Heaven to Earth with a Blow of his Foot, and that he would have inevitably been killed, had it not been for the Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Lemnos* who received him into their Arms ; that however he suffered the Loss of a Leg whereof he remained lame ; or according to another Tradition adopted by *Pausanias* (1), but as frivolous as the Former, it was *Juno* who expelled him *Olympus*. This Author adds that *Vulcan* not having forgot this Injury, made a golden Chair with a concealed Spring, and sent it to Heaven. *Juno* having no Diffidence of her Son's Present, would needs sit down upon it, and was catch'd in it as in a Trap ; and *Bacchus* was forced to fuddle *Vulcan* before he could bring him to set *Juno* at Liberty, who had given the Gods abundance of Mirth by this Scene : But as these Fictions, which every Poet had a Right to invent, are not consistent with one another, *Homer* tells us that this God incurred *Jupiter's* Displeasure, for having extricated *Juno*, whom he had suspended in the Air with a Chain, because she had raised a Storm to destroy *Hercules*.

The Island of *Lemnos*, being very subject to Earthquakes and Vulcanos, as is proved by the learned *Bockart* (2) from *Eustathius* and others, hence *Vulcan* was said to have fallen into this Island, where he fix'd his Residence and his Forges ; or, according to others, because it was in this Island the Art of forging Arms was invented. In order to gain credit to this Fable, the Thumps of the Hammers of the Cyclops his Blacksmiths were said to be heard at a very great Distance, which was in truth the Noise of the Fire struggling to get vent. The Forges of this God were also establish'd in Mount *Ætna* for the same Reason ; and in the *Vulcanian* Islands, whereof *Liparos* is the principal, and which were afterwards

A a 3 called

(1) In Attic. c. 20.

(2) Chan. L. 2, c. 12.

called *Eolian*, from the Name of *Eolus* their King: In a Word, in all Places where any *Vulcano* was to be seen. As the *Greeks*, when any one signalized himself by his Works, took Pleasure in setting off his History with every wonderful Circumstance which they thought proper to embellish it; so the Poets placed to the score of their *Vulcan* all the Works that pass'd for Master-pieces in the fabulous World, such as the Palace of the Sun (1), the Armour of *Achilles* (2), that of *Eneas* (3), *Hermione's* Necklace, *Ariadne's* Crown, the famous brazen Dog which *Jupiter* gave to *Europa*, and which she gave to *Procris*; *Pandora*, she who was the Cause of all the Evils that have over-run the Earth: In fine, those brazen Symbols whereof he made a Present to *Minerva*, who gave them to *Hercules*, and at whose Sound that Hero raised from a Wood the Birds named *Stymphalides*, which he afterwards slew with his Arrows, as shall be said in his History.

Tho' we have nothing very certain about *Vulcan's* Children, we know however that *Protheus* and *Erichthonius* were look'd upon as such, as also those who were distinguish'd in the Art of forging Iron and Metals, as *Olenus*, *Albion*, and some others. Several Names were also given him. He was called *Lemnius*, because *Lemnos* was the Place where he fell, upon his Expulsion from Heaven; *Junonigena*, because he was *Juno's* Son; *Mulciber*, or *Mulcifer*, because he had taught the Art of softening Iron by the Heat of the Forge; *Ætneus*, because his Forges were under Mount *Ætna*; *Amphiguneis*, because he was lame of both Feet, according to *Hesiod*, who gives him this Epithet; and *Kullopodien*, by those who took him to be lame only in one Side: This is the same Epithet with that of *Tardipes*, given him by *Catullus*.

Of all the ancient Nations, the *Egyptians* adored this God most; he had at *Memphis* that magnificent Temple, and colossal Statue, seventy-five Feet high, whereof

(1) Ovid Met. L. 2. (2) Homer. Il. (3) Virg. En. L. 6.

whereof we have given the Description in the first Volume ; tho' his Statue which was in the Temple bore so little Proportion to that Colossus which was without, that it provok'd the Scorn of *Cambyfes*, who threw it into the Fire. His Priests were in so great Esteem among the *Egyptians*, that one of them, named *Sethos*, ascended the Throne. This God was also highly honoured by the *Romans*. *Tatius*, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1), built him a Temple, and *Romulus* consecrated to him Chariots of Brass drawn with four Horses, as we learn from the same Author. It was the Custom, in his Sacrifices, to consume the whole Victim by Fire, reserving nothing for the sacred Feast, so that they were real *Holocausts* ; thus *Tarquinius* the elder, after the Defeat of the *Sabines*, burnt their Arms and Spoils in Honour of this God.

Among the Animals, the Lion, who in his Roarings seems to dart Fire from his Mouth, was consecrated to him ; and Dogs were set apart for keeping his Temple. He had several of them at *Rome*, but the most ancient one, built by *Romulus*, was without the Bounds of the City ; the Augurs being of Opinion, that the God of Fire ought not to be within the City itself. But what was the highest Mark of Respect paid by the *Romans* to this God, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, those Assemblies were kept in his Temple, where the most important Affairs of the Republick were debated : The *Romans* thinking they could invoke nothing more sacred, to confirm the Decisions and Treaties that were made there, than the avenging Fire whereof that God was the Symbol.

As it was their Opinion that *Vulcan* had taught all the Uses which Artists and others make of Fire, so all those who worked in Metals, or, more accurately speaking, all Men in general offered to this God Sacrifices, in Acknowledgment of so useful a Discovery, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (2).

A a 4

There

(1) L. 2.

(2) L. 5.

There were also Festivals instituted in Honour of him, the principal whereof was that where it was the Custom to run with lighted Torches, that were to be carried to the Goal without letting them go out, under Pain of Disgrace ; he who out-run another had, according to *Pliny* (1), his Torch for his Reward.

Ancient Monuments represent this God in an uniform manner ; there he always appears with a Beard, his Hair somewhat neglected, half covered with a Habit that comes only down to above his Knee, wearing a round and pointed Cap, in his right Hand an Hammer, and Pincers in the left. As People have always been fond of finding mystical Reasons for such Representations, *Eusebius* tells us (2), that the Name of *Ephæstos* points out the Force of Fire, and that the Cap which was given him, being of a blue Colour, figured the Circuit of Heaven, where Fire makes the more subtile Part.

Tho' all the Mythologists unanimously say that *Vulcan* was lame, yet none of his Images now remaining represent him with that Defect : *Cicero* however, in his first Book of the Nature of the Gods, thus speaks of one of his Statues : “ We admire that
“ *Vulcan* of *Athens*, made by *Alcámenes*, he is stand-
“ ing, and cloath'd, and appears lame, but without
“ any Deformity.” Most of the Medals of the Island of *Lemnos* represented this God with the Legend, *Deo Vulcano*.

From all that has been now said, we may conclude that there were three *Vulgans* ; the first, and the most ancient, is the *Tubal-cain* mentioned by *Moses*, who places him in the tenth Generation from *Cain*, and who was really the first that invented the Art of forging Iron. *Sanchoiathon*, who reckons him in the seventh Generation, tells us that besides that Art he invented the Fisher's Bait, the Fishing-line and Boat, and that after his Death he was honour'd as a God, under the Name of *Diamithios*. 'Tis true that
ancient

(1) L. 18.

(2) Præp. Ev. l. 3.

ancient Author calls him likewise *Chrysaor*, and it has puzzled Authors not a little to find *Ephæstos*, or *Vulcan*, in this *Chrysaor*, whom the *Greeks* make to spring from the Blood of *Medusa*, as shall be said in the History of that *Gorgon*; but M. *Fourmont* the elder thinks he has found the true Original of this Name in a *Phenician* Word, which imports *one who works by or in the Fire*.

The second *Vulcan* was an ancient God, or King of *Egypt*; and in fine, the third was one of the *Titans*, who out of some Discontent retired into the Island of *Lemnos*.

C H A P. XIII.

The History of Mercury.

OF all the Gods of the Pagan World, none had so many Employments and Occupations as *Mercury*. The *Greeks* called him *Hermes*, which signifies *Interpreter*, or, according to *Proclus*, *Messenger*. His *Latin* Name, if we may believe *Festus*, came from a Word signifying *Merchands*, or rather *Merchandize*, *Mercurius*, a *Mercibus*. *Interpreter*, as he was, and faithful Minister of the other Gods, and of his Father *Jupiter* in particular, he serv'd them with indefatigable Zeal, even in Employments not very honourable. It was he had the Charge of conducting the Souls of the Dead into the internal Regions, and of bringing them back. He was, besides this, the God of Eloquence, and of the Art of speaking well; the God of Travellers, Merchants, and even of Pick-pockets. He acted as Ambassador and Plenipotentiary of the Gods, was concerned in all Treaties of Peace and Alliance. Sometimes he was seen accompanying *Juno*, either as her Guard, or to watch over her Conduct. Sometimes *Jupiter* sends him to conduct an Intrigue with some new Mistress. Here you have him transporting *Castor* and *Pollux* to *Pal-lene*;

lene : There accompanying *Pluto's* Chariot, when he carries off *Proserpina* : The Gods, nonpluss'd with the Difference arisen between the three Goddesses about Beauty, send him along with them to the Shepherd *Paris*. So many different Functions have made it be believed, that there were several *Mercurys*, and that to the Son of *Jupiter* alone had been ascribed the Attributes which ought to have been shared among several Gods of the same Name.

Mythologists accordingly reckon more *Mercurys* than one. *Lactantius*, the *Grammarian*, enumerates four of them ; one the Son of *Jupiter* and *Maia* ; the second of *Cælus* and the Day ; the third of *Liber* or *Bacchus*, and *Proserpina* ; the fourth of *Jupiter* and *Cyllene*, who slew *Argus*, and then fled for it, say the *Greeks*, into *Egypt*, where he communicated to the *Egyptians* the Knowledge of Letters. He whom most of the Ancients acknowledge, and to whom the Poets attribute all the Actions that pass under the Name of *Mercury*, is the Son of *Jupiter* and *Maia* ; 'tis to him chiefly that Temples were built, Altars and Statues set up.

According to *Cicero* there were five of them : “ One
 “ the Son of *Cælus* and the Day (1) ; another the Son
 “ of *Valens* and *Phorenis* ; 'tis he who dwells under
 “ the Earth, and is called *Trophonius*. The third is the
 “ Son of *Jupiter* and *Maia* ; this *Jupiter* is the third
 “ in Order of those that are reckoned ; 'tis of this
 “ *Mercury*, and *Penelope*, that *Pan* is said to have
 “ been born. The fourth is the Son of *Nilus*, whom
 “ the *Egyptians* think it a Crime to name. The
 “ fifth, whom the *Pheneates* worship, who is said to
 “ have slain *Argus*, and for that reason to have ob-
 “ tained the *Egyptian* Empire, and given Laws to
 “ the *Egyptians*, and the Knowledge of Letters (a)”.

(1) The Day is put in the Feminine for *Dies*. Without

(a) *Mercurius unus (inquit Cicero) Cælo patre, die matre natus, cujus obscœnius excitata natura traditur quod aspectu Proserpinæ commotus sit : Alter Valentis & Phoronidis filius, is qui sub terris habetur, idem Trophonius. Tertius Jove tertio natus & Maia,*

Without troubling ourselves to consider in what manner we might reduce to a smaller Number so many *Mercurys*, some of whom appear to have either the same Father, or the same Mother ; we presume it may be affirmed that there never were but two of them ; for as to him who had *Pan* by *Penelope*, whom *Herodotus* makes to have lived eight hundred Years before him, that is about the time of the *Trojan War*, 'tis very probable that it was some Priest of that God who had seduced that young Princess. I allow therefore of none but the ancient *Mercury*, the *Ihot*, *Thaut*, or *Taautus*, of the *Egyptians*, who was Contemporary with *Osiris* ; and him who, according to *Hesiod*, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Maia* ; these are the two whose History I am now to give.

There is no Personage, without Exception, in profane Antiquity, more famous than the *Egyptian Mercury*. He was the Soul of *Osiris's* Counsel (1), who employ'd him in the most critical Affairs ; and who, before his Expedition to the Conquest of the *Indies*, left him with *Isis*, whom he had named Regent of the Kingdom, as the most proper Person to serve her in the Administration. Not content merely with giving Counsel to the Queen, he, like a faithful Minister, apply'd himself to make Arts and Commerce flourish thro' all *Egypt*. By studying the most sublime Sciences, he acquired profound Knowledge in the Mathematicks, especially in Geometry, and taught the *Egyptians* the way to measure their Lands, whose Limits were frequently disturbed by the Overflowings of the *Nile*, that every one might know the Portion that belong'd to him. In fine, there were few Sciences wherein he did not make great Proficiency ;

Maia, ex quo & Penelopa Pana natum ferunt. Quartus Nilo patre, quem Ægyptii nefas habent nominare. Quintus, quem colunt Pheneatæ, qui Argum dicitur interfecisse, ob eamque causam Ægypto præfuisse, atque Ægyptiis leges, & literas tradidisse. De Nat. D. L. 2.

(1) See Herod. Diod. Sic. l. 1. &c.

ciency; and it was he in particular invented the Use of those mysterious Letters called Hieroglyphicks, which were used afterwards only in Matters that concerned Religion. To these Particulars *Diodorus Siculus* adds (1): “ That *Osiris* put a great deal of Honour upon him, because he saw him endued with an extraordinary Talent for every thing that was conducive to the Welfare of human Society. For *Mercury* was the first who form’d an exact and regular Language of the rude and undetermined Dialects that were in use before. He gave Names to a vast many things, that till then had none. He invented the first Characters, and regulated the very Harmony of Words and Phrases. He instituted several Rites concerning Sacrifices, and the other Parts of the Worship of the Gods; and communicated to Mankind the first Principles of Astronomy. Next he exhibited to them by Way of Amusement, Dancing and Wrestling, and made them understand what Strength and even what Grace the human Body might derive from these Exercises. He invented the Lyre, to which he gave three Strings, in Allusion to the three Seasons of the Year: For these three Strings giving three Sounds, the Grave, the Sharp, and the Mean; the Grave answers to Winter, the Mean to Spring, and the Sharp to Summer. ’Tis he who taught the *Greeks* Interpretation or Elocution, and was therefore called *Hermes*, or the Interpreter. He was the Confident of *Osiris*, who communicated to him all his Secrets, and highly esteemed his Counsels. Lastly, it was he, according to the *Egyptians*, that planted the Olive-Tree, which the *Greeks* ascribe to *Minerva*.”

As for that great number of Books upon Theology, Astronomy and Medicine, I know *Marsham* (2) ascribes them to the second *Mercury*, the Son of *Vulcan*, who, according to *Eusebius* (3), lived a little after

(1) L. 1.

(2) Chron. Sac. 1.

(3) In Chron.

after *Moses*, that is, about fifty Years after the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*: And this learned Author, relying upon the Authority of *Manetho*, cited by *Syncellus*, reckons that this second *Mercury* is he who was surnamed *Trismegistus*, or thrice-great. These Books, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus* (1), were to the number of forty-two; and it was impossible for the *Egyptians* to carry their Veneration for them higher than they did. They were carried in their Processions with a great deal of Ceremony and Respect. First of all appeared the *Chanter*, who had two of them in his Hands, one containing the Hymns in Honour of the Gods, and the other Rules according to which the Kings were to govern. Next came the *Horoscopus*, this is the Name given by *Clemens* of *Alexandria* to that Minister (2) who carried the four Books of Astronomy, one treating of the fixed Stars, another of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and the two last of the rising of these two Luminaries. Then appeared the sacred *Scribe*, with ten Books that treated of Cosmography, Geography, the Description of the *Nile*, &c. Then follow'd the *Stolist*, with other ten Books upon the Subjects of Religion; namely, Sacrifices, Prayers, Festival-Days, &c. The *Prophet* came up after, likewise with ten Books, which were named sacerdotal, and treated of the Laws of the Gods, and of Ecclesiastick Discipline. Thus, concludes the Author now quoted, there were forty-two Books in all, whereof thirty-six comprehended all that belonged to the *Egyptian* Philosophy; and the other six regarded Medicine, and treated of Anatomy, Medicaments, of the Diseases of the Eyes, of those of Women, &c.

'Tis from these Books, to mention it by the Way, which however are long ago lost, for the *Pimander* of *Mercury* is a spurious Work, that *Sanchoniathon* had taken the Theogony whereof we have given the Abstract in the first Volume.

I

(1) Strom. 1. 6.

(2) ὁ Ὠροσκόπος.

I say, they have been long ago lost ; accordingly *Galien* reckoned spurious the Books of Medicine that pass'd for *Mercury's* in his Time ; and the same Opinion we are to have of those mentioned by Saint *Cyril* (a).

The second *Mercury*, I mean the Son of *Jupiter* and *Maia* the Daughter of *Atlas*, became famous among the *Titan* Princes. After his Father's Death (1), *Italy* fell to his Lot, with the *Gauls* and *Spain* (b) where he reigned absolute after the Death of his Uncle *Pluto* ; and the *Mauritanæ*, after that of his Grand-father *Atlas*. He was a Prince of great Artifice, Cunning and Diffimulation: He travelled more than once into *Egypt* to inform himself in the Manners and Customs of that ancient People, and to learn their Theology, but above all the abominable Science of Magick which was then in very great Vogue, and wherein he himself afterwards excelled ; accordingly he was reckoned the great Augur and Soothsayer of the *Titan* Princes, who were perpetually consulting him. *Jupiter* himself in his lifetime had often employed him in that Science ; and this is what had given the Poets a Handle to make him the Interpreter of the Gods.

Some Authors, not understanding literally what I have been now relating, will have it that *Mercury* was accounted the Interpreter of the Gods, only because he taught his People the Worship which they required. His *Travels* into *Egypt* were of great Use to him for that Purpose, having got himself initiated into all the Mysteries of the *Egyptians*, and having learned their Ceremonies.

Jupiter likewise found great Advantage from the Eloquence of this young Prince, having employed him in several Negotiations during the Wars which he

(a) *Fabricius* has given the Titles of the forty two Books in his *Bibliotheca Græca*. L. 1. c. 11.

(1) Don *Pezron* *Antiq. de la Lang. des Celtes*.

(b) See *Euhemerus*, Don *Pezron*, *Ant. de la Langue des Celtes*, after *Lactantius* and others.

he had with the Princes of his Family; delegating him to several Places to treat with them; and this, no doubt, is what made him pass for the Messenger of the Gods. As he frequently reconciled them to one another, he was taken for the God of Peace and Alliances. *Jupiter* employed him as his Confident in conducting some of his Intrigues, and let him into the Secret of all his Gallantries.

Add to this, that he contributed not a little by the Force of his Eloquence, and the Politeness of his Manners, to cultivate the Minds of his People, to make them docile, uniting them together by Society and Commerce, and curbing Vice by wise and severe Laws. This Prince in his Life-time had invented and improved several Arts. The *Gauls*, who worship'd him under the Name of *Teutates*, and offered to him even human Victims, as we learn from *Lactantius* (a) and *Lucan* (b), looked upon him as the Inventor of all the fine Arts (c): Accordingly to him is ascrib'd the Invention of the Lyre, of Medicine, Letters, Musick, Commerce, Wrestling (d), Magick, and several other Arts (e). In fine, we may say no Prince ever gained greater Reputation for excellent Qualities, nor was more beloved by his People than he. Yet he has his Blemishes, and was one of those who have nothing in Mediocrity; which obliged the other Sons of *Jupiter*, dissatisfy'd with his artful Conduct and factious Humour, to make War upon him; in which having been vanquish'd several

(a) Galli Hefum atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant. *Lact.* L. 1. c. 21.

(b) Et quibus immitis placatur Sanguine diro
Teutates *Pharf.* l. 1.

(c) Deum maxime Mercurium colunt Galli; hunc omnium artium inventorem ferunt. *Cæsar Comm.* l. 6.

(d) Some Mythologists say it was not *Mercury*, but his Daughter *Palæstria* that invented Wrestling; but who sees not that this is only a figurative Generation, that reckons Wrestling his Daughter, because he was the Inventor of this Kind of Combat.

(e) See *Joan. Nicolai* *Traët. de Mercur.* p. 56.

ral Times, he at last thought fit to retire into *Egypt*, where he died. Others think he ended his Days in *Spain*, where his Tomb was even to be seen (*a*).

Such is the History of *Mercury*, the *Titan Prince*, much disguised by the *Greeks* and blended with several Fables: For, first, it appears that his Name was given to the Princes who had some of his Qualities; thus we need not be surprized that so Contradictory Accounts should be given of one and the same Person, nor at the numerous Expeditions he is said to have made, and the many Wives and Children that are given him.

It was disguised in the second Place, by a Number of Allegories that have a Relation to his great Qualities; as for Example, that of the golden Chain which came out of his Mouth, and was fastened to the Ears of those whom he would conduct, signified that he chained down the Heart and Soul by the Sweetness and Power of his Eloquence. If he was represented with the one half of his Face clear, and the other black and clouded, it was owing to the Opinion that he conducted Souls into Hell, and consequently that he was sometimes in Heaven or upon the Earth, and sometimes in *Pluto's* Realm. If the *Egyptians* represented him with a Dog's Head as has been said in the History of *Anubis*, this was, according to *Servius*, to denote his Vigilance and Sagacity. But what was then the Foundation of the two Fables mentioned by *Homer*, and after him by *Virgil* (*b*); the one that he conducted Souls into Hell with his Caduceus (1); the other that Persons never died till *Mercury* came and broke the Bonds that united the Soul to the Body? is it because that

(*a*) See Don Pezron, *Ant. de la Langue des Celtes*. The Chronicle of *Alexandria*, and *Suidas* upon the Word *φῆρρος*, the same, according to that Author, with *Mercury*, say he died in *Egypt*.

(*b*) ——— Hec animas ille evocat Orco

Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara mittit.

Æn. l. 4.

(1) *Odyss.* l. 10.

that Prince in his Life-time led some Colonies into *Spain*, the Kingdom of his Uncle *Pluto*, a Country that was accounted Hell? Or rather was it not an *Egyptian* Ceremony that had given Rise to this Fable? This last is what we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (1). The *Egyptians*, says he, carried the dead Body of *Apis* to a certain Spot of Ground, and then put it into the Hands of one to conduct it to the Place of Burial; which Custom *Orpheus*, who had travelled into *Egypt*, taught the *Greeks*, and then *Homer* accommodated it to *Mercury*. Or else because this Prince was the Founder of an ancient *Egyptian* Law, which ordered that the Dead were not to have Burial, till it was first judged whether they were worthy of it. The Judges appointed for that Purpose took Informations that were publicly read upon the Banks of the Lake *Acherusia*, as shall be said when we come to the Poetical Hell. Thus we may reckon this Prince assisted at these Trials in Person, to make the Law the better observed; which gave a Handle to Fable afterwards that he himself conducted the Souls into Hell. We may add from *La Cerda* (2) that this Fable perhaps derives its Original from a Custom practised among the *Athenians*. When they had condemned several Criminals to death, they executed them on several Days, and he who went first to Execution was called *Mercury*, because he shewed the Rest the Way to *Pluto's* Kingdom; but I take this Fable rather to have been the Consequence than the Original of the Fable, and that the first executed Criminal was called *Mercury*, only in Allusion to the Function of *Mercury*, who conducted Souls to Hell.

As the *Caduceus* was the Instrument that *Mercury* made use of in conducting Souls to the infernal Regions, and in bringing them back, we shall give a Description of it. The *Caduceus* was a Rod round which, at one Extremity, were two Serpents twined,

VOL. II.

B b

whose

(1) L. 1.

(2) Upon the fourth Book of the *Eneid*.

whose Spires were Arched in the Form of two Semi-circles, while their Heads reached beyond the Rod. The Mythologists who have inquired into the Original of this Symbol peculiar to *Mercury*, have offered many Conjectures about it.

Athenagoras says *Jupiter* being enamoured of *Rhea*, she changed herself into an Adder ; upon which the God instantly assumed the Figure of a Serpent ; and that these are the two Insects which *Mercury* bears upon his Caduceus. According to others of the Ancients, *Mercury* having found two Serpents fighting together, appeased their Fury by beating them with his Rod, round which they twined themselves, and this, say they, is the Reason that the *Caduceus* has ever since been look'd upon as the Symbol of Peace. We are told further, so easy is it to give mystical Explanations, that *Mercury* was the Inventor of a Kind of *Musick*, which by its Sweetness was capable of stilling the Senses, the peculiar Virtue of the *Caduceus*, which lulled those asleep that were touched with it. Lastly, we find Authors of Opinion that *Mercury* practised *Necromancy*, or the Art of recalling Souls from the Dead, and that the *Caduceus* was the Rod he made use of in this Operation. For my Part, I am persuaded that there is no other Mystery in it, but that as Envoys and Embassadors wore always a Branch of Olive in Form of a Rod, so such a one was given to *Mercury* the great Embassador of the Gods ; and had joined to it the two Serpents as the Symbol of Prudence, which ought always to accompany Negotiations.

As *Mercury* was the God of Merchants and Thieves, so several Sorts of sharpening Tricks have been laid to his Charge ; and we learn from *Lucian* (1) that when yet a Child he had stolen *Neptune's* Trident, *Apollo's* Arrows, the Sword of *Mars* and the Girdle of *Venus* ; Fables founded upon his having been a skilful Sailor, expert at handling the Bow, brave
in

(1) Dial. of Vulcan and Apollo.

in fight, and that to these Qualities he had joined all the Charms and Graces of Eloquence.

Notwithstanding so many good Qualities and so many Services done to *Jupiter*, *Mercury* was not always in the good Graces of that God, having been by him expelled from Heaven; and this is a new Fiction which must be explained.

Boccace in his Genealogy of the Gods, asserts upon the Authority of *Theodotion*, that this Adventure does not relate to our *Mercury*; but to him who was called *Stilbo*, and who lived a long time after him, being contemporary with *Phoroneus*. But saving that Author's Pleasure, there never was a *Mercury* of that Name: *Stilbo* a Greek Word importing to *shine*; being only an Epithet of the Planet whose Name this God bears. I am therefore apt to believe that, for some Adventure whereof we are ignorant, *Mercury* being banish'd from *Olympus* where his Father dwelt, was forced to keep Flocks for some Time; the pastoral Life not being at that Time unworthy even Kings Sons. As *Apollo* was disgraced at the same Time, and led the same Kind of Life, so we are told that *Mercury* stole his Oxen, and that the Shepherd *Battus*, the sole Witness of the Theft, after promise not to reveal it, having broke his Word to him, was transformed into the Touch-Stone, as we are told by *Ovid* (1); a Fable which has no other Foundation but that *Mercury* had hid *Apollo's* Oxen near the Tomb of the Shepherd, who was the Inventor of the Touch-Stone.

The Ancients, as has been said, give so many Employments to *Mercury*, that he could never enjoy a Moment's Repose as is pleasantly said by *Lucian*: (2) As Messenger and Confident of the Gods, he had the Care of all their Affairs, whether relating to Peace or War; as also of the Inside of the celestial Palace which he was obliged to keep in good Order; to serve and supply the Gods with *Ambrosia*,

B b 2

to

(1) Met. l. 2.

(2) Dial. of Maia and Mercury.

to preside over Games and Assemblies, to hear and answer publick Harangues, &c. Which inclines me to think that he was the Superintendant of all *Jupiter's* Affairs, his Minister of State, and his grand Master-Household; nor ought this Notion to appear odd, since 'tis certain that the Poets under the sublime Ideas of Gods, of Heaven, and *Olympus*, have only laid before us the History of the *Titans*.

The Worship of *Mercury* had nothing peculiar, except that the Tongues of the Victims were offered to him (1), as a Representation of the Eloquence of this God: For the same Reason they presented to him Honey and Milk (2). Sometimes too they sacrificed to him Calves and Cocks. He was especially worship'd in the *Gauls* (3), and in *Egypt* where the Priests consecrated to him the Stork (4), the Animal that was most renowned among them next to the Ox. It was chiefly in the Month of *May* that they celebrated the Festival of *Mercury*, and worship'd him in a more solemn Manner than in the Rest of the Year.

We must not forget that the learned *Bochart* (5) thinks the History of *Mercury* had been composed upon that of *Canaan*; and here he draws a very ingenious Parallel. Both of them, says he, passed for the Sons of *Jupiter*, or *Ammon*, who was the same with *Cham*; the one took his Name from Merchandise: *Mercurius a Mercatura*; and *Chanaan* in *Hebrew* has the same Signification. The same Reason that made *Chanaan* be called the Servant of his Brethren, made *Mercury* be taken for the Messenger of the Gods. This God had the Charge of the Highways, for no other Reason but because the *Phenicians* or *Chanaanites* of the Race of *Canaan*, were great Travellers, and settled Colonies every where. The Wings of this God are the Sails of the *Phenician* Vessels.

The

(1) Homer.

(2) Cesar Com. l. 6.

(3) Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2.

(2) Antigonus.

(4) Kercher. Oed. Ægyp.

The Reason of *Mercury's* passing for the God of Eloquence and the Inventor of Letters, was, that the *Phenicians* brought the Use of them into the West. *John Nicolai* (1), on the contrary, is of Opinion that *Mercury* is the same with *Moses*, and compares the miraculous Rod of that Legislator to the *Caduceus* of this God. *Huetius* is of the same Mind (2).

M. *Fourmont*, so little do Parallels cost our *Literati*, makes *Mercury* the same with *Eliezar*, as may be seen in his *Reflexions Critiques*. But not to insist on the Principles I have laid down as to this in several Places of this Work, that Diversity of Sentiment alone among so learned Men, is but too convincing a Proof how little Solidity is in their Conjectures.

There are few pagan Divinities of whom we have a greater Number of Figures remaining than of *Mercury*. I have no Mind to go over them all, since they are to be met with in the Antiquaries, and particularly in *Montfaucon* (3). All these Figures agree well enough in representing this God after the Manner now said.

As he was the God of Merchants and Thieves, he is commonly drawn with a Purse in his Hand. In Quality of grand Negotiator of Gods and Men, he wears the *Caduceus*, the Symbol of Peace: If he has Wings to his Cap, at his Feet and *Caduceus*, 'tis to denote his Swiftness in executing the Orders of the Gods, especially that of conducting into Hell, or into the *Elysian* Fields the Souls of the Dead, and of bringing them back again when the Case required it. The Vigilance requisite to so many Offices, is the reason of giving him a Cock for his Symbol. As the Shepherds took him for their Patron, you see him sometimes upon Monuments with a Ram. He was thought to have been the first Inventor of an Instru-

B b 3

ment

(1) Traët. de Mercurio.

(2) Demo. Eva. pro. 4.

(3) Ant. expliq. tom. 3.

ment of Musick called *Testudo*, or the Tortoise ; and therefore you see him sometimes represented with a Tortoise. He is figured like a young Man of a beautiful Countenance, an easy Shape, sometimes naked, sometimes with a Cloak over his Shoulders, but which covers only the half of his Body. We find likewise Monuments where *Cupid* is fitting Wings to *Mercury's* Heels, and other Singularities which are often but the Result of the Artist's own Imagination (*a*).

We shall close this Article by singling out, from the various Names that were given to *Mercury*, such as may recal to our Minds some Passages of History or Geography. The *Greeks* called him *Hermes*, that is, *Interpreter* ; the *Latins* *Mercurius*, a *Mercatura* ; *Cyllenius*, either because he was born upon a Mountain of that Name, or because he lulled People asleep with his *Caduceus* ; *Nomius*, either from the Laws of Eloquence which he founded, or because he was the God of Shepherds ; *Camillus*, that is to say the Messenger of the Gods ; and the *Carthaginians* call'd him *Sumes* for the same reason ; the *Egyptians*, *Phine* (*1*), and the ancient *Germans* *Erminful*, or *Irminsus* (*b*) ;
The

(*a*) *Virgil* gives an admirable Description of this whole Equipage of *Mercury*.

Ille patris, inquit, magni parere parabat
Imperio—& primum talaria nescit
Aurea, quæ sublimem alis, sive æquora supra,
Seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit ; hac animas ille evocat Orco,
Pallentesque alias sub tristia Tartara mittit ;
Dat somnos, adimitque, & lumina morte resignat :
Illa fretus agit ventos, & turbida frænat
Nubila. *Æneid.* quarto.

We say nothing here of the Figures called *Hermes*, because we have said enough of these in the first Volume, under the Article of Statues ; I only add that every Traveller laid a Stone at the Foot of these Statues, believing he did Honour to that God by clearing the Highways, or to make those Statues more remarkable.

(*1*) Kirker in Prod. c. 16.

(*b*) We shall speak of him in the History of the Gods of that People.

The *Alexandrians*, *Thot*; the *Gauls*, *Theutates*; and all these Names were given him to denote his Eloquence. He was named *Vialis*, because he presided over the Highways; *Quadratus*, from being represented anciently under the Figure of a square Stone; *Triceps*, because he was equally among the Gods in Heaven, Earth, and Hell; *Agonios*, because he presided over the Games *Agonalia*, whereof he was the Inventor. The *Athenians* honour'd him particularly in the Citadel under the Name of *Profanus*, that is to say *uninitiated*, as *Phavorinus* tells us. The Poets, chiefly *Homer* and *Orpheus*, have given him the Epithet of *Argicida* (1), not so much for having killed *Argus*, as because he presided over Eloquence, which is frequently pernicious. He has likewise the Epithet of *Harpedophorus*, from the Scythe he had made use of in killing *Argus* (2). He is named sometimes *Agoræus*, or the God of the Market, and that for an obvious reason. He had at *Phares* in *Achaia*, a Statue under this Name, which delivered Oracles: This Statue, according to *Pausanias* (3), was of Marble, of a middle Size, a square Form, and standing upon the Ground without a Pedestal: The Inscription imported, says this Author, that the Statue had been set up there by *Simylus* the *Messenian*. He sometimes got the Epithet of *Chthonius*, which, according to several Interpreters, signifies *Infernal Mercury*, and, according to others, *Terrestrial Mercury*. That of *Criophoros*, *Ram-bearer*; accordingly he had a Statue at *Lefche*, where he was worship'd under this Name, representing him bearing a Ram upon his Shoulders, to denote, as we have it in *Pausanias*, after *Homer* and *Hesiod*, that he was the God of Shepherds. The *Tanagreans* worship'd him also under the Name of *Promacos*, because he had appeared to them in Battle fighting in their Behalf, as we are told by the same

B b 4

Pau-

(1) Ἀργεσπορτες.
(3) In Phoc.

(2) See Ovid, Hyginus, &c.

Pausanias. Several other Names were likewise given him, which are easy to be explain'd,

I R I S.

As *Mercury* was the male Messenger of the Gods, and *Iris* the female, this is the proper Place to speak of that Goddess; and we may remark in the first place, as it was mostly *Jupiter* that made use of the Ministration of *Mercury*, so it was *Juno* employ'd *Iris* as her Envoy upon Earth. I presume it will not be expected I should find any thing historical with relation to *Iris*, who is a Divinity purely physical; however, as the *Greek* Mythology personify'd every thing, so it made *Iris*, or the Rainbow, a young Woman cloath'd in a Habit of different Colours, always seated by the Throne of *Juno*, and ready to execute her Orders. They have framed a Genealogy for her too (1), and we are told that she was the Daughter of *Tbaumas*, a poetical Personage whose Name is derived from a *Greek* Word that imports *to admire* (2); which, after all, is proper enough to denote the Quality of the Meteor they designed to describe, there being nothing more admirable than that Bow, which is formed by the Drops of Water in a Cloud opposite to the Sun;

Mille trabens varios averso sole Colores (3).

As nothing attracts our Admiration more than the Rainbow, I am not surprized that a Divinity had been made of it: “And truly, says *Cotta* in *Cicero* (4), if the Moon is a Deity, the Morning Star, the other Planets, and all the fix'd Stars must be of the same Rank; and why not also the Rainbow? that *Iris*, I mean, so beautiful, so admirably beautiful, that she has been justly called the Daughter of *Tbaumas*?” The Name of *Electra*, who was said to be the Mother of the Rainbow,

(1) *Hesiod. Theog.*

(2) Θαυμάζειν, *to admire.*

(3) *Virgil.*

(4) *De Nat. Deor.*

bow, and which signifies *the Splendor of the Sun*; and that of *Aello* given for her Sister, importing *Tempest*, agreed to her perfectly well; since in fact that Meteor cannot be formed unless the Sun shines, and the Weather be disposed for Rain or a Storm.

Iris attended so close upon *Juno* that she never left her, and *Callimachus* tells us, that when she wanted Rest she leaned against the Throne of that Goddess. 'Tis still *Juno* who employs her, and thus *Apollonius Rhodius* (1) informs us she sent her to *Thetis*; and *Ovid* (2) tells us the same Goddess, when she would inform *Alcyone* of the Shipwreck of *Ceyx* her Husband, ordered her to go to the Palace of Sleep. However, she was sometimes, tho' rarely, the Messenger of *Jupiter*, as appears from *Homer* (3), and *Valerius Flaccus* (4); but her most important Office was to cut the fatal Hair in Females who were dying; for they were persuaded that as *Mercury* by *Jupiter's* Orders was necessarily to separate from their Bodies the Souls of Men at Death; so it was thought as necessary that *Iris* should be commissioned by *Juno* to deliver the Souls of Women. Accordingly we see *Virgil*, who was perfectly Master of the Theology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, says *Juno* sent her to cut that fatal Hair of *Dido*, after she had stab'd herself (a).

However, as *Iris* was not always taken up in such Occupations, in her leizure Hours she had the Care of her Mistress's Apartment, whose Bed *Theocritus* says she made. When *Juno* returned from the Infernal Regions to *Olympus*, *Iris* was to purify her with Perfumes, as we learn from *Ovid* (5).

Such

(1) Argon. L. 4.

(2) Met. L. 6.

(3) Il. L. 8.

(4) Argon. L. 4.

(5) Met. L. 4.

(a) Tum Juno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem,
Difficilemque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat orco.

Such is the Idea the Poets give of this Goddess, an Idea which has no other Foundation but a common Phenomenon in Nature, considering *Juno* as the gross Air where the Meteor of the Rainbow is formed.

C H A P. XIV.

Apollo, the Sun, Phaeton, the Muses, &c.

IN this Chapter I shall take in these several Subjects, which have a great connection with one another; but to avoid Confusion, I shall make of each a separate Article.

ARTICLE I.

The Sun named Helios by the Greeks.

It cannot be refused that the *Greeks* have often, or to speak more accurately, have almost always confounded the Sun with *Apollo*. It would perhaps be needless to multiply Authorities in proof of so notorious a Fact; however I shall cite that of *Plato*, who in his *Cratylus* asserts that *Apollo* is the same with the Sun; that of *Cicero*, who tells us that the Sun and the Moon are two Divinities, the one of them called *Apollo*, and the other *Diana*; lastly, that of *Plutarch*, who informs us that almost all the *Greeks* took *Apollo* to be the same with the Sun; and yet in ancient Mythology these two Divinities are distinguish'd from one another, as I hope to prove beyond Contradiction.

I am not ignorant that I have great Adversaries against me; that *Selden* (1) says, even Children know that the Sun is the same with *Apollo*; that *Macrobius* (2), after having maturely examined this Question, decides it in the Affirmative; that *Vossius*

(1) De Diis Syriis Synt.

(2) Sat. L. i. c. 17.

sius (1) employs all his Erudition in Proof of it, as well as *Alexander* in the Explication of the *Isiack Table*; but notwithstanding these Authorities I maintain, that they were reckoned in one Sense different Divinities, tho' in another they were confounded together. I explain myself: The *Pagans* owned, as has been said, Physical Gods, such as the Heavens, the Earth, the Stars, &c. and animated Gods. Now I affirm that they never took the Son of *Jupiter* and *Latona*, who being banish'd Heaven was forced to keep *Admetus's* Flocks; the Father or the Protector of the Muses, the God of Oracles; in one Word *Apollo*, to be the same with the Son of *Hyperion* and *Thya*, that God who enlightened the World, that Luminary which diffused Heat and Fruitfulness over all, which was named the Sun. Tho' the Philosophers, who refined so much upon the establish'd Religion, confounded them; yet the Vulgar, that is the authoris'd Religion, always distinguish'd them: My Arguments are these, which will not easily be answered. This Distinction takes place in that celebrated Treaty we have between the *Magnesiens* and the *Smyrneans* (2); there these two People swear by the Earth, by the Sun, by *Mars*; &c. and by *Apollo*. *Spon* quotes an Inscription dug up at *Utrecht*, which is conceived in these Terms: *To Jupiter the greatest and best, to the invincible Sun, to Apollo, &c.* *Varro*, in *St. Augustin* (3) naming twenty Gods whom he calls the select Gods, makes two of the Sun and *Apollo*. *Artemidorus* ranks the one among the celestial Gods, the other among the etherial. We read in an ancient Greek Epigram, *Pythius*, that is to say *Apollo Pythius* is worship'd at *Delphos*; the *Rhodiens* are under the Protection of the Sun; or as it is in *Sidonius Apollinarius*, who seems to have seen this Epigram: *The Sun is propitious to Rhodes, Delius or Apollo to Thymbra*

(1) De Ido. l. 2. c. 12.

(2) Marm. Oxon. init.

(3) De Civ. Dei. l. 7. c. 7.

Tymbra (1). Medals and other Monuments represent these two Divinities differently (2), *Jovi O. M. summo, exuperantissimo; Soli invicto; Apollini, &c.* On one of *Lucius Valerianus*, *Apollo* appears under the Figure of a young Man holding his Bow in his Hand, and upon another of *Antoninus*, he bears his Lyre and a Patera; whereas in those of *Hadrian* and the two *Gordians*, of *Aurelian* and other Emperors, the Sun appears with his Head encircled with Rays, holding a Globe in his left Hand; which is never to be observed as to the Figures of *Apollo*,

To all these Proofs, which I am furnished with by the learned Bishop of *Hadria* (3), I shall join others still stronger.

Homer, whose Testimony here is of great Weight, really distinguishes them in more Places than one of his Poems. *Lucian* makes likewise two Divinities of them, since he says the Sun was one of the *Titans*, therein agreeing with *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in the Passage where he speaks of the *Atlantides* (4), says the Sun was the Son of *Hyperion* and of the Queen, that is to say, of that Daughter of *Urania* and *Titaia* who was always called the Queen (a). 'Tis true as ancient Mythology varies prodigiously with Respect to these Subjects, it sometimes confounds the Sun with *Hyperion* himself; but still it agrees that the Sun was not the same with *Apollo*. As these two Divinities were distinguish'd by their Genealogies so were they by their Children. *Esculapius*, for Example, not to mention others, was always reckoned the Son of *Apollo*; as *Æetes*, the King of *Colchis*, was looked upon as the Son of the Sun; and tho' *Venus*, an inveterate Enemy to the Posterity of the Sun, who

had

(1) L. 2. c. 35.

(2) Spon. Misc. sec. 3. p. 72.

(3) De Is. de Bel. p. 276

(4) L. 3. c. 29

(a) See what has been said of her in the Theog. of the *Atlantides*. Vol. 1. B. 2.

had discovered her Adultery, persecuted them so far as to betray *Pasiphae* the Daughter of *Æetes*, and *Phedra* his Grandchild into the most shameful Prostitution, yet she never wreaked her Spight upon the Children of *Apollo*.

The Marbles, and all the ancient Monuments, likewise distinguish and represent them differently. We may add further that, in the antique Monument where the Adultery of *Venus* and *Mars* is represented, *Apollo* appears, with the other Gods called to this Spectacle, surprized as all who were there present, while it was the Sun who informed *Vulcan* of this Intrigue. But what further proves the Distinction which I would establish, is the Extent and Universality of the Worship of the Sun, the great and first Divinity of all the idolatrous Nations, as has been proved in the first Volume. The *Egyptians*, the *Arabians*, the *Phenicians*, *Persians*, and *Cappadocians*, not to mention other Nations, adored the Sun, before the *Greek Apollo* had been heard of. We may add that the Temples of either of them were distinguished, as well as the Ceremonies of their Worship.

I said the Monuments we have now remaining represented the Sun otherwise than *Apollo*. Accordingly they shew us the Sun under the Figure of a young Man almost naked, having nothing but a Kind of Cloak about his Shoulders, with a radiant Head, and mounted on a Chariot drawn by four Horses, which he lashes forward with his Whip. Sometimes he appears cloathed; and with the Rays that encircle his Head, is seen the *Calathus*, the Symbol of *Serapis*, who was often taken for the Sun, bearing in one Hand the *Cornucopia*, which denotes the Plenty which he procures the World by moving round it every Day. On other Monuments you see him coming out of a Cave, mounted upon his Chariot, to figure the rising of that Luminary just setting out in his Career.

Mythologists

Mythologists remark that the Horses which draw the Chariot of the Sun, are not abreast, but that they are sometimes turned towards the four Quarters of the World ; and thus it appears in a Monument publish'd by M. *de la Chaussée*, and in a Medal of *Beger* ; but yet in another Medal of the same Author, they are abreast. On both these Medals, we read the ordinary Legend of *Soli invicto, to the invincible Sun* (a), and upon another Medal of *Heliogabalus*, that of *Sancto Deo Soli*. That Emperor, we know, gloried always in having been Priest of the Sun in *Syria*, and his Name bears an Allusion to that Dignity : but we ought not to forget that he consecrated at *Rome* a Temple to the Sun, into which, in order to command the more Respect, he transferred the Worship of *Cybele* or of *Vesta*, the *Palladium* and the *Ancilia*. He would needs even join with these the Worship paid to the true God by the *Samaritans*, *Jews* and *Christians* (b). *Herodian* has transmitted to us the History of the Worship offered to the Sun in this Temple. *Heliogabalus*, says he, erected a magnificent Temple to that God (the Sun) and there set up several Altars, whereon he sacrificed every Morning Hecatombs of Bulls, and a great Number of Sheep ; and having shed there a profusion of sweet Spices, he made Libations of the richest old Wines ; so that you would have seen Streams of Wine and Blood flowing on all Sides. Quires of Musick ranged around the Altars added to the Solemnity of the Worship. *Phenician* Women with their musical Instruments, such as Cymbals and Tambrets, danced in a Ring ; and the Entrails of the Victims, as well as the sweet Spices, were carried about in Basons of Gold, thro' the most honourable Places of *Rome*.

But

(a) The *Persians*, as has been said in the first Volume, gave the same Epithets to their *Mithras* who was the Sun.

(b) *Ant. Varius*, according to *Lampridius*, built also in the same City a Temple in Honour of the Sun, but less celebrated than that of *Heliogabalus*.

But a yet greater mark of Distinction between the Sun and *Apollo* is, that according to the same Author, the Former, whose Worship was much celebrated at *Rome*, especially in the lower Times of the Empire, was not always represented by a Statue made by human Art, like the latter, but his Figure was only a huge Stone round at the Bottom, and which rose like a Pyramid. Thus he appears upon the Medal of *Heliogabalus*, which represents a Chariot drawn by four Horses, on which instead of a human Figure, is a Stone round below, and rising into a Point. The *Rhodians*, whose great Divinity was the Sun, and for whom they had made that magnificent *Colossus*, which we have described in the Article of *Statues* (1), represented on their Medals the Sun, sometimes encircled with Rays, and sometimes only with a large Face. In fine, in an Intaglio from *M. de la Chaussée's* Cabinet, the Sun appears having his Head encircled with Rays, with two Wings, long Hair, curled and falling down in Ringlets, a Trident, a Crescent and Instrument of Musick. The Antiquaries take this Stone to figure the Sun rising, the Trident shewing us that he rises out of the Ocean; the Crescent seems to intimate that the Moon disappears when the Sun rises; the Instrument of Musick denotes the Harmony of the Spheres so much celebrated by *Pythagoras*, and the Wings, the Rapidity of the Course of that Luminary.

Antiquity has transmitted to us the Names of the four Horses that drew the Chariot of the Sun. *Ovid* (2) calls them *Eous*, *Pyrois*, *Æthon* and *Phlegon*, Greek Names whose Etymology marks their Qualities: *Fulgentius* the Mythologist (3) calls them *Erythous* or the red, *Acteon*, the Luminous, *Lampos* the Resplendent; and *Philogæus*, the Earth-Loving. The first denotes the Sun rising, whose Rays are then

(1) V. 1. B. 4.

(2) Met. 1. 2.

(3) L. 2.

then reddish. *Acteon* represents the Time when the same Rays, shot thro' the Atmosphere, are more clear, that is to say about the ninth or tenth Hour of the Morning. *Lampos* figures noon Day, when this Luminary is in all his Strength and Glory; and *Philogæus* represents the setting Sun that seems to kiss the Earth.

ARTICLE II.

The Explication of the Fable of Phaeton, of the Heliades his Sisters, and of Cygnus.

What has been now said of the Sun leads us to the Fable of *Phaeton*: This Fable related by *Ovid* (1) at great Length, amounts to this. *Phaeton* having had a Quarrel with *Epaphus* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Io*, the latter reproached the other that he was not the Son of the Sun, as he pretended to be, and that *Clymene* had propagated that Story only to cloak her Amour with some Gallant. *Phaeton* stung with this Reproach went and complained to his Mother, who ordered him to go to the Palace of the Sun, and ask of him as a Proof of his Original, to have the guiding of his Chariot for a Day. *Phaeton* executed his Mother's Order, and after having let his Father know the Occasion of his coming, conjured him to grant him a Favour, without specifying what it was. The Sun, not suspecting that the Youth could ask a Thing so far above his Abilities as the Guiding of his Chariot, swore by *Styx*, that he would refuse him nothing; upon which *Phaeton* desired he might be allowed to enlighten the World. The Sun having bound himself by an irreversibile Oath, after using his utmost Efforts to dissuade his Son from so difficult and dangerous an Enterprize, and seeing him inflexible, granted his Request; the headstrong Youth

(1) Met. l. 2.

Youth mounts the Chariot of the Sun, but the Horses not finding the Hand of their Master, turned out of their ordinary Course, and sometimes mounting too high threaten Heaven with unavoidable Conflagration, or descending too low, scorch the very Fountains and Rivers. The astonished Earth addresses *Jupiter*, and implores his Aid. That God moved with the just Complaints of the Goddess, overthrows young *Phaeton* with a Thunderbolt, who is drown'd in the *Eridanus*. The *Heliades* his Sisters abandon themselves to obstinate Melancholy and are transformed into Trees. *Cygnus* his Brother grieves himself to Death, and him the Gods Metamorphose into a Swan.

Those who consider Fables only as Depositories of ancient Physiology and Morals find no great Difficulty in explaining this, by saying it is the Emblem of a Person headstrong and rash, who forms an Enterprize quite unequal to his Abilities; but where was the Need of all this *Apparatus* to teach us so trivial a Piece of Morality? I own 'tis no easy Matter to trace this Fiction to its true Original; but the Ground of it is not the less Historical, and it certainly refers to real Personages whose Genealogy Antiquity has transmitted to us. According to the common Opinion, *Phaeton* was the Son of the Sun and *Clymene*, whether under the Name of the Sun was designed *Orus* King of *Egypt*, for the Story seems derived from that Country, as shall be said hereafter; or some other Person among those who were taken for that Luminary. Some of the Ancients give him for his Mother the Nymph *Rhoda*, the Daughter of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*, and *Hesiod* says he was the Son of *Cephalus* and *Aurora*, a Genealogy that has been adopted by *Apollodorus*, and made use of by *Eusebius* after *Julius Africanus*, to fix the *Era* of *Cecrops*. According to that Author, *Herse* the Daughter of this first King of *Athens*, was the Mother of *Cephalus* ra-

vish'd by *Aurora*; that is who relinquish'd *Greece* and came and settled in the *Levant*. *Cephalus* had a Son named *Tithonus*, who begat *Phaeton*. According to this Genealogy, *Phaeton*, claimed *Cecrops* for his Grandfather in the third Degree; thus we may reckon that he lived 150 Years after that first King of *Athens*, who reigned 1582 Years before the Christian *Era*, and near 400 Years before the Siege of *Troy*, as may be proved from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (1) and *Censorinus* (a).

After having traced the Pedigree of this Prince, and determined the Time when he lived, we must now see what may have given Rise to the Extraordinary Fable that is propagated concerning him. 'Tis obvious that, making Allowance for the marvellous, it carries an Allusion to some excessive Heat that had happened during his Reign. *Aristotle* (2) reckons, upon the Authority of some of the Ancients, that in the Time of *Phaeton* there fell from Heaven Flames that consumed several Countries, and *Eusebius* (3) places this Deluge of Fire, in the same Age with that of *Deucalion* (b). We may confirm this Opinion of *Aristotle* from the very Name of *Phaeton*, which being derived from the Word *φαέτω*, *fulgeo*, may signify burning or luminous. Those who first wrote this Event, employed some lively and emphatick Figure, and undoubtedly said that the Sun on that Day must have entrusted his Chariot in the Hands of some Headstrong Youth, who not having Skill enough to manage it, had burnt up the Earth.

We may reckon, that either the burning of wicked Cities, or perhaps the Prodigy that happened in Time of *Joshua*, or that of *Hezekiah*, gave a Handle for

(1) L. 5. de Die Nat. c. 27.

(a) This is the Order of his Genealogy, *Cecrops*, *Herse* his Daughter, *Cephalus*, *Tithonus*, *Phaeton*.

(2) In Meteor.

(3) In Chronic.

(b) *Ovid* insinuates that this Event happened before the War of *Troy*, by these Words, *Arsurusque iterum Xanthus*.

for this Fiction. 'Tis certain the *Chaldeans* observed the Retrogradation of the Sun, which happened under the Reign of that King of *Judab*; and that they sent an Embassy under Pretext of congratulating him upon the Recovery of his Health, but in Reality to be thoroughly informed of so extraordinary an Event.

All these Conjectures have their Foundation in Antiquity, and celebrated Authors have advanced them. Saint *John Chrysostome* proposes another. According to him the Foundation of this Fable was the Chariot of the Prophet *Elias*, whose Name has so much Affinity with that of *Elios* given to the Sun by the *Greeks*. *Vossius* alledges it refers to an *Egyptian* Fable; and that learned Author confounds the Mourning of the Sun for the Loss of his Son, with that of the *Egyptians* for the Death of *Osiris*; as also the Tears of the *Heliades* with those which the Prophet *Ezekiel* saw shed by the Women who were mourning for the Death of *Thammus*. *Ovid* seems to give Countenance to this Conjecture so well founded, when in this Fable he speaks of the Difference between *Phaeton* and *Epaphus* King of *Egypt*. This Idea has suggested to me another which throws a new Light upon the Subject. The *Greeks* in ancient Times being little acquainted with foreign Countries, often confounded them together. They placed, for Example, in the East or in *Ethiopia* the Scene of several Events that happened in *Egypt*; thus we may suppose they were mistaken as to the Country of *Phaeton*. I am persuaded it was *Egypt*; there *Orus* had reigned, whose Worship was afterwards confounded with that of the Sun. The Worship of *Osiris*, who was the *Jupiter* of the *Egyptians*, was also famous there: Perhaps *Phaeton* had one of these two Kings among his Ancestors. As *Epaphus* owed his Birth to the second, so these two young Princes might have some Quarrel, wherein *Phaeton* had the Disadvantage. *Satyre*,

we may suppose, hatched the Rest of the Fable in Honour of him who got the Victory. But whatever be in this, the History was greatly embellish'd, and blended with Physiology and Astronomy, as is easy to perceive in reading *Ovid*. For, not to enter here into too long a Detail, 'tis obvious that when the Poet says *Phaeton*, at the Sight of the Sign of the Scorpion, quitted the Chariot, he designed to intimate to us that the Event in Question happened in the Month when the Sun is in that Sign.

Lastly, if none of these Explications is Satisfactory, we may hold to that of *Plutarch* (1) and *Tzetzes*, who tell us that there was really a *Phaeton* who reigned over the *Molossians*, and was drowned in the *Po*; that this Prince had applied himself to Astronomy, and had foretold the great Heat which happened in his Time, and which desolated his whole Kingdom.

These two Authors undoubtedly followed the Opinion of *Lucian*, who, after agreeably rallying this Fable in one of his Dialogues, says very seriously in his Treatise of Astronomy, what had given rise to this Fiction was, that *Phaeton* had been much addicted to Astronomy, and had especially studied the Course of the Sun: But that having died very young, he had left his Observations unfinished; which gave some Poet a Handle to say that he was not able to guide the Chariot of the Sun to the End of his Course.

Antiquity has left us some Monuments of this Fable: The first, which is taken from the Cabinet of *Chevalier Maffei*, represents *Phaeton* dead and stretched on the Ground, while the Chariot still entire is in the Middle of the aerial Regions. There are two Things very singular in this Monument: One that the Chariot is only drawn by two Horses, contrary to the common Opinion which makes them four. The Ancients, as we are told by *Tertul-*
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(1) In *Pyrrho*.

lian (1), made this Distinction between the Chariot of the Sun and that of the Moon; the Former being always drawn by four Horses, and the Latter only by two. The other Monument is taken from the Cabinet of *Messieurs de Charlet*. The Field exhibits Flames, the broken Chariot, whereof you see but one Wheel, *Phaeton* dead, and the Horses in great Disorder. You see also by one of the Horses two Fowls, with Crests on their Heads, which are taken for two Swans, and it is thought that the Sculptor designed to represent at the same Time the Metamorphosis of *Cygnus* King of *Liguria*. However, to speak the Truth, the two Fowls have no Resemblance to Swans. The Artist has too well designed the Rest of the Piece, to believe he would blunder so grossly in the Representation of Swans. They are of those Sorts of enigmatical Figures that occur but too often in Antiquity, and which it is needless to attempt to find out. In the third Monument, which is taken from *Beger*, *Phaeton* is mounted upon a Chariot, and the Horses in Disorder, threaten an approaching Fall. One Singularity in this Monument is, that the *Heliades*, *Phaeton's* Sisters appear there upon the Bank of a River, in the Moment that they begin to be transformed into Poplars. The Swan that is by, shews that the Sculptor designed to draw together all the Circumstances of this Fable. But I should have observed that *Apollonius Rhodius* (2) relates one Particularity more on this Subject, which is not to be met with in the other Poets; namely, that the Water of the *Po* was so infected by the Conflagration, and by the Thunder which *Jupiter* hurled against *Phaeton*, that the Birds which flew over this River, unable to bear the Stench of it, dropt down dead.

C c 3

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(1) Book of Spect. c. 9.

(2) Book of the Argonauts.

As to the Metamorphosis of *Phaeton's* three Sisters, *Phæbe*, *Lampetia*, and *Ægle*, we may say these Princesses actually died for Grief upon the *Po*, whither they had come to bewail the Disaster of their Brother ; and that their Metamorphosis is only a poetical Ornament, as also what is said of their Tears that were changed into Amber, because there distils from the Poplar a sort of Gum that pretty much resembles yellow Amber. The same way we may conceive of the Transformation of *Cygnus*, King of *Liguria*, his Brother, whom Similitude of Names had transformed into a Swan.

The Ancients are not agreed as to the Nature of the Transformation of the *Heliades* ; tho' the most common Opinion is that they were transform'd into Poplars : *Virgil* (*a*), in one of his Eclogues, makes *Silenus* say they were turned to Alder-trees ; but yet in the tenth Book of the *Eneid* he returns to the common Opinion, telling us that *Cygnus* pass'd his Days in deploring the Loss of his dear *Phaeton*, under the Shade of the Poplars, into which the Sisters of that unfortunate Prince had been transformed (*b*). There was yet a third Opinion as to this Subject, that they were transformed into the Larch, a Tree resembling the Pine, and whose Gum is a sort of Turpentine. The *Accoleian* Family, originally from the Confines of the *Po*, according to *Fulvius Ursinus*, got the Surname of *Larifcola* upon that Account ; and in the Medal of that Family now extant, which is also referred to in *Vaillant*, you see on one Side the Head of a Woman, which Authors take to be that of *Clymene*, *Phaeton's* Mother, with this Inscription, *P. Accoleius Larifcola* ; and on the Reverse, three Women transformed into the Larch Tree, who are the three Sisters of *Phaeton*. *Vitruvius* and

(*a*) Tum Phætoniadas musco circumdat amaræ
Corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos.

Virg. Ec. 6. 63.

(*b*) Populeas inter frondes umbramque fororum
Dum canit, &c. Idem *Æneid*. L. 1.

(1) and *Pliny* (2) tell us, that the Larch Tree is only to be found about the *Po*; that it sheds a Gum, and that it does not burn; that is to say, it has Difficulty to burn, because of the humid Juices with which it is impregnated, and not, as *Palladius* relates (3) upon the Credit of some Ancient, from the Antipathy it has to the Fire which had consumed its Brother.

Might I be allow'd to offer a Conjecture about this Fable, I would say it comes from the Northern Countries, and that the River *Reidanus*, which, having run thro' *Prussia*, disembogues itself into the *Baltick* Sea, had given rise to most of the Circumstances that enter into it. Accordingly, there is upon the Banks of that River a great Quantity of Poplars, and Swans that come thither in the Spring to deliver their young. The Place where it disembogues itself into the Sea, is known by the yellow Amber that is found there, which brings in a great Revenue to the Prince who governs that State, and is only to be found in that Country, but not at all upon the *Po*. 'Tis no wonder that what Tradition delivered concerning that River should have made the *Po* be named *Eridanus*; the two Names resembling one another too much, not to incline us to be of this Opinion.

The Islands *Electrides*, which *Apollonius Rhodius*, in his Expedition of the *Argonauts*, places in the *Adriatick* Sea towards the Mouth of the *Po*, are a mere Fiction; Amber is neither to be found upon this River, nor in those pretended Islands, in which I only follow the Opinion of *Pliny* (a). What *Lucian* relates (4) serves also not a little to confirm my Conjecture. He tells us that having travelled along the *Po*, in order to enquire there for Amber, Pop-

C c 4

lars,

(1) L. 2. c. 9.

(2) L. 16. c. 10.

(3) L. 12. c. 13.

(a) Juxta eas, *Electrides* vocavere, in quibus proveniret succinum quod illi electrum appellant, vanitatis Græcæ certissimum documentum; adeo ut quas earum designent haud unquam constiterit. *Plin.* L. 3.

(4) De Cygnis.

lars, and Swans, the Inhabitants of the Country answered him, that there were upon that River neither Swans nor Poplars, nor Amber ; and he adds that when he was going to set forth to some Watermen the Fable of *Phaeton* and his Sisters, they laugh'd at him, assuring him that they had never heard of it.

To illustrate now what we have said of *Cygnus*, 'tis proper to be informed that ancient History makes mention of six Persons of this Name. The first was the Son of *Mars* : *Hercules* mounted upon the Horse *Arion* vanquish'd him, with which that God was so incensed, that he would needs enter the Lists himself with the Conqueror of his Son ; but *Jupiter* parted them with a Peal of Thunder.

The second was the Son of *Neptune*, and was invulnerable ; this was he whom *Achilles* stifled near *Troy*.

The third was the Son of *Hieres*, and was transformed into the Fowl of that Name (1).

The fourth was *Phaeton's* Cousin, who deploring his Death was also transformed into a Swan (2).

The sixth is known to us only from his Adventure related by *Pausanias*. The sixth, in fine, is mentioned by *Canon* in *Photius* (3).

C H A P. XV.

The History of Apollo.

I HAVE said, in the Beginning of the preceding Chapter, that the Ancients made two distinct Divinities of the Sun and *Apollo* ; and yet when the latter was made the Symbol of the Sun among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the Distinction gradually vanish'd away, and at length he came to be considered only as the Sun himself. It now remains that I set forth what the Mythology of these two Nations teach us concerning him. *Cicero* distinguishes four *Apollo's* ;

(1) Ovid. Met. L. 2. (2) Virg. En. L. 10. (3) Narr. 32.

Apollo's ; the first, the Son of *Vulcan*, was the tutelar Deity of the *Athenians* ; the second was the Son of *Corybas*, and Native of *Crete*, who is said to have waged War with *Jupiter* himself for that Island ; the third, who pass'd from the Country of the *Hyperboreans* to *Delphos*, was the Son of the third *Jupiter* and *Latona* ; the fourth was of *Arcadia*, and went by the Name of *Nomion*, because he had given Laws to the *Arcadians*.

It would seem that *Cicero* had taken these four *Apollo's* for real Personages, since he gives their Genealogies : However, *Vossius* (1) reckons this God only a metaphorical Personage, and maintains that there never was another *Apollo* but the Sun : Here are the Reasons he relies upon ; if, says he, *Apollo* has been accounted the Son of *Jupiter*, 'tis because that God was always reckoned by the Ancients the Author of the World. His Mother was said to be called *Latona*, a Name which signifies *hid*, because before the Sun was created, all Things were wrap'd up in the Obscurity of Chaos. They add, that he was born at *Delos*, a Name which signifies *Manifestation*, because the Beams of this Luminary enlighten all the Earth. He is represented always beardless and youthful, because the Sun never grows old, nor decays. What else can his Bow and Arrows signify but his piercing Beams ? He was the God of Medicine, because the Sun makes the Plants to grow whereof Medicaments are composed. In fine, says he, let us run over all the Ceremonies of Worship that were paid to him, we shall see that they had a plain relation to the Luminary which he represented : Whence he concludes, that we are to seek for no other *Apollo* but the Sun, the Divinity adored over all the World.

I agree with this learned Author, that the Ancients frequently took *Apollo* for the Sun, as has been said in the preceding Chapter ; and that most of the
Things

(1) De Orig: & Progr. Idol.

Things they said of him are applicable to that Luminary ; but this does not prove but there was some illustrious Personage named *Apollo*, who after his Apotheosis was taken for the Sun ; as it happened in *Egypt*, that *Osiris* and *Orus*, whose Existence cannot be called in question, were after their Death confounded with the Sun, whose Symbols they became ; whether it was believed their Souls had gone to reside in that Luminary, or for some other Reason which we know not.

Lactantius (1), who was thoroughly acquainted with the Antiquities of *Greece*, proves to the Pagans that their *Apollo* had only been a Man whose Parents were named, and whose Vices, notwithstanding his many good Qualities, were but too well known.

Of the four *Apollo's* mentioned by *Cicero*, it appears that the three last were *Greeks*, and the first an *Egyptian*, whom *Herodotus* makes to have been the Son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and who was called *Orus*. *Latona*, according to that Author, with whom *Isis* had entrusted him, was his Nurse ; and, in order to save him from the Persecutions of *Typhon*, she hid him in the Island of *Chemnis*, which is in a Lake near *Butbos*, where *Latona* dwelt. *Pausanias* is of the same Mind with *Herodotus*, and ranks *Apollo*, like him, in the Number of the *Egyptian* Divinities. “ The Senator *Antoninus*, says he, built at *Epi-*
“ *daurus* a Temple to *Esculapius* and *Apollo*, two
“ *Egyptians*.” The Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* is yet more express, since in speaking of *Isis*, after having told us that she had invented the Practice of Medicine, he adds, she taught the same to her Son *Orus*, who was named *Apollo*, and was the last of the Gods who reigned in *Egypt*.

Marßam (2), who has ranged the Dynasties of *Egypt* in a manner peculiar to himself, sets *Orus* at the Head of the Demi-Gods, and gives him a Reign
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(1) Div. Inf. c. 8 & 10.

(2) Can. Chron. p. 31. of the Quarto Edition.

of twenty-five Years. This Author distinguishes him not only from the Sun, whom he, conformably to the Opinion of *Cicero*, makes to have been the second in the first Dynasty, at the Head of which was *Vulcan*; but also from another *Apollo*, who was but the eighth King of the second Dynasty. Thus, according to that learned Author, the Sun, *Orus*, and *Apollo*, were three Princes which we must carefully distinguish, having reigned at Periods of Time very remote from one another.

The result of all these Disquisitions is, that the true *Apollo* was of *Egypt*, and that however the *Greeks* gave that Name to some one of their own Nation, yet they formed his History upon that of the *Egyptian* Prince. Accordingly, is it not evident that what they say of their Island of *Delos*, the Birth-place of *Apollo*, is taken from what the *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, related of *Chemnis*, where *Latona* had hid *Orus*? If they gave out that *Delos* was a floating Island, and never fix'd but at the Birth of *Apollo* and *Diana*, did not the *Egyptians* say the same thing of their *Chemnis*? *Herodotus*, to whom this Relation was given, when he was in *Egypt*, says he look'd upon that Island with all possible Attention, and that he saw nothing like that floating Quality about it. The *Greeks* added, that it was *Neptune* with a Blow of his Trident had made the Island of *Delos* to rise up from the Bottom of the Sea, to secure to *Latona*, persecuted by *Juno*, a Place where she might bring forth her Children: Who sees not that this is an exact Copy of what the *Egyptians* fabled of *Typhon's* Persecutions of *Isis*, who, to save her Son from the Cruelty of her Brother-in-Law, committed the Care of his Education to *Latona*, who hid him in the Island of *Chemnis*? As for the Interposition of *Neptune*, this is a Fiction grounded upon the Custom of ascribing to that God whatever happened in the Sea, and particularly all Earth-quakes; and as the Word *Delos* imports *Manifestation*,

tion, that Island, either for being before unknown, supposing it to have existed, or because it rose up from the Sea by the Effect of some Earthquake, as we have seen in our own Days the new *Santorine* formed, was therefore called *Delos*. If the *Greeks* have made their *Apollo* to be the Son of *Jupiter*, it was because the *Egyptian* had *Osiris* to his Father, whom the *Greeks* confounded with their *Jupiter*. If the *Greek Apollo* was reckoned the God of Eloquence, Musick, Medicine, and Poetry, the Reason is that *Osiris*, who was the Symbol of the Sun among the *Egyptians*, as well as his Son *Orus*, had there taught these fine Arts. If the *Greek Apollo* was the God and Conductor of the Muses, 'tis because *Osiris*, as we have said from *Diodorus Siculus*, carried with him in his Expedition to the *Indies* singing Women and Musicians. The *Greek Apollo* was reckoned a God of Oracles, because *Osiris* had one in *Egypt*, as well as *Latona*, as we learn from *Herodotus*. If the *Greeks* asserted that one of their *Apollo's* came from the *Hyperboreans*, it is because that God was peculiarly worship'd there from the Time that *Sesostris* carried his Arms into that Country, and the *Greeks* had some Communication of Religion with those People, as we have said elsewhere (1). What accounts for the *Greek Apollo's* being often confounded with the Sun, is that *Osiris* and *Orus* were his Symbols in *Egypt*. In fine, if *Apollo* was given out to have been at *Delos*, the Reason is, that in that Island his Worship was the most solemn ; and, as *Herodotus* tells us, the Birth of a God in any Country denotes the Introduction of his Worship into it. This Parallel might be carried farther, but I have said enough to prove that the true *Apollo* was that of *Egypt*.

I don't deny however, that the *Greeks* might give this Name to some Prince of their own Country ; and tho' I am forced to own myself perfectly at

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(1) V. 1.

a Loss to know who he was, 'tis requisite however, that I unfold his Mythology, and explain the Fables that have been publish'd about him.

Jupiter, they tell us, being in love with *Latona*, *Juno* conceived such Jealousy of him, that she persecuted her Rival with unparalleled Fury. She made the Earth produce a Monster named *Python*, to be the Instrument of her Vengeance; and, as if the whole Universe had espoused *Juno's* Resentment, *Latona* found no Place where she could be delivered. *Neptune*, affected with the sad Fate of this unfortunate Mistress, with a Stroke of his Trident made the Island *Delos* spring up from the Bottom of the Sea; and *Latona*, whom *Jupiter* metamorphosed into a Quail, having retired thither, brought forth *Apollo* and *Diana*. This gave a Handle to say that this Island, floating before, was fixed upon that Occasion: But *Virgil* has follow'd another Tradition (1), when he says it was *Apollo* that fixed it afterwards, joining it to *Mycone* and *Gyarus*, two neighbouring Islands in the Number of the *Cyclades* as well as *Delos*.

Among the Gods of Paganism, there is none of whom the Poets have fabled so many Wonders as of *Apollo*; and, according to them, he excelled in all the fine Arts, such as Poetry, Musick and Eloquence; and by a Hyperbole common enough upon such Occasions, they fabled that he was the Inventor of them. He was the God and Protector of the Poets, Musicians, and Orators. The Muses, as shall be said in their History, were also under his Protection, and he presided over their Concerts. Add to this, that there were none of the Gods who excelled so much as he in the Art of Prediction; and accordingly he, of all others, had the greatest number of Oracles.

To so many Perfections was joined, Beauty, Grace, the Art of captivating the Ear and Heart no less
by

(1) En. L. 3.

by the Sweetness of his Eloquence, than by the harmonious Sounds of his Lyre, which equally charmed Gods and Men. But yet with all these good Qualities he had not always the Talent of pleasing the Ladies with whom he happened to be in Love; which drew upon the *Pagans* some Railleries from the Apologists for the Christian Religion. For in order to seduce *Iffé* the Daughter of *Macareus*; he was obliged to transform himself into a Shepherd (1), and in vain did he display all his Perfections to *Daphne*; she still was deaf to his Addresses. But not to amuse myself here with what is to be found in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, let us trace out the Origine of the Fables which they have delivered on this Occasion.

To explain that of *Daphné* transformed to a Laurel, while *Apollo* was in Pursuit of her, we may suppose that some Prince, among those who for his Love of the *Belles Lettres* had got the Name of *Apollo*, falling in Love with *Daphné*, the Daughter of *Peneus* King of *Thessaly*, and being one Day in Pursuit of her, that young Princess died upon the Banks of a River in Sight of her Lover. Some Laurels springing up in that Spot gave rise to her Metamorphosis; or rather the Etymology of *Daphne's* Name, which in *Greek* imports a Laurel, was the Foundation of the Fable. If we may credit *Lylion-Gyraldi*, *Daphne* was so called from *Δαφνέω*, *voco*, because the Laurel makes a crackling Noise as it burns, *Crepitat*; and as this Tree was consecrated to *Apollo*, hence, according to that Author, came the Fable of the Amours of *Apollo* and *Daphne*.

Pausanias (2) however explains this Adventure otherwise: He says *Leucippus*, the Son of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, the same who gave his only Daughter *Hippodamia* in Marriage to *Pelops*, being in love with *Daphne*, disguised himself in the Form of a young Maid, to accompany her in the Chace, which

(1) Ovid Met. L. 4.

(2) In Arcad.

which she loved exceedingly, and consecrated himself to *Diana*, according to the Custom of those Times. The Assiduity and officious Zeal he shewed for his Mistress, soon procured him her Love and Confidence; but *Apollo* his Rival, having discovered the Intrigue, as *Daphne* and her Companions were going to bathe themselves, they would oblige *Leucippus* to follow their Example, and he having excused himself upon various Pretexts, they would needs strip him, and upon his revealing himself, they slew him with their Arrows. *Pausanias*, as we see, intermixes something fabulous with this Event; but as 'tis certain that *Oenomaus* had a Son named *Leucippus*, who died in his Youth, much in the Way as he relates it; to rectify his Account we need say no more but that on some sultry hot Day, those Virgins having obliged the Youth to wash himself, they discovered his Disguise and punish'd him for his Insolence.

Diodorus Siculus asserts that *Daphne* is the same with the Fairy *Manto* the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who was exiled to *Delphos*, where she wrote many Oracles, which *Homer* has so happily used in his Poems. What was more needful to make her pass for the Daughter of *Apollo*? The Inhabitants of *Antioch* pretended that this Adventure had happened in the Suburbs of their City, which from that Time got the Name of *Daphné*. Saint *John Chrysostom* describes, from *Libanius*, a fine Statue of *Apollo* which was in those Suburbs. The God held a Lyre in one Hand, and a Patera in the other, with which he seemed to be offering Libations to the Earth who had swallowed up his Mistress.

That of *Leucothoe*, buried alive by her Father *Orchamus*, and that of *Clytia* her Rival metamorphosed into the Flower called the *Heliotrope*, contains nothing historical; at least I have discovered nothing satisfying on this Subject. I have laid it down for a Principle, and I think I have sufficiently

ciently proved it (1), that Fables were commonly founded upon History, but I have all along acknowledged that they sometimes contained Morality and Physiology. Thus what may be said of this now in Question, is, that *Leucothoe* passed for the Daughter of *Orchamus* King of *Persia*, only because that Prince was the first who planted in his Kingdom the Tree which bears Incense, and which was called *Leucothoe*. They added that this pretended Princess was in Love with *Apollo*, because Incense is an aromatick Drug very much used in Medicine, whereof that God was the Inventor, and to this they added the Circumstance of *Clytia*'s Jealousy, because the *Heliotrope* is a Plant which, according to Naturalists, kills the Tree that bears Incense. I must own however that *Pliny*, who describes several Properties of the *Heliotrope*, speaks nothing of this. I am sorry I have nothing more particular to say upon this Fable, for it appears to me very surprising, that in order to tell us *Orchamus* planted the Incense Tree, they should have so many far fetch'd Circumlocutions, as that he buried his Daughter alive, as a Punishment for having been sensible to the Addresses of the Sun her Lover; and that her Rival *Clytia*, for having revealed this Intrigue, had been metamorphosed into the *Heliotrope*. And yet, 'tis better to content ourselves with this Explication, than to risque Conjectures which it would be difficult to render any Ways probable. I have found nothing in Antiquity concerning this *Orchamus*, whom *Ovid* speaks of in his Metamorphoses, and whom he makes to have been the seventh Descendant from *Belus*, and to have reigned over the *Persian Achemenidæ*.

Apollo had also other amorous Intrigues laid to his Charge; amongst others, that which he had with *Coronis*, who bore a Son to him, *Esculapius*; but

(1) V. I. B. I.

but of this we shall speak in the History of that God of Medicine.

Further, as *Apollo* was the God of fine Arts, those who cultivated them pass'd for his Sons, such as *Esculapius*, *Orpheus*, *Linus* and many others; or at least for his Favourites, as *Hyacinthus* and *Cyparissus* whose History I am going to relate.

Hyacinthus, according to *Pausanias* (1), was a young Prince of the City of *Amyclæ* in *Laconia*. His Father *Oebalus*, whom the Author now quoted calls *Amycles*, had taken so much Care of his Education, that he was looked upon as a Favourite of *Apollo* and the Muses. While he was one Day at play with his Fellows, he was unfortunately struck on the Head with the Blow of a Coit, whereof he died some Time after. Some Poem probably was composed upon this Adventure, wherein by Way of Consolation to his Parents it was said that *Boreas*, jealous of *Apollo's* Love to this young Prince, had given the fatal Direction to the Coit wherewith they were playing together; and the Fiction, it must be owned, was ingenious enough. The *Lacedemonians* celebrated every year a solemn Festival near the Tomb of this Prince, where they offered to him Sacrifices; they even instituted Games to his Honour, as we learn from *Atheneus* (2), who gives the Description of them.

Pausanias mentions this Prince's Tomb, whereon he says was represented the Figure of *Apollo*. His Metamorphosis into a Flower of the same Name, is only an Episode to the Romance. 'Tis not very well known what Flower the *Hyacinth* is: *Dioscorides* takes it to be the *Vaccinium*, or the wild Onion, which has a Flower of a purple Colour, and on which you see, tho' imperfectly, the two Letters which *Ovid* speaks of. Be that as it will, this Fable shews us what Idea the *Pagan* Religion had of its Gods, since they did not blush to ascribe to them the most scandalous Weaknesses. The Complaints

(1) In Lacon.

(2) L. 4.

of *Apollo* for the Death of *Hyacinth* have often been the Subject of the smartest Railleries upon that God, even among the *Pagans* themselves.

Cyparissus, who, according to *Ovid*, was born in *Carthea*, a Town in the Island of *Cos*, was a young Man who had a great Talent for Poetry and polite Learning; which made him be accounted the Favourite of *Apollo*. His Metamorphosis into the Cypress-tree is founded upon Resemblance of Names, that Tree being called by the *Greeks* *Cyparissos*. They added to this Fable, that *Apollo*, to comfort himself for his Death, had ordered the Cypress for ever after to be the Symbol of Mourning; that it should accompany Funerals, and that no other Tree should be planted near Tombs; Circumstances founded upon the Nature of that Tree, whose Branches strip'd of Leaves, have a most mournful Aspect. There are others who pretend that *Cyparissus* was also beloved by *Sylvanus*, and that this is the Reason why that God is often seen with Branches of the Cypress in his Hand.

Tho' *Apollo* was not always successful in his Amours, he was so in all the Challenges that any had the Presumption to give him, and in these came always off victorious. *Pan*, who thought he excelled in the Art of playing upon the Flute, would needs compare that Instrument with the Lyre of *Apollo*. The Challenge was accepted; and the River *Tmolus*, chosen Arbiter, adjudged the Victory to *Apollo*. *Midas* witness to this Trial of Skill, rejected the Judgment of *Tmolus*, and *Apollo*, to shew his Stupidity, gave him Asses Ears. *Midas* took always great Care to hide under a *Phrygian* Bonnet this dishonourable Deformity; but his Barber who had discovered it, but durst not speak of it, imparted the Secret to the Earth, whence sprung Reeds that divulged it. These Fictions are founded upon History, consequently I must explain them.

Midas, according to *Pausanias* (1) was the Son of *Gordius* and *Cybele*, and reign'd in the greater *Phrygia*,

(1) In Atticis.

Phrygia, as we learn from *Strabo*. The Former of the two Authors now quoted, says he built the City of *Ancyra*, now *Angoura*, and that of *Pessinus*, upon Mount *Agdistis*, famed for the Tomb of *Atys*; and the second says only that he and *Gordius* his Father fixed their Residence near the River *Sangar*, in Cities, which in his Time were only sorry Villages. We know not the Time when *Midas* lived; but he was contemporary with *Tmolus*, as appears from *Ovid*: What I am to say of this Prince at the End of this Article, will serve to fix the Date of his Reign. As *Midas* was very rich and a very good Oeconomist, they fabled that he turned into Gold whatever he touched, and *Bacchus* who, according to the Fable, taught him how to get rid of a Quality so incommodious to him, was perhaps brought in only because he was the God of the Vine, and *Midas* honoured him with a particular Worship. We may further add that what had given Rise to this Fable, is, that he perhaps was the first who discovered Gold in the *Pactolus*. *Strabo* (1), speaking of the Places whence some Princes had got their Riches, says only that *Midas* had acquired his in the Mines of Mount *Bermius*.

From his Infancy it was foreseen that he would be extremely rich and very frugal, because the Ants approaching his Cradle, had put grains of Corn into his Mouth. As he was very dull and stupid, they invented the Fable of the Judgment he had given in Favour of *Pan* against *Apollo*. The Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, to explain the Fiction of the Asses Ears wherewith *Apollo* had made *Midas* a Present, says it was designed to intimate that he had a very fine Ear like that Animal; or because he kept Spies thro' all his Dominions; or, in fine, because he commonly dwelt in a Place named ὠτρα ἑνς, *the Asses Ears*: *Strabo* tells us (2) that *Midas* swallowed bulls Blood

D d 2

whereof

(1) L. 14. p. 680.

(2) L. 4. p. 61.

whereof he died: and *Plutarch* (1) adds that it was to get rid of the uneasy Dreams that molested him for a long Time; as we know the Time when the *Cimmerians* enter'd *Phrygia*, 'tis easy to fix the Date of *Midas's* Reign, since *Strabo* tells us that they came thither at the Time of his Death. As *Ovid* speaks of the Judgment of *Imolus* which *Midas* disapproved, 'tis proper that we speak of that Prince and his Genealogy.

Imolus King of *Lydia*, if we may credit *Clytophon*, was the Son of the God *Mars* and the Nymph *Theogena*, and according to *Eustatbius*, of *Sipylus* and *Ep-tonia*. One Day as that Prince was at hunting, he perceived one of *Diana's* Companions, who was named *Arriphé*. As she was a consummate Beauty, *Imolus* became enamoured of her. The Passions of the Great are almost always violent. The King, bent on gratifying his, eagerly pursued that young Nymph, who, that she might not fall into his Hands, thought to find a Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana*: But how little Influence has the Fear of Heaven over the Hearts of Tyrants? *Arriphé* was violated at the Feet of the Altar; so cruel an Outrage plunged her into the deepest Anguish, and she would not survive the Misery that had befallen her. The Gods did not allow her Death to be unpunish'd: *Imolus* carry'd off by a Bull, fell upon Stakes, whose Points run into him and made him expire in the most exquisite Pains. Thus perish'd that Prince who was buried upon the Mountain that went afterwards by his Name.

The History of *Marfyas*. *Marfyas* (a), another Player upon the Flute, was yet more unfortunate than *Midas*, in the Challenge which he presumed to give *Apollo*, since this God fled him

(1) Treatise of Superstition.

(a) See the Notes of M. *Burette* upon the Treatise of Musick by *Plutarch*, whence I have taken almost this whole Article, Mem. de l'Academ. Tom. 10.

him alive. Here is the History of this Personage celebrated in Antiquity. He was of *Celenæ* a Town in *Phrygia*, and Son of *Hyagnis*, or, according to *Hyginus* (1), of *Oeagrus* (*Oeagri*); instead whereof the Commentator *Munker* willingly substituted the old genitive *Hyagni*. *Humphrey Prideaux* is of the same Mind, in his Notes upon the Chronicle of *Paros* (2); and they are both in the Right since *Oeagrus* was the Father, not of *Marsyas*, but of *Orpheus*. Some, says *Plutarch*, have alledged that the true Name of *Marsyas* was *Masses*. *Diodorus* tells us, that besides great Genius and Application he was possessed of a large Share of Wisdom, and Continnence, Proof against all Temptation. His Genius especially appeared in the Invention of the Flute, in which he had the Skill to unite the Sounds, which before were divided among the several Pipes of the Reed. He had a particular Attachment to *Cybele* the Daughter of *Dindyma*, and of a King of *Phrygia* and *Lydia* called *Meon*, and the Misfortunes that befel that Princess in Consequence of her Amours with *Atys*, could not oblige *Marsyas* to part from her. Banish'd her Father's House after the Murder of her Gallant, and grown frantick and a Vagabond, she found *Marsyas* a faithful Companion of all her Ramblings and Excursions, which brought them both at last to *Nysa* the Mansion of *Bacchus*, where they met with *Apollo* proud of his new Discoveries in the Lyre.

Marsyas gave him a Challenge, which *Apollo* accepted, on Condition, says *Pausanias*, that the Victor should use his Competitor as he pleased; and that God having won the Victory caused him to be flcad alive, or, according to *Diodorus*, he performed that cruel Operation himself. *Hyginus* and the younger *Philostratus*, who alledge that *Apollo* had employed for that Purpose the Ministration of a *Scythian*, are mistaken about the Word ἀποκρυτίσαι,

D d 3

which

(1) Cap. 165.

(2) Page 169.

which was in the *Greek* Treatise they had read, and which they in honest Simplicity took to signify *to give Commission to a Scythian*; whereas, according to *Hesychius*, it imports simply to flea.

It was added, that his Blood was metamorphosed into a River that bore the Name of *Marsyas*, whose Waters were actually reddish, and run thro' the City *Celenæ*, where, according to *Herodotus*, was to be seen in the publick Place, the Skin of that unfortunate Musician suspended in form of a Bladder, or of a Foot-ball: It must have been transported thither, since *Xenophon* informs us, that *Apollo* had suspended it in a Cave. Other Authors give him a less cruel Death, and assure us that thro' desperate Grief for being overcome, or having lost his Reason, he had thrown himself into that River, where he was drowned.

The ancient instrumental Musick was indebted to him for several Improvements, and he with *Olympus* is made the Author of the *Phrygian* and *Lydian* Measure, which others ascribe to his Father *Hyagnis*. He especially improved the Flute and Reed, which before him were simple. He joined together by means of Wax and some Threads, several Pipes or Reeds of different Lengths, whence came that compound Reed, and he was the Inventor of the double Flute, whereof some however ascribe the Honour to his Father.

Antiquity has preserved to us several Monuments representing this Action. You see him in *Beger*, in *Maffei*, and in *Du Choul*, fastened to a Tree, with his Hands behind his Back: *Apollo*, holding the Lyre in his left Hand, has a young Man at his Feet, who appears to implore his Assistance; this is thought to be *Olympus*, *Marsyas's* Scholar, who asks Pardon for his Master, or rather Permission to give him Funeral Obsequies; which he accordingly obtained, as we learn from *Hyginus*.

Maffei

Maffei has likewise got a Print of a magnificent Statue at *Rome*, where you see *Marsyas* with his Arms extended, fastened to a Tree. We find others where *Apollo* holds a Knife in one Hand, and in the other *Marsyas's* Skin, which confirms the Opinion of those who alledge that he flaid him himself. Others in short, where *Marsyas* has the Ears and Tail of Fawns and Satyrs. There was anciently to be seen in the Citadel of *Athens*, a Statue of *Minerva* chastising the Satyr *Marsyas*, for appropriating to himself the Flutes which the Goddess had rejected with Contempt. These Flutes of *Marsyas* had been consecrated in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Sicyon*, by a Shepherd who had collected them. At *Mantineia*, in the Temple of *Latona*, was also to be seen a *Marsyas* playing upon the double Flute, and he had not been forgot in the fine Picture of *Polygnotus*. *Servius* the Grammarian asserts, that the free Towns had in the publick Places a Statue of *Marsyas*, which was a Symbol of their Liberty, because of the close Connection between *Marsyas* taken for *Silenus*, and *Bacchus*, known to the *Romans* under the Name of *Liber*. There was at *Rome* in the *Forum* one of those Statues, with a Tribunal set up by it, where Justice was administred. The Advocates who gained their Causes, took care to crown this Statue, as it were, to thank *Marsyas* for the Success of their Eloquence, and to engage his Favour to them in quality of an excellent Player on the Flute ; for we know how great Influence the Sound of that and other Instruments in those Times, had upon Declamation, and how apt it was to animate Orators and Actors.

Notwithstanding so many Testimonies for *Marsyas's* having been flaid alive, there are Authors who take this to be a mere Allegory, founded upon the River *Marsyas's* making a harsh disagreeable Noise, such as is grating to the Ears ; or

rather, if we believe *Fortunio Liceti* (1), upon this, that before the Invention of the Lyre, the Flute was esteem'd above all the Instruments of Musick, and enriched all those who could play upon it; and as the Lyre brought the Flute into Discredit, and nothing was to be got by it, hence they feigned that *Apollo* had strip'd off *Marsyas's* Skin: Which was the better imagined that the Money of those Days was of Leather (2).

The Defeat of the Serpent *Python*, described by *Ovid* (3), is likewise ascribed by the Poets to the same God. This Monster made terrible Devastations; but *Apollo* with his winged Shafts rid the Earth of him, and delivered his Mother from his Persecutions.

The Waters of the Deluge, says *Ovid* (4), which had overflowed the Earth, left a Slime whence sprung several Insects, among others the Serpent *Python*, which made great Havock in the Country about *Parnassus*. *Apollo*, armed with his Darts, put him to Death; which, physically explain'd, imports that the Heat of the Sun having dissipated the noxious Steams, those Monsters soon disappeared. If we refer this Fable to History, this Serpent was a Robber who haunted the Country about *Delpbos*, and very much infested those who came thither to sacrifice. A Prince who bore the Name of *Apollo*, or one of the Priests of that God, rid the Country of him. This Event gave rise to the Institution of the *Pythian* Games, so well known in *Greece*. They were celebrated every four Years, and the Prize given to the Conquerors, was either Apples consecrated to *Apollo*, or, as *Pindar* alledges, Laurel Crowns. The chief Exercises there were dancing, and playing upon Instruments. As to which you may consult the Marbles of *Paros* (5) and *Meursius* (6). This Event, which *Ovid* places
imme-

(1) Hierog. ch. 109.

(2) Pollux, L. 4. c. 10.

(3) Met.

L. 1.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Page 202 and 203 of the Oxford

Edition.

(6) *Græcia feriatæ*.

immediately after the Deluge, must needs have happened not till a long time after, since in the Time of *Deucalion*, *Apollo* was not yet known at *Delphos*. *Themis* it was, according to the same Poet and all Antiquity, that delivered Oracles there at that Period of Time, and before *Themis* there was another Oracle that had been delivered by *Terra*.

I have just now said that the Arrows of *Apollo* were the Sun-beams, and this is what gave rise to two Fables of no less Note than Antiquity. The first, that to *Apollo* were always attributed sudden and untimely Deaths. Of this we find an hundred Examples in *Homer*; and whenever that Poet speaks of any Death of that kind, he never fails to ascribe it to *Apollo*, or to *Diana*; with this Difference, that he imputes to the God those of the Men, and to *Diana* those of the Women. But the most noted Example in Antiquity is that of *Niobe's* Children, whom *Apollo* and *Diana* slew with their Darts: Their History is too remarkable to be here omitted.

The haughty *Niobe*, says *Ovid* (1), The History of
grieved that *Latona* should have a *Niobe* and her Chil-
religious Worship paid her, and that no dren slain by *Apollo*
Altar was raised to herself, tho' by and *Diana*.
reason of her Birth and numerous Offspring she had
a just Claim to divine Honours, run thro' the Streets
of *Thebes* to put a stop to the Sacrifices that were
offered to that Goddess. *Latona*, in Revenge,
implored the Aid of *Apollo* and *Diana*, who hav-
ing found, in the neighbouring Plains of that City,
Niobe's Children, who were there performing their
Exercises, slew them with their Arrows.

All the ancient Historians agree with *Diodorus Siculus* and *Apollodorus*, that *Niobe* was the Daughter of *Tantalus*, and Sister of *Pelops*; for we must not confound her, who is the Subject of this Fable, with another *Niobe*, who was Daughter of *Phoroneus*,

(1) Met. L. 6.

neus, and whom *Homer* makes the first Mortal whom *Jupiter* was in love with. *Pelops* having left *Phrygia*, to remove into that Part of *Greece*, which since took his Name, carried his Sister with him. Being desirous to secure his new Dominion by some Alliances, that might support him against the Assaults of his Enemies, he gave her in Marriage to *Amphion*, a Prince equally powerful and eloquent ; by whom *Thebes* had lately been fortified with Walls. *Niobe's* Portion was probably employ'd in building a Town in *Beotia*, or at least this was one of the Conditions of the Marriage ; since *Pausanias* informs us, that it was at that time *Pelops* laid the Foundations of it. The same *Pausanias* in more Places than one speaks of *Amphion's* Alliance with the House of *Pelops* ; and in his *Beotica* he expressly says, that Prince having contracted an Alliance with *Tantalus*, had learned from the *Phrygians* the *Lydian* Measure, and added three new Strings to the four which the Lyre had before.

There is great Probability that *Niobe* was the Seal of the Peace that was concluded between *Amphion* and *Pelops* ; for the latter had quarrelled with the King of *Thebes*, for having received into his Dominions *Maius*, whom *Amphion* and *Zethus* had banished, as we have it in *Apollodorus* (1). Whatever be in that, the Match was very happy by the Fruitfulness of *Niobe*, who had a numerous Progeny. *Homer* gives her twelve Children, six Sons and as many Daughters ; *Herodotus* only two Sons and three Daughters ; *Diodorus Siculus* fourteen, seven of either Sex. *Apollodorus* (2), upon the Authority of *Hesiod*, alledges she had ten Sons, and as many Daughters. However, that Author names only fourteen of them, as follows, *Sipylus*, *Minytus*, *Ismenus*, *Damasichthon*, *Agenor*, *Phedrus*, and *Tantalus* ; and as many Daughters, *Echodea*,
or

(1) L. 3.

(2) Ibid.

or according to others *Thera*, *Cleodora*, *Astyocha*, *Phthia*, *Pelopias*, *Astycratia*, and *Ogygia*.

Niobe, elated upon Account of her Fruitfulness, despised *Latona*, who in Revenge engaged *Apollo* and *Diana* to put all her Children to Death, in the manner as *Ovid* relates from the other ancient Poets, and as may be seen in *Plutarch's* Book of Superstition. This Episode, ingeniously enough invented, contains a History as real as it is tragical. The Pestilence which desolated the City *Thebes*, destroy'd all *Niobe's* Children; and because contagious Distempers used to be attributed to the immoderate Heat of the Sun; hence they gave out that *Apollo* had slain them with his Darts. What I here advance for the ground of this Fable, is authorised by Antiquity. *Homer* (1) tells us that *Laodamia*, and the Mother of *Andromache* had been slain by *Diana*. *Valerius Flaccus* (2) describes the Lamentations of *Clyta* the Wife of *Sysicus* upon the Death of her Mother, whom *Diana* had put to Death (a); and not to multiply Examples, I only add that the Scholiast upon *Pindar* (3) remarks, after *Phercydes*, that *Apollo* sent *Diana* his Sister to put to death *Coronis* and several other Women, while he himself was going to destroy *Ischis*. After this 'tis no wonder to see *Penelope*, in *Homer*, praying *Diana* to put her to death. If these Testimonies were not sufficient to prove this Tradition, I might add the Authority of *Strabo* (4) and *Eustathius*, who give the same Account; and the latter observes very judiciously, that the Poets who attributed to those Divinities sudden Deaths, and such as were owing to the Pestilence, always imputed those of the Men to *Apollo*, and those of the Women to *Diana* (5). *Homer* has indeed deviated from this

(1) Il. L. 2. v. 20.

(2) L. 3.

(a) ——— Triviaeque potentis
Occidit arcanâ genetrix absumpta sagittâ.

(3) Upon the third Pythick. (4) L. 4.

(5) Upon the second Book of the Iliad.

this Rule, in saying that *Diana* had put *Orion* to Death (1): But as he had a mind to violate the Honour of that Goddess, 'tis no wonder that she would needs punish him herself; which however is so very contrary to the common Practice, that there are Authors, according to *Eustathius* (2), who take this Passage in *Homer* to be spurious.

Nothing is better imagined than this System, since there is Reason for attributing contagious Distempers to the Exhalations of the Earth, and to the immoderate Heat of the Sun: Accordingly *Homer* tells us, the Pestilence fell upon the *Grecian* Camp, so soon as that God in Wrath had darted his Arrows; that is to say, when his too warm Beams had infected the Air. 'Tis proper to remark by the by, that the Arrows were the Symbol of *Apollo* provok'd, as the Lyre signified that he was appeased, as *Servius* observes (3): Accordingly they never failed, in time of epidemical Distempers, to implore the Aid of this Divinity, and to offer Sacrifices to him, as we learn from *Horace* and *Pausanias*. It was also their Practice to put Branches of Laurel upon the Doors of their Houses, in hope that the God would spare the Places that were under the Protection of a Person whom he had loved; as may be seen in *Diogenes Laertius*, and in the Author of the great Etymologicon.

Ovid makes *Niobe's* Sons die in a Cirque, where these young Princes were exercising themselves in managing Horses; but *Pausanias* says (4), with more Probability, that they died upon Mount *Cytberon*, where they had been hunting; and the Daughters at *Thebes*. The Reason why they have added upon the Authority of *Homer* (5), that these unfortunate Children remained nine Days without Burial, because the Gods had transformed all the *Thebans* into Stones, and that the Gods themselves performed

(1) *Odyss.* L. 5. v. 125. (2) Upon the *Odyss.* (3) Upon the third Book of the *Eneid.* (4) In *Beot.* (5) *Il.* L. 24.

performed their funeral Rites on the tenth Day ; the Reason I say is, that they having died of the Plague, no body durst interr them, and all appeared insensible to the Misfortunes of the Queen ; a lively Figure of the Calamities which accompanied this Plague, where every one apprehending almost certain Death, thinks only of his own Preservation, and neglects the most essential Duties of Life. However, as the Priests, after the Violence of the Distemper was a little abated, set about the burying of them, it was given out that the Gods themselves had performed that Duty to them. They add that *Ismenus*, the eldest of these Princes, to deliver himself from the acute Pains he endured from so violent a Distemper, threw himself into a River of *Beotia*, which was then called the Foot of *Cadmus*, but since that Event got its Name from that young Prince.

Niobe, no longer able to stay at *Thebes* after the Death of her Children, and Husband, who in the Extremity of his Grief killed himself, returned into *Lydia*, and ended her Days near Mount *Sipylus* ; upon which, according to *Pausanias* (1) was to be seen a Rock, which being seen at a Distance resembled a Woman in deep Melancholy and Distress, tho' at hand it had not the most remote Resemblance to it, as we are assured by the same Author, who had travelled thither himself. This is what made *Ovid* say a Whirlwind had carried away that unfortunate Princess upon that Mountain, and that she had been transformed into a Rock, a Circumstance which intimates, as *Cicero* observes (2), that *Niobe* had kept so profound a Silence in her Affliction, that she looked like one deprived of Speech and Motion, which is the Character of consummate Grief. *Sophocles*, in his *Antigone*, says this Princess was not at first transformed into a Stone, but that the Gods, at her Request, granted her

(1) In Att.

(2) Tusc. Quæst. L. 3.

her that Favour afterwards. The same Poet, in his *Eleſtra*, ſays *Niobe* ſheds Tears in a Tomb of Stone.

Ovid undoubtedly thought the Story would be more moving, when he ſaid all the Children of *Niobe* had been Victims to *Latona's* Reſentment. *Pauſanias* (1) however tells us that *Melibeia* or *Chloris*, and *Amyclea*, two of her Daughters appeaſed *Diana*, who ſaved their Lives; that is they recovered of the Plague. The firſt of theſe two Princeſſes married *Neleus* the Father of *Neflor*, as we are told by *Apollodorus* (2); but the ſame *Pauſanias* declares that he chooſes rather to be of the Opinion of *Homer*, who makes all the Children of *Niobe* to have died by the Hands of *Apollo* and *Diana*. I muſt not forget alſo to obſerve what gave *Melibeia* the Surname of *Chloris*; namely that ſhe never having recovered the Fright ſhe received from the Death of her Brothers and Siſters, remained always extremely Pale, as we are likewiſe told by *Pauſanias* (3).

The Fact which I have been now relating happened about 120 Years before the *Trojan War*; which might be eaſily proved from the Genealogy of *Neflor*, the Son of *Chloris*, but more eſpecially from that of *Laius* the Father of *Oedipus*, who ſucceeded *Amphion* and *Zetbus* in the Kingdom of *Thebes*, as ſhall be ſaid, when I came to explain the Fable of *Amphion*.

Such is the Truth of this Event ſo celebrated in the ancient Poets. The fertile Imagination of *Ovid* who relates it ſo ingeniouſly, is indeed to be admired: Let us transport ourſelves with him to *Thebes*, view theſe young Princes mounted on proud Steeds performing their Exerciſes, while *Apollo* and *Diana*, eſpouſing the Cauſe of their injured Mother, diſcharge their Darts upon them, and kill them without Mercy. The Siſters of the unhappy Princes run up to the Ramparts, upon the Report of this ſaid Diſaſture, and they too fall by the unſeen Arrows of *Diana*:

(1) In Attic.

(2) L. 1.

(3) In Corin.

Diana: Next arrives the Mother distracted with Grief and Despair, has just Time to bathe in Tears the Bodies of her Children, and then is transformed into a Rock: these we must needs own are fine poetical Embellishments, but if Fable gives great Ornaments to Truth, yet the Discovery of that same Truth yields still higher Pleasure to the Understanding, than all these vain Ornaments can do to the Imagination.

An antique Monument quoted by *Montfaucon* (1) represents this Story according to the Tradition which *Ovid* has followed. The Sons of *Niobe* are there represented with their Manage-horses, *Apollo* and *Diana* are shooting their Arrows at them, and the distressed Mother seeing them fall one after another, is hugging some of them in her Bosom.

But if the Arrows of *Apollo* were upon many Occasions serviceable to him, they were upon the following one extremely fatal. *Jupiter* incensed that *Esculapius* had restored *Hippolitus* to Life, alledging that the Right of raising the Dead ought to be reserved to himself alone, thunder-struck the unhappy Physician; and *Apollo*, to revenge the Death of his Son, having with his Darts slain the *Cyclops* who had forged *Jupiter's* Thunder, was expelled Heaven. Thus being obliged to shift for his Living, he enter'd into *Admetus's* Service and kept his Flocks.

Boccace (2), upon the Authority of *Theodotion*, says this Adventure relates to that *Apollo* whom *Cicero* makes to have been the Law-giver of the *Arcadians*, and who was dethroned for having governed his Subjects with too much Severity. He retired to the Court of *Admetus*, who received him favourably, and gave him in Sovereignty that Part of his Dominions which lay along the Banks of the River *Amphrifa*. Hence arose this Fable of his having been expelled Heaven, because he had
actually

(1) Anti. Expl. T. 1.

(2) Gen. of the Gods.

actually been banish'd from his Throne. The Meaning of his being reduced to keep *Admetus's* Flocks, is that *Admetus* put some of his Subjects under his Dominion, and made him King of a Part of *Thessaly*. King and Shepherd are frequently synonymous Names, especially in *Homer*; and indeed every King ought to be the Shepherd of his People, who are his true Flock. As these ancient Traditions were not always uniform, *Ovid* says that it was not in *Thessaly*, but in *Elis*, that *Apollo* became a *Shepherd*, and had the Adventure of *Battus* who stole away some of his Oxen.

The History which I have before related proves that *Apollo* was not ready to put up with an Affront; of this we have an additional Proof in the Story of *Phorbas* the Robber, who raised Contributions from all that travell'd to *Delphos*. To gratify his Resentment the God metamorphos'd himself into a Wrestler, and put the Offender to Death. But for understanding most of these Fables, we are to reflect upon the Principle laid down in the first Volume, that it was usual to croud into the History of a God or Heroe the Adventures of all those who had bore the same Name; and not only so but frequently the Adventures of their Priests too: This now mentioned, was probably of that Number, some of the Ministers of *Delphos*, finding the Offerings that used to be brought to *Apollo's* Temple daily diminish'd by the Incursions of *Phorbas*, disguised himself, and being so happy as to kill that Robber, fabled that it was *Apollo* himself had revenged the Insult done to his Temple.

But let this be as it will, there was hardly any God in the *Pagan* World more revered than *Apollo*. He had Temples thro' all *Greece* and *Italy*, Oracles without Number, and a vast many Festivals were celebrated to his Honour, especially at *Delos*. I need not dwell long upon this Subject, it suffices to remark that almost all the Ceremonies of Worship
that

that were paid to him had a Reference to the Sun; whose Symbol he was, or to the Attributes which he was thought to possess. Thus the Wolf and the Hawk were consecrated to him, because both of them have a fine piercing Eye; the Crow, the Raven, and the Swan, because these Fowls were reckoned to have by Instinct a Faculty of Prediction. The Laurel was consecrated to this God, from a Persuasion that those who slept with some Branches of this Tree under their Head, received certain Vapours which enabled them to prophecy. *Porphry* too informs us that the Ancients foretold future Events, from the Crackling which the Laurel made when it was burning; which makes *Tibullus* say: *When the Laurel gives you a good Omen, ye Husbandmen rejoice (a)*: But then when it burn'd without any crackling it was a bad Prognostick (*b*). The Cock was also consecrated to him, because by his crowing he intimates the rising of the Sun; and the Grasshopper, because her chirping does Honour to the God of Musick.

Time has preserved to us a great many Monuments of this God; I have no Mind to run over them all, most of them are to be seen collected in *Montfaucon's* Antiquities. I shall only Remark that this God is always distinguished in them by his Youth, the Rays that shine about his Head, and his Lyre, or the *Cythara* that accompanies him. *Apollo*, as has been said, was generally represented youthful, and without a Beard, as well as *Bacchus*, which Form, according to *Tibullus*, was exactly suitable to them both; but as the latter appears sometimes with a Beard, so *Lucian* (1) informs us that there was also a bearded *Apollo*: However we have no Monuments extant that represent him in that Manner.

In fine, to close this Article, it remains that I speak of the different Names of *Apollo*. As the

VOL. II.

E e

whole

(a) *Laurus ubi bona signa dedit, gaudete coloni.*

(b) *Et jacet extincto Laurus adusta foco. Propert.*

(1) *De Dea Syria.*

whole World adored this God, or at least the Sun whose Symbol he was, he had almost as many Names as there were different Countries that worship'd him, as has been said more than once before; but besides these Names the *Greeks* and *Romans* gave him several others.

That of *Vulturius* was given him from a pretty singular Adventure related by *Conon* (1). Two Shepherds who were feeding their Flocks upon Mount *Lissus* near *Ephesus*, seeing some Bees come out of a Cavern; one of them let himself down thither with a Basket and there found a Treasure. He who had remained above, having pulled up the Treasure by Means of the same Basket, left his Companion to shift for himself, not doubting but he would soon perish. While the deserted Shepherd was thus abandoned to cruel Despair, he sunk down to sleep, and *Apollo* appeared to him in a Dream, bidding him bruise his Body with a flint Stone, which accordingly he did. Some *Vulturs* allured by the Scent of his Blood, entered into the Cavern, and having lodged their Bills in his Wounds and Cloaths, and at the same Time raising themselves upon their Wings, thus drew the poor Wretch out of the Cave. So soon as he was cured, he tabled his Complaint before the *Ephesian* Magistrates, who put the other Shepherd to Death; and giving him the half of the Gold that was found in the Cave, he built with it upon the Mountain a Temple in Honour of his Deliverer, under the Name of *Apollo* over *Vulturs*.

He was called *Hyperborean*, for Reasons given in the Article of the Religion of the northern Nations (2). *Phæbus* in Allusion to the Light and Heat of the Sun, which gives Life to all Things, or from the Name of *Phæbe* *Latona's* Mother: *Delius* either from the Island *Delos* where he was born, or because he enlightens all the World: *Cynthius*, from a Mountain

(1) Nar. 35.

(2) V. I. B. 7.

Mountain of that Name, as we learn from *Servius* and *Festus*: *Epidelius* from a Temple which he had near the Promontory of *Malea*. *Menophanes*, who commanded *Mithridates's* Fleet, having plundered the Island of *Delos*, ordered the Statue of *Apollo* to be thrown into the Sea; the *Lacedemonians* having found it, built a Temple to this God, which they named *Epidelius*, as it were to signify that he came from *Delos*.

The People of *Cbios* worship'd him under the Name of *Phanæus*, and gave the Name of *Phanæa* to one of their Promontories, because it was from thence *Latona* had seen the Island of *Delos* (1). That of *Lycius* was given him, if we may credit *Pausanias* (2), by *Danaus*, who as he was disputing the Crown with *Gelanor*, having perceived a Wolf, which the *Greeks* call *Lycos*, gain the Victory over a Bull with whom he was fighting, gave out that *Apollo* was pleased to shew the People of *Argos*, that a Stranger was to prevail over a Citizen, since the Wolf which is a foreign Animal, had vanquish'd the Bull. When this Prince had mounted the Throne, he built a Temple in Honour of *Apollo Lycius*. He was denominated *Delphinius*, because it was believed that under the Figure of a Dolphin he had accompany'd the Ship of *Castalius*, who conducted a Colony from *Crete* into *Phocis*: *Delphicus* from the City *Delphos*, so famous for his Oracle: *Clarius*, from that of *Claros* where he had also an Oracle. *Ismenius*, from a Hill near *Thebes*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (3), or from a River of this Name, if we may believe *Stephanus*: *Nomius*, because he had kept *Admetus's* Flocks: *Pythius* from the Victory he obtained over the Serpent *Python*; and the Games that were instituted in Memory of this Event were called *Pythian*, as we learn from *Ovid* (a). The

E e 2

Name

(1) Steph. upon the Word *φάναι*. (2) In Att. (3) In Beot.

(a) Neve operis famam posset delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos;
Pythia perdomiti Serpentis nomine Dictos.

Name of *Smynthian* was given him, because, as *Strabo* has it (1) after *Callinus* and *Heraclides* of *Pontus*; the Descendants of *Teucer* having set out from *Crete* in Quest of a fit Place to settle in, learned from the Oracle that they were to stop at a Place where the Inhabitants should come to receive them. Being obliged to pass the Night upon the Borders of the Sea in the lesser *Asia*, a great Number of Rats came in the Night Time and gnaw'd their Belts and Bucklers: The next Day seeing this Havock, and thinking the Oracle accomplish'd, they stop'd in that Place, and gave *Apollo*, who was there highly honoured, the Name of *Smynthian*, which in their Language imports a Rat. The same Author adds, that in the City *Chrysa* was to be seen a Statue of *Apollo*, by the Hand of *Scopas* the celebrated Statuary of *Paros*, with the Figure of a Rat near his Feet; and *Heraclides* of *Pontus* asserts that the Rats about that Temple were sacred.

Orpheus, *Homer*, *Ovid* and several other Poets frequently give *Apollo* the Name of *Smynthian* (a). That of *Aëlius* was derived to him from the Promontory of that Name, so noted for the Victory of *Augustus* over *Antony*: That of *Daphnæus*, from the Fable of his Amours with *Daphne*: That of *Soraëtes*, from a Mountain in *Italy* where he was worship'd, and whose Priests, if we believe *Pliny* and *Virgil*, walk'd upon burning Coals, without receiving any Hurt (b). *Strabo* likewise takes Notice of the same Miracle (2), but

(1) L. 13.

(a) Other Derivations are given of this Name, as may be seen in *Lysio Gyraldi Synt.* 7.

(b) *Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro sunt paucae familiae quæ Hirpinæ vocantur, quæ Sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad Montem Soraëtem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non adiurantur, & ob id perpetuo Senatus consulto, militiæ aliorumque munerum vacationem habent. Plin. l. 2. c. 93.*

Summe Deum, Sancti custos Soraëtis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui Pineus ardor acervo
Pascitur, & medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multâ premimus vestigia plantâ.

Virg.

(2) L. 5.

but he says it was the Goddess *Feronia* who was worship'd upon Mount *Soraete*, and that it was in Honour of her those Priests walk'd upon those burning Brands.

In fine, *Apollo* had several other Names, mostly taken from the Places where he was worship'd, not to mention those which the other Nations gave him, as has been already said at the Beginning of his History, and when we were upon the Origin of Idolatry.

Diana and the Moon.

The History of *Diana* will not carry us so far as that of *Apollo*, since the same Attributes agree to Brother and Sister. Accordingly *Diana* may be considered as the Moon, and then she was the same with *Isis*, who is the most ancient *Diana* of all. We may run a Comparison between them two, similar to what we have now drawn between *Apollo* and *Osiris*. We may in like Manner say that the *Greeks*, who had received the *Egyptian* Theology, adjusted it to their own Ideas, and attributed to the Sister of *Apollo* what they said of the Sister of *Osiris*. Thus to pursue my own Plan, I have only to deliver and explain the *Greek* Mythology concerning *Diana*.

Cicero (1) reckons three *Dianas*: “ The first, who is thought to have been the Mother of winged *Cupid*, was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Proserpina*; the second, who is the best known, was the Daughter of the third *Jupiter* and *Latona*; the third, to whom the *Greeks* often give the Name of her Father, was the Daughter of *Upis* and *Glauce*.”

Strabo (2) and *Pausanias* mention another *Diana* named *Britomartis*. She was *Eubulus*'s Daughter, and a great lover of hunting. As she was flying from *Minos* who was enamoured of her, she threw

E e 3 herself

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

(2) L. 10.

herself into the Sea, and was taken in some Fishers Nets ; which, according to *Vossius* got her the Name of *Dictynna* ; unless you choose rather to say that this Name was given her from Mount *Diété* ; or, as *Solinus* pretends, because it signifies a soft and gentle Virgin, 'Tis even very probable that *Cicero* and *Strabo* intended only to speak of the *Dianas* of *Greece*. *Ovid* has gone farther, since he makes us acquainted with a *Diana* yet more ancient ; this was she of *Egypt* who metamorphosed herself into a Cat, in the Time that *Typhon* waged War with the Gods : *Fele soror Phæbi latuit* (1). She is the same with her whom *Herodotus* mentions (2) under the Name of *Bubastis*, adding that the *Egyptians* said she was the Daughter of *Dionysius*, that is *Osiris*, and of *Isis*, and that *Latona* was only her Nurse : Or rather 'tis *Isis* herself who is the true and most ancient *Diana*, since 'tis she whom the *Egyptians* took for the Symbol of the Moon, as we have said in her History. But because the *Greeks* always copied after the *Egyptians*, what these attributed to their *Isis*, those have said of some of their Princesses, and it would seem that their Accounts of her ought to be applied to that *Diana* who was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Latona*, and Sister of *Apollo*. As she loved hunting, they look'd upon her as the Divinity of those who were addicted to that Exercise. Her Love of Chastity made them give her Virgins for her Companions. She is ordinarily represented with a Quiver, and Dogs, drawn in a Chariot by two white Stags : Sometimes however she was figured with Wings, as we learn from *Pausanias*, having in one Hand a Lion and in the other a Panther, her Chariot being drawn either by two Heifers, or by two Horses of different Colours ; but this Author owns at the same Time that he knows not what is the Meaning of these Symbols.

'Tis proper to remark, 1st, That as in the *Pagan* Theology *Diana* was both a natural and animated Divinity,

(1) *Met.* L. 5.

(2) L. 1.

Divinity, so the Poets say many Things of her which it would be very ridiculous to think of reducing to History; since 'tis obvious they can only be understood of the Moon whom she represented. Even according to their own Principles, *Diana*, *Lucina*, *Juno*, *Venus*, *Bubastis* and *Isis* were frequently but one and the same Divinity, that is to say, the Planet which they represented, and this is the Key to all that we find in their Works concerning most of the Attributes of this Goddess. 2d, That when she represented the Moon, she was called *Lucina*; *Diana* again, when she was taken for the Goddess who loved hunting; and *Proserpina* or *Hecate*, when she was accounted an infernal Divinity. Hence the Name of *Triformis* given her by the Poets (1), and the Custom of representing her with three Heads (a), whereof the one on the Right, was that of a Horse, the one on the left that of a Dog, and in the Middle that of a Boar. But this Custom if we may believe *Pausanias* (2), was neither universal nor very ancient. “As far as I can judge of it, says that Author, *Alcámenes* was the first who thought of making a triple Statue, with three Bodies and three Faces, to represent the Goddess *Hecate*; and this is the Statue which the *Athenians* call the *Epipyrgis* (b), and which they have placed at *Athens* near the Victory without Wings.”

When *Diana* was invoked by Women in Child-bed, she was called *Lucina*, as also *Juno Pronuba*. She had several other Names; such as that of *Trivia*, importing that she was worship'd in the Cross-ways, the Streets, and publick Roads, where her Statues were commonly erected. That of *Ortlione*

E e 4 was

(1) Horace, Virgil, Martial, &c.

(a) Tergeminamque Hecatē, tria Virginis ora Dianæ.

Virg. Æn. 4.

(2) In *Corin.* c. 30.

(b) A Word derived from πύργος a Tower, because this Statue was very high.

was given her, either from a Place of that Name in *Arcadia*, where she was worship'd, or rather from the Severity wherewith she punish'd those of her Companions, who did not maintain strict Chastity ; or in fine, because the Youths of *Lacedemon* whip'd themselves cruelly, and sometimes even to Death, in presence of her Statues ; a rigorous and barbarous Custom, which may have occasioned that Surname of *Diana*, the *Greeks* calling one *Ortion*, who is obdurate and inflexible ; the Names of *Militta*, *Alilat*, and *Anaitis* were given her by the *Phenicians*, *Arabians* and *Cappadocians*, as has been said in the first Volume. That of *Diana*, which was her most common Name, and the same with *Jana*, signifies the Moon, according to *Varro*. That of *Deviana* had its rise from this Goddess's being a Lover of hunting, those who are fond of that Exercise being apt to lose themselves, or to deviate. *Spon* (1) is the first who has given a Print of a Monument, where *Diana* is named *Clatra*. This Goddess is there represented with *Apollo*, both of them charged with Symbols, after the manner of the *Panthean* Figures. *Apollo* with his Lyre holds in his Hand *Jupiter's* Thunder, and has his Head encircled with Rays ; and above, the Sun. In a Circle *Diana* has upon her Head the Crescent, a Turret, and a Pine-apple, like *Cybele*, a Serpent wreathed about her Arm, as *Hygieia* the Goddess of Health, the Sistrum of *Isis*, a Prow of a Ship, like *Isis* surnamed *Pelagia*. 'Tis plain that this is *Diana*, in so far as she represents the Moon, that is to say, an *Isis* after the manner of the *Greeks*.

The other Names that are given to the same Goddess are mostly derived from the Places where she was worship'd ; thus *Hesychius* calls her *Aerea*, from a Mountain of that Name in *Argolis* ; and *Pausanias*, *Coryphæa*, from another Mountain near

Eji-

(1) *Misc. Erud. Ant.*

Epidaurus ; the *Eleans* named her *Speculatrix* ; the *Cretans*, *Dietyinna* ; the *Eginetæ*, *Aphæa* ; those of *Sicily*, *Lya*, because they believed she had cured them of the Spleen. Those of *Tauris*, *Taurica*, from the Name of their Country ; *Thoantina*, from that of *Thoas* their King ; *Orestina*, because *Orestes* stole away her Statue. Those of *Ephesus*, *Ephesia*, and we have shewn in the Description (1) of her Temple in that City, how much she was adored there. Those of *Elis*, *Alphæa*, as we learn from *Strabo* ; and the Reason they gave of this Surname was, that *Alphæus* falling in love with this Goddess, she daubed over her Face with Dirt, and did the same to her Companions. As the Sagacity of the Gods, whom the *Pagans* worship, was not very great, *Alphæus* was not able to distinguish the Goddess from the Nymphs of her Court, and gave over his Pursuits. Those of *Achaia* called her *Triclaria* : And *Pausanias* (2) tells us that *Menalippus* and *Cometbo* gratify'd their Lust in the Temple of *Diana Triclaria*. This Profanation was follow'd with a general Barrenness, insomuch that the Earth produced no Fruit, and with an epidemical Distemper; which swept away Numbers of People. The *Achaians* having consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, were answered by the Priestess, that the Impiety of *Menalippus* and *Cometbo* was the Cause of all their Calamities, and that the only way to appease the Goddess was to sacrifice to her every Year a Boy and a young Virgin.

Hypermnestra having gained her Cause against *Danaus* her Father, who prosecuted her for having saved *Lynceus* her Husband against his Command to put him to Death, dedicated a Temple to *Diana* under the Name of *Pitbo*, or Goddess of Persuasion, as we learn from the same *Pausanias* (3). *Pindar* gives her that of *Didyma*, to denote that she was *Apollo's* Twin-Sister. The Inhabitants of

Pellene

(1) V. i. B. 4. (2) In *Corint.* (3) *Ibid.*

Pellene called her *Pellené*, upon Occasion whereof *Plutarch* (1) tells us, when her Statue was carried in the Processions, her Aspect became so terrible, that no body durst look upon it. This Author adds likewise, that the Priest who served her having carried her Statue into *Eolia*, all those who saw it became delirious. *Strabo* (2) speaks of a *Diana Peresia*, so named, because her Worship had been transported by Sea to *Castabalis*, a Town in *Capadocia*. Lastly, we find in the Ancients, especially in *Pausanias*, several other Names of this Goddess, which are easy to be explained, and which may be read in that Author.

We see, from what we have now said, that several People were distinguish'd by the Worship they paid to this Goddess, towards whom they carried their Superstition so far as to offer to her human Sacrifices. The Island of *Delos* celebrated the Festivals named *Delia*, which drew together a great Confluence of Strangers. The Island of *Nicaria*, if we believe *Strabo*, had a Temple consecrated to this Goddess, under the Name of *Tauropolia* (3), and we find in *Goltzius* a Medal struck in that Island, where on one Side appears *Diana* in the Equipage of a Huntress, and on the other a Person riding upon a Bull. From the Island *Micaria* the Worship of this Goddess was propagated, according to *Titus Livius* (4), to *Andros*, and to *Amphipolis*, a City in *Thrace*.

Diana is easily known in the Figures that represent her, either by the Crescent which she has commonly upon her Head, or by her hunting Habit; or in fine, by the Dogs that accompany her. We find besides upon these Monuments many Singularities that may be seen in the Antiquaries. I ought, however, to observe that the *Diana* of *Ephesus* was represented with a great number of Breasts, and
with

(1) In the Life of *Aratus*.
sa, Protectress of Bulls.

(2) L. 21.
(4) L. 44.

(3) That is to

with other Symbols which signified the Earth and *Cybele*, or rather Nature herself, whom that Goddess represented. The Pagans look'd upon this Goddess as the Symbol of Chastity, which she obliged the Nymphs of her Retinue to observe with great Regularity. 'Tis well known in what manner she banish'd *Callisto*, whom *Jupiter* had seduced, and how dearly *Acteon* paid for having seen her in the Bath (1); but as Mythology was not very consistent in its Principles, it was reported that she had been in love with *Endymion*, and went every Night to visit him in the Mountains of *Caria*. 'Tis true this Fiction is thought to have no other Foundation but that *Endymion*, whom some Authors contend to have been a King of *Elis*, frequently retired into a Cave upon a Mountain in *Caria*, to observe the Motions of the Moon (a); and that what we are told of his being always asleep, and of the Moon's taking that Opportunity to come and embrace him, was designed to teach us that he was there employ'd in continual Contemplation (b). But *Pausanias* informs us at great Length of the History of that Prince. "The Fable, says he, tells us that *Endymion* was beloved by the Moon, and that he had by her fifty Daughters; but it is a more probable Opinion that he married *Asterodia*; others say *Chromia*, the Daughter of *Itonus*, and Grand-daughter of *Amphictyon*; others, *Hyperipne*, the Daughter of *Arcas*, and that he had three Sons, *Peon*, *Epeus* and *Etolus*, and a Daughter named *Eurycide*. *Endymion* put forth in *Olympia* a running Match to the three Princes his Children; the Prize was the Kingdom. *Epeus* gained the Victory, reigned after his Father, and his Subjects were called *Epeans*.

(1) See the History of *Cadmus*.

(a) We see him in some Antiques under the Figure of a Man asleep, and *Diana*, or the Moon, by him.

(b) Cicero. L. 1. Tusc. Quæst. & Lucian. Dial. Lunæ & Veneris.

“ *Epeans*. His Brother *Etolus* is said to have dwelt
 “ with him in the Country ; but *Peon* inconsolable
 “ for being vanquish’d in a Matter of such Impor-
 “ tance, went to push his Fortune out of his own
 “ Country, and having stop’d upon the Banks of
 “ the River *Axius*, gave his Name to that Coun-
 “ try which was since called *Peonia*. The *Elians*
 “ and the *Heracleotes* are not agreed as to the Death
 “ of *Endymion* ; for the *Elians* shew his Tomb in
 “ the City of *Olympia*, and the *Heracleotes*, who are
 “ in the Neighbourhood of *Miletus*, say *Endymion*
 “ retired to Mount *Latmus*. Accordingly there is
 “ a Place of that Mountain which is called at this
 “ Day *the Grotto of Endymion*,”

The same *Pausanias* says the Tomb of this Prince was in that Spot of Ground, which lay before the *Stadium* of *Olympia*, which was called the *Barrier*, and that at *Metapontus* was a Statue of the same Prince all of Ivory, except the Drapery.

We have just now been told by *Pausanias* that the *Eleans* and *Heracleotes* were not agreed as to the Death of *Endymion*. To reconcile them, *Paulmier* of *Grantmenil* says with a great deal of Probability (1), that there were two Persons of this Name, the one King of *Elis* the other this celebrated Shepherd of Mount *Latmus* : And indeed if the Shepherd was the same with the King of *Elis*, how can we distinguish two *Endymions* ?

The God
Lunus. I ought to say something here of the God *Lunus*, whom we find upon some Monuments ; But I have said enough about him in the History of the oriental Gods. Besides we know the *Pagans* gave both Sexes to their Gods.

The Night. As in the History of the Sun, I took Notice transiently of *Aurora* who ushers in that Luminary, so I shall here speak of the Night whom the Ancients reckoned a Divinity. *Hesiod* tells us she was the

(1) In his Greece.

the Daughter of *Chaos*, and according to Mythologists, she was the most ancient of Divinities. And indeed it is so far true that Darkness preceded the Light; and in this Manner we may conceive of this chimerical Divinity, and understand the Author of a Hymn which is ascribed to *Orpheus*, where the Night is termed the Mother of Gods and Men. *Theocritus* represents her running in a Chariot preceded by the Stars of the Firmament. Others give her Wings, like *Cupid*, *Victory*, &c. But *Euripides* (1), has described her better, by representing her in her Chariot accompany'd with Stars, and muffled up in a large black Veil. This Portraiture agrees well enough with a Draught, that is in a Manuscript of the Kings Library, which *Montfaucon* has publish'd in his *Paleography*, where this Goddess appears clad in black, with a Veil bespangled with Stars fluttering about her Head, having her Torch turned downward, as if she was going to extinguish it. The Ancients give the Night several Children, all Metaphorical Personages; Grief, Terror, Love, Envy, Old-age, &c. the worthy Offspring of this Goddess and of *Erebus* her Father.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Muses.

AS *Apollo* was the Conductor of the Muses, whence he got the Name of *Musagetes*, 'tis proper to say something at Present of these Goddesses. Nothing is better known in the Poets than the Muses, whom they are every Moment invoking; and yet nothing is more obscure than what Mythology delivers about them. For in short, the Ancients vary both as to their Original, their Number, their Attributes, and their Names.

Hesiod,

(1) In the Tragedy intituled *Io*.

Hesiod, who has employed the first hundred and seventeen Verses of his *Theogony*, in invoking the Muses, and in celebrating their Memory, says they were nine in Number, the Daughters of *Jupiter* and *Mnemosyne*. He calls them *Heliconiades*, because they resided on Mount *Helicon*, and *Pierides* because they were born in *Pieria*. This Poet, who gives them the Names that I am to explain by and by, says when they were in *Olympus*, they sung the Wonders of the Gods, especially of *Jupiter* their Father ; that they knew the past, the present, and the future, and that nothing so much gladdened the Courts of Heaven, as their Voices and melodious Consorts. Lastly, he adds that it was they had taught him Poetry, and inspired him with all he was going to deliver in his *Theogony*.

Cicero (1) first enumerates four of them, *Thelxiope*, *Aædé*, *Arché*, *Meleté*, Daughters of the second *Jupiter* : after them nine, whose Father was the third *Jupiter*, and their Mother *Mnemosyne*. Then other nine, who have the same Names with the Former, but are the Offspring of *Piérus* and *Antiope* ; these last the Poets are wont to call *Pierides* and *Pierian*.

Varro allowed only three of them ; the Muses, says he, denote Harmony : Now Harmony being performed only three Ways, either by the Voice, or by wind Instruments, or lastly by those which we strike with the Hand, there ought consequently to be but three Muses. Others of the Ancients believed there were nine of them. One makes them the Daughters of *Pierus*, another says *Jupiter* was their Father. *Museus* contends they were the Daughters of *Cælus* ; several others give them *Terra* for their Mother. *S. Augustine* relates from *Varro*, that in a City which is thought to be *Sicyon*, three able Artists had been employed to make three Statues of the Muses, with a Design to consecrate the finest of them ; but that they were found to be all so exquisitely

(1) De Nat. Deor.

sitely wrought, that the whole nine were kept and consecrated in the Temple of *Apollo*.

Pausanias (1) has transmitted to us the Names of the three Statuaries, mentioned by *Varro*, and he calls them *Chephisidotus*, *Strongyliones*, and *Olympheosthenes*.

Diodorus Siculus (2) gives the Muses a more ancient Original. If we may credit that Author, these Goddeffes so famous among the *Greeks*, were fine Singers whom *Osiris* carry'd about with him in his Conquests, and to whom he had given *Apollo* one of his Generals to be their Director: This perhaps is the Reason of giving that God the Name of *Musagetes*, or *Conductor of the Muses*, as well as to *Hercules*, who had been also one of *Osiris's* Generals. *M. le Clerc* (3) takes the Fable of the Muses to have come from the Consorts which *Jupiter* had instituted in *Crete*. According to him, they were composed of nine Virgins who formed his royal Academy of Musick. He adds, as a Reason why that God pass'd for the Father of the Muses, that he was the first among the *Greeks*, who, in Imitation of *Jubal* had a regular Consort; and that these singing Virgins, had *Mnemosyne* or *Memory* given them for their Mother, because 'tis she who furnishes the Subject of Verses and Poems.

There is no less Variety about the Names of the Muses than their Original; *Diodorus* says it comes from *Misin*, which signifies *to teach Things Sublime*. *M. le Clerc* derives the Name from *Motfa*, *to invent*; *Huetius* will have it to come from the Name of *Moses*. Other Etymologies given of it by *Plato* and *Suidas*, deriving the Word from what signifies *Inquiry*, come pretty near to those now quoted. But as the Muses were famous, and very much honoured in the Country of *Macedonia*, which was anciently called *Pieria*, long before their Worship was known upon Mount *Helicon* and *Parnassus*, 'tis very probable

(1) In Beot.

(2) L. 4.

(3) Notes upon *Hesiod*.

probable that this is the Country whence they derived their Original. This Sentiment is conformable to what we read in *Newton's* Chronological Abridgment. *Osiris*, says this illustrious Author, had matched one of the singing Women, who followed him in his Expeditions, with *Oeagrius* King of *Thrace*, and of this Marriage was born *Orpheus*. The Musick Women, says he, of this Conqueror became famous in *Thrace*, under the Name of Muses, and the Daughter of *Pierus*, a *Thracian* by Birth, having learned their Musick, and imitated their Consorts, took the Name of these Goddeses. This is what made the Daughters of this *Pierus* be called the Muses.

As ancient Authors and Monuments, frequently confound the Names of the nine Muses, and the Symbols that represent them, 'tis proper here to give the most common Manner of naming and characterising them. *Clio*, the first of the Muses, who derives her Name from *Glory* or *Renown*, holds a Lute in one Hand, and in the other a *Plectrum* or *Quill*; she is believed to be the Inventress of the Lute.

Euterpe, so called because she imparts Joy, has a Mask in her left Hand, and a Club in her Right. She had invented Tragedy, which is intimated by her Mask. Her double Face, which we find on one Medal, is no where else to be observed: She holds *Hercules's* Club, perhaps because Tragedy represents Heroes, among whom *Hercules* is the most illustrious: Others will have it that the Club marks *Tbalia*, for the Reason which we shall give below: They are likewise of Opinion that *Tbalia* is she who has the double Head. *Spon*, who has publish'd a fine Marble representing the Muses, has sometimes confounded them.

Tbalia or the flourishing Maid, who invented Comedy, holds also a Mask in her Right Hand, the Medals represent her leaning against a Pillar.

Melpomene,

Melpomene, or the *Charming Fair*, is distinguish'd by the *Barbiton*: As *Terpsichore*, that is, the *Jovial*, is by the Flutes which she holds, as well on Medals as in other Monuments.

Erato, or the *Lovely*, is not easy to be distinguish'd.

Polyhymnia, so called from *multiplicity of Songs*, and not from faithfulness of Memory, as some Authors have alledged, is to be seen on some Medals. She is drawn with a Lyre, as the Inventress of Harmony; this is the *Barbiton* which *Horace* gives her.

Urania, or *Cælestis*, is the Inventress of Astronomy, and holds a Globe in her Hand: In Medals this Globe stands upon a *Tripod*.

Calliope, so called from the Sweetness of her Voice, holds a Volume, as Inventress of the heroick Poem.

Apollo has always been looked upon by the Poets as the Patron and Conductor of the Muses; and nothing is finer than their Descriptions of the Consorts of *Parnassus* over which that God presided, and where they sung in Strains that charmed both Gods and Men. But they are not content with giving them *Apollo* for their Conductor. *Hercules* too had the same Title, and hence the Name given him of *Musagetes*, as shall be said in his History.

Vossius was at a Loss to imagine for what Reason the Ancients believed the Muses to be warlike Goddesses: But since they were consecrated to *Apollo* and *Bacchus*, who, according to *Diodorus*, had passed their Lives in making War, why not consider the Women who accompany'd them in their Conquests as Warlike? Besides the Muses were often confounded with the *Bacchanals*, and we are assured by *Plutarch* (1), that Sacrifices used to be offered to them in *Greece* before giving Battle.

The Fable of the Muses being invited to *Pyreneus's* Court, and of his offering Violence to them so that they were obliged to ask Wings from the Gods to save themselves, is, according to *Plutarch*, an Allegory informing us that this Tyrant, who reigned in *Phocis*, had no Love to the *Belles Lettres*: As he had demolished the Colleges and Academies where Literature had been taught, it was said, in order to render him odious, that he attempted to violate the Muses; that the Gods, to secure them from him, had given them Wings, and that he had lost his Life in pursuing them. *Ovid* is the only one I know, who has mentioned this Tyrant, known only by so dishonourable an Adventure. 'Tis doubtless upon this Authority that Antiquity relies, for giving the Muses Wings, as we see them represented in a Monument quoted by *Montfaucon*.

The Challenge given by the *Pierides* to the Muses, to sing better than they, is another Adventure I find in no Poet ancients than *Ovid*. 'Tis said by Way of Explication of it, that *Pierus* was a very bad Poet, whose Works were full of Anecdotes not much to the Honour of the Gods. *Plutarch* too informs us (1) that he had composed one reflecting on the Honour of the Muses. This then is the original of the Contest which *Ovid* describes. His Daughters, that is, his Works were transformed into Magpies, because they were stuff'd with a Kind of empty Prattle equally impertinent and distasteful.

Tho' I am unwilling to enter into a long Detail on this Article of the Muses, which *Lyllo Gyraldi* (2) has treated at great length, and of whom you may see all the Figures in the first Volume of *Montfaucon's* Antiquities, yet I must not here omit to take notice at least of some of the different Epithets

(1) In his Book of Musick.

(2) *Synt. de Musis*.

thets that were given to these Goddesses, and of the Motives for giving them.

That of *Camænæ*, according to *Festus*, *Macrobius* and *Servius*, comes from the Word *Cano*, because their principal work was to celebrate the Actions of the Gods and Heroes. They were called *Heliconiades*, from a Mountain in *Beotia* named *Helicon*, which *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, the Sons of *Aloeus*, consecrated to the Muses, and not from a Hill of the same Name adjoining to Mount *Parnassus* as most Grammarians have thought. Some Authors however are of Opinion that this Name came neither from one nor other of those Mountains, but from a musical Instrument, also called *Helicon*, whereof *Ptolemy* makes mention.

The Name of *Parnassides*, given them likewise by the Poets, comes from Mount *Parnassus* in *Phocis*, which they were said commonly to frequent: That of *Aonides*, is derived from the Mountains in *Beotia* called the *Aonian* Mountains, whence the Province itself was often called *Aonia*. From *Thespia* a Town in *Beotia*, they were denominated *Thespeades*: And *Castalides*, from the Name of the Fountain of *Castalia* which was at the Foot of Mount *Parnassus*.

Tho' the Muses received divine Honours, and their Worship was celebrated in most places of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, where Sacrifices were offered to them, yet no Body has so highly adored them as the Poets, who, in Imitation of *Hesiod*, *Homer* and *Virgil*, seldom fail to invoke them at the Beginning of their Poems, as Goddesses capable of inspiring them with that Enthusiasm which is so essential to their Art.

They were named *Citheriades*, from Mount *Citheron*; *Pierides* or *Pieriæ*, from Mount *Pierus*, according to *Festus*, or according to *Stephanus*, from the Name of a City, or from that Part of *Mace-*

donia called *Pieria*; the Names of *Pegafides*, and *Hippocrenæ*, were given them from the Fountain which *Pegasus* made to spring out of the Earth with a Blow of his Foot: 'Tis also from the Name of the same Fountain that they are frequently called *Aganippides*, because that Fountain was equally called *Aganippe* and *Hippocrene*.

C H A P. XVII.

The History of Bacchus.

THE *Greeks*, who would needs have all the Gods and Heroes to be born in their own Country, did not fail to reckon *Bacchus* of that Number; and to give a greater Air of the marvellous to his History, they added to it several Fables according to their usual Way.

Euripides (1), *Orpheus*, *Ovid* and several others, tell us that *Jupiter* being in Love with *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, *Juno* fired with Jealousy, assumed the Figure of *Beroe* her Rival's Nurse, to try if she could artfully infuse into her Distrust and Suspicion of her Gallant; insinuating to her that if he was actually *Jupiter*, as he pretended to be, he would not disguise himself as he did under the Figure of a Mortal; that it must undoubtedly be some other Gallant who borrowed so august a Name, only to betray her, and that it was of Importance for her to be undeceived: That the Way to bring it about, was to desire him to appear before her with the same Majesty wherein he used to visit *Juno*; and that if he was really the Father of the Gods, he would not refuse her that mark of Affection, which would be a satisfying Discovery, and without it she could not be at Rest. *Semele* having followed

(1) In *Bacchis*.

followed the Counsel of the fictitious *Beroë*; and *Jupiter* having come to her with his Thunder, and all the Splendour of his Majesty, set the Palace on Fire, and *Semele* perish'd in the Flames. As she was at that Time seven Months gone with child, the God was obliged to take out of her Womb the Infant *Bacchus*, and bear him in his own Thigh the two Months of the Term that remained; as the Story is told by *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses* (*a*); The Poet *Manilius* says the same (*b*); or if we may credit *Hyginus* (1) and *Lucian*, *Mercury* took him out of the Flames, and carry'd him to *Nysus*, who brought him up in the Caves of Mount *Nysa* in *Arabia*. *Pausanias* tells us that at *Brention*, a City of *Laconia*, there was another Tradition about the Death of *Semele*.

It would seem that the Ancients had formed a Design to throw a Veil of Obscurity over the true History of this Prince's Birth and Education; for if we may believe *Ovid*, *Ino* his Aunt was his first Nurse (*c*): But the same Poet, not very consistent in his Narrations, says elsewhere this God was nursed by the *Hyades* (*d*): *Demarchus* again in the Poet *Nonnus*, asserts that the Hours were his Nurses. *Pausanias* alledges that it was a received Tradition among the People of *Patras* in *Achaia*, that *Bacchus* had been educated in the City of *Mesatis*, and that *Pan* and the *Satyrs* had laid Ambuscades for him, which

F f 3 he

(*a*) Inferitur femori, maternaque tempora complet. Met. l. 3.

(*b*) Atque iterum patrio nascentem corpore Bacchum.

(1) Fab. 179.

(*c*) Furtim illum primis Ino Matertera curis
Educat, inde datum Nymphæ Nyseides Antris
Occuluere suis, Lactisque alimenta dedere.

Ov. Loc. cit.

(*d*) Ora micans Tauri septem radiantia flammis,
Navita quas Hyadas Graius ab imbre vocat,
Pars Bacchum nutritisse putat, &c.

Id. Fast. l. 5.

he had with difficulty escaped. *Apollonius* says *Mercury*, by *Jupiter's* Order, carry'd young *Bacchus* into the Island of *Eubœa*, and delivered him to the Care of *Macris* the Daughter of *Aristæus*, and that *Juno* moved with Jealousy that the Son of her Rival should be educated in an Island consecrated to her, had banish'd his young Nurse, who having retired into the Country of the *Pheacians*, brought him up secretly in a Cave.

Other Authors assure us that he was educated in the Island of *Naxos*, and several assert after *Lucian*, that it was in *Arabia*. Did these grave Authors take a Pleasure in finding out so many Nurses for a God, who was to be immortal? or rather in their fond Desire to have it believed that all the Gods were Natives of *Greece*, were they so blind as not to perceive the Ridicule of their own extravagant Fictions?

Be that as it will, several ancient Authors, better informed than those now quoted, among whom is *Herodotus* (1), *Plutarch* (2) and *Diodorus* (3), say with more Probability, that *Bacchus* was born in *Egypt*, that he was educated at *Nysa*, a Town in *Arabia felix*, whither his Father *Ammon* had sent him; and in a Word that he is the same with the famous *Osiris* who conquered the *Indies*. And certainly say these Authors, 'tis evident that what the Ancients report of *Bacchus*, can agree to none but that ancient King of *Egypt*: For, not to mention here his other Adventures, the Aid which he gave to *Jupiter* in the famous War with the Giants, which was many Ages before the Birth of *Cadmus* and *Semele*, what Relation can this have to the *Theban* Prince whom the *Greeks* give out to be the true *Bacchus*? And yet it is true, according to the

(1) L. 2.

(3) L. 3.

(2) Of *Isis* and *Osiris*.

the poetical Tradition, that *Bacchus* cloathed with the Skin of a Lyon or Tyger, gave vigorous Assistance to the Father of the Gods, and that the Giants tore him in pieces, a Circumstance which refers to the fatal Death of *Osiris*, slain by the Giant *Typhon* his Brother, as has been said in its proper Place.

Diodorus adds (1) that what may have misled the *Greeks* is, that the Worship of this ancient *Egyptian* Divinity was propagated to *Greece*, and had been introduced thither by *Orpheus*, who by adding to it several Ceremonies of his own, endeavoured so to disguise it, as not to be known, having a Design, in Honour to the Family of the *Cadmeans*, by whom he had been very kindly entertained, to accommodate the Fable and Ceremonies of that *Egyptian* Divinity, but little known in *Greece* to some Prince of the Family of *Cadmus*.

This Truth cannot be called in question, being confirmed by these two Particulars; the one is, that the Worship of *Bacchus* bears too great a Resemblance to that of *Osiris*, except in a few Ceremonies, not to be believed to be the same; the other, that it is impossible to comprehend how the Opposition which *Cadmus* made to the Establishment of the Worship of *Bacchus*, and which *Ovid* so fully describes, can relate to his Grandson. Would ever that Prince, who was but newly settled in *Greece*, where he should have endeavoured by all means to make himself popular, have set himself in Opposition to a Worship which did so much Honour to his own Family? Would he, from a false Delicacy, have risked the Loss of his Kingdom, and passing for Atheistical, by hindering one of his own Children from being rank'd among the Gods? And yet it cost him no less

F f 4

than

(4) Loc. cit.

than his Crown, as also his Son *Polydorus*, and his Grandson *Pentheus* his Life, he having been torn in Pieces on Mount *Citheron* by the *Bacchanals*, who in their Fury took him for a Lion, as we are told by the Poet *Nonnus* (1), by *Philostatus* (2), *Euripides* (3), and *Ovid* (4).

But it may be objected that *Cadmus* and *Pentheus* suffered, not for having opposed the Worship of *Bacchus*, but the infamous Ceremonies that had crept into the Festivals which *Orpheus* had establish'd. I answer, it may be so ; but hence it follows not that this Worship related to the Son of *Semele*. Is it credible that a Grandfather in his own Life-time would see his Grandson deify'd, and his Worship establish'd in a whole Country ? There is in this no Probability, and therefore we ought to be told in plain Terms, that the Worship of *Bacchus* having been propagated from *Egypt* to *Greece*, *Cadmus* strongly remonstrated against the Abuses that began to be made of it, which occasioned his being expelled his Kingdom ; and that the Son of *Semele* was not deify'd till many Years after. After this manner reason those, who, after having studied Antiquity, generally find in other Countries than *Greece* the Origin of their Gods, whose Worship was introduced thither with the Eastern Colonies.

To give each of these Opinions the Degree of Probability that belongs to it, we must have recourse to what has been before observed as to the Plurality of Persons who bore the same Name, and distinguish several *Bacchus's*. *Diodorus Siculus* owns three of them ; the *Indian*, or rather the *Egyptian*, who made a Conquest of the *Indies*, surnamed the bearded *Bacchus* ; he who was said to be the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proserpine*, or *Ceres*,
who

(1) *Dionys.* L. 6.

(2) In *Bacchis*.

(3) In *Pentheo*.

(4) *Met.* L. 3.

who was represented with Horns, either because he had taught to cultivate the Ground, or because Horns were the ancient drinking Vessels, (for this Hero was the God of Wine) or in fine, to denote the Rays of the Sun, whose Symbol he was; the third and last was *Bacchus* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Semele*, and he it is who was commonly called the *Bacchus* of *Thebes*.

Cicero says there were five of them; the first, according to that Author, was the Son of *Proserpine*; the second had *Nilus* for his Father, and it was he who built the City *Nysa*; the third was the Son of *Caprius*, and it was he who reigned in the *Indies*, and was surnamed *Sabazius*, a Name that was given to the Festivals that were instituted to his Honour. The fourth was the Son of *Jupiter* and of the Moon, or *Diana*, and it was to him the *Orphica* were dedicated; the fifth, in fine, was the Son of *Thyone* and *Nisus*, and he it was that instituted the Festivals that were celebrated to him every Year (a).

This Variety of Opinions has thrown our Moderns into another Extreme; they would needs have recourse to Scripture for the Original of this Divinity, and make the fabulous Hero a Copy of those in the Bible.

Vossius has been at great Pains to prove (1) that *Bacchus* is *Moses*; and the chief Heads of the Parallel which he draws between them are these: *Moses* was born in *Egypt*, and so was *Bacchus*; the first was exposed upon the *Nile*, the Poets say the same of the second; and both of them derived their

(a) Multos Dionysios habemus; primum Jove & Proserpina natum; secundum Nilo, qui Nysam dicitur condidisse; tertium Caprio patre, eumque Asiae regem praefuisse dicunt, cujus Sabazia sunt instituta; quartum Jove & Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici; quintum Nyso natum, & Thyone, a quo trieterides constitutae putantur. Cic. L. 3. de Nat. Deor.

(1) Treatise of Idolatry.

their Name from their having been preserved from perishing by Water ; for *Orpheus* calls *Bacchus*, *Myfas*. The latter was educated in a Mountain in *Arabia* called *Nysa* ; it was in the same Country that *Moses* spent forty Years. The Poet *Nonnus* speaks of the Flight of *Bacchus* towards the Waters of the Red Sea ; nothing can agree more exactly to *Moses*. The Army of that God, according to *Diodorus*, consisting of Men and Women, traversed *Arabia* in their way to the *Indies* ; that of the Legislator, full of Women and Children, pass'd the Desert in their Way to *Palestine*, which was in *Asia*. The Horns given to the fabulous God, what are they but an Allusion to the Rays of Light, which had the same Effect upon *Moses's* Head as two Horns ? Is not Mount *Nysa* the same with *Syna*, by the Transposition only of a single Letter ?

Father *Thomassin* adds (1) new Arguments to support *Vossius's* Parallel : *Bacchus*, armed with his *Thyrsis*, defeats the Giants, according to *Nonnus* ; and is not *Moses* obliged to combat with the Sons of *Anak*, the Remainder of the Giants ? and his Rod is the Instrument of his Miracles. The Legislator crosses the Red Sea ; and *Nonnus* relates the same Miracle of a Nymph of *Bacchus*. *Jupiter* sends *Isis* to *Bacchus* to order him to go and destroy an impious Nation in the *Indies* ; and God orders *Moses* to go into *Palestine* to abolish the Abominations of an idolatrous People. *Caleb*, whose Name comes near that which signifies a Dog, was *Moses's* faithful Companion ; the Poets tell us that *Pan* gave *Bacchus* a Dog to accompany him in his Expeditions. *Moses* and *Joshua* stop the Course of the Sun ; *Nonnus* says the same of *Bacchus* in so many Words. The Legislator, in short, makes
Streams

(1) Tom. 2. L. 1. c. 5. Lect. des Poetes.

Streams of Water gush out of a Rock ; the Conqueror, by striking the Earth with his *Thyrsis*, brings forth from it Torrents of Wine.

Huetius (1) is of the same Opinion, and likewise runs the Parallel between *Moses* and *Bacchus* : The learned *Bochart* (2) on the contrary, and after him *M. le Clerc*, who never departs from his Opinions, take *Bacchus* to be the same with *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, whence he got the Name of *Barchus* ; and both these Authors find a great deal of Resemblance between that first Conqueror and the fabulous Hero (3). *Bochart* shews that all the Names of *Bacchus* are derived from the *Assyrian* Language, which the *Greeks* adjusted to their own. Thus, according to that Author, the Worship of *Bacchus* began in *Assyria*, whence it pass'd into *Phenicia* and *Egypt*, and from thence into *Greece* by means of *Cadmus* and *Melampus*. This Parallel tho' striking has not however gain'd universal Approbation, and there are learned Men again who contend that *Bacchus* is the same with *Noah*, since the Invention of the Vine, which is attributed to the *Greek*, agrees solely to the Patriarch, as we learn from Scripture (4); and those add with Reason, that he is the first and most ancient *Bacchus*, and he who was the first Model of all the rest.

I grant there are some pretty similar Strokes between the Character of *Moses*, and that of *Bacchus* ; and as the Legislator of the *Hebrews* made himself very famous in *Egypt*, it may very possibly have happened that they borrowed some of those Strokes to embellish the History of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius* ; that is to say of *Osiris*, who is the true *Bacchus*. The Worship of this Divinity was introduced

(1) *Dem. Evang.* p. 4.

(2) *Chan. L.* 1. c. 18.

(3) *Comp. Hist. Univer.*

(4) *Gen.* 4.

roduced into *Greece* by *Cadmus's* Colony ; and *Semele* his Daughter having had a Son who was called, or at least surnamed *Bacchus*, who performed some Conquests and Actions resembling those of the ancient one, hence they came in after-times to be confounded together ; and in Honour to the Family of *Cadmus*, his Grandson was taken into the Number of the Gods ; he had all the Worship paid to him that had been long before established among them in Honour of the ancient *Bacchus*, and they filled up his History with the Adventures of *Osiris* and other *Bacchus's*.

We have said enough at the End of the first Volume concerning the true *Bacchus*, namely *Osiris*, we must now relate the History of him who was his Copy ; that is, of the Prince of the Family of *Cadmus*, who usurped those divine Honours that had been paid long before his Time to the Prince whose Name he bore.

First of all, 'tis obvious that what gave rise to the Fable of his Birth, is, that *Semele* having had some Intrigue, it was thought fit for saving her Honour, to charge it upon *Jupiter*. Some Authors (1) say that *Cadmus*, offended at his Daughter, exposed her upon the Sea with her Son, that they were thrown a-shoar upon the Borders of *Orcates*, an ancient City of *Laconia*, where *Semele* was found dead in a kind of Coffin, where she had been shut up, and they interred her with a great deal of Magnificence. According to others, she was Thunder-struck, which, together with the Report that had been spread of her Intrigue with *Jupiter*, gave a Handle to the Fable which the *Greeks* recite to us. *Diodorus Siculus* adds, that this Princess was delivered of a Son in the seventh Month ; and as Children born in that Age were not thought capable to live, *Cadmus* gave out that *Jupiter*, who
was

(1) Pausan.

was the Father, had lodged him in his Thigh for two Months (*a*) ; but asking *Diodorus's* Pardon, 'tis an equivocal Word that gave rise to this Fable, and it relates to the ancient *Bacchus* ; the same Greek Word *μηρός* signifies equally the Thigh, and a Mountain, *Latus Montis* ; thus instead of saying that *Bacchus* had been nursed upon Mount *Nysa*, his Father *Ammon* having sent him to some Peasants to screen him from the Jealousy of his Wife (*b*), they added this Circumstance to the *Greek*, who was a Copy of the other, and said he had been carried in *Jupiter's* Thigh : When two Meanings came in Competition, the *Greeks* always preferred the marvellous. *Bochart*, who has strain'd hard to find in the *Phenician*, or *Hebrew* Language a Key to all the Fables, alledges this to have taken its rise from that Phrase so frequent in Scripture, *natus ex femore*.

The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors say, the *Theban Bacchus* travelled into the *Indies* with an Army composed of Men and Women, but we have shewed in the first Volume, that this Expedition respected the ancient *Bacchus* or *Osiris*. For in fact the Grandson of *Cadmus* never left *Greece*, and he became more famous by the Usurpation of the Worship of the ancient *Osiris*, than by those pretended Conquests, which are mentioned by no ancient Historian before *Megasthenes*, who was the first that trumped up this Fable to flatter *Alexander* who took that Heroe for his Model, as *Quintus Curtius* often remarks. Further, it was the Custom of the *Oriental*s, and not of the *Greeks*, to carry Women in their Armies ; and this Circumstance refers to

Osiris

(*a*) From this Circumstance they took Occasion to represent *Jupiter* in Child-bed, attended by those Goddesses who assisted at Child-bearing, as you have it in *Pliny*, L. 35.

(*b*) Which made it be said that he had been nursed by Nymphs in the Cave which *Homer* speaks of.

Osiris particularly rather than to any other Prince, since, as *Diodorus* remarks, he carry'd about a great Number of musick Women, and a Kind of ambulatory Seraglio ; but we have no Proof that the *Greek Bacchus* ever carry'd his Armies into *Asia*.

As *Bacchus* had won the Affections of the People among whom he travelled ; having made it his Business to improve their Minds, and taught them the Art of planting the Vine, so he was honoured as a God even in his Life-time. One *Eleutherus* according to *Hyginus* (1), was the first who erected a Statue to him, and who taught in what Manner he was to be worship'd. All the Nations of *India* among whom he travelled, decreed divine Honours to him ; and none but the barbarous *Scythians* refused to worship a God, who had found out the Use of a Drink which frequently levelled Men with the Beasts.

Greece afterwards refined upon the Ceremonies of the *Indians* and *Egyptians*, and claim'd *Bacchus* as one of her greatest Divinities. She instituted to the Honour of her Heroe those tumultuous Feasts, where the Bacchanals, to celebrate the Memory of his Conquests, run up and down with their Hair desheveled, making the Air resound with the Noise of their Tabrets, and crying *Evobe Bacche*. The Chief of these Festivals was that which they celebrated every third Year (a), to intimate that he had employed all that Time in the Conquest of the *Indies*. I shall not undertake to give any fuller Description of them ; it suffices to observe that several Obscenities were intermixed with them ; there they carry'd about a *Phallus*, in Imitation of that which *Isis* had consecrated to *Osiris* ; tho' the
Greek

(1) Fab. 225.

(a) Named *Trietelia*. See *Dicdor.* L. 4.

Greek Authors, who would needs prove upon all Occasions that the Gods and their Worship had taken rise in their Country, have invented another Reason of the Institution of this Ceremony, namely, that when the People of *Attica* would not embrace the Worship of *Bacchus*, this God had afflicted them with a scandalous Disease, and that in order to appease him they were obliged to consecrate the Representation of those Parts upon which the Vengeance of the God had fallen.

'Tis proper to explain here in a few Words the different Names that are given to this Divinity. First, 'tis very probable that the Name of *Bacchus* was given him upon Account of the Lamentations and Howlings of the *Bacchanals*. *Hesychius* expressly says so (a). He was called *Bimater*, to denote that he had in a Manner two Mothers. *Dionysius*, in Allusion to the God who was his Father, and to Mount *Nysa* where he was educated (b). *Liber*, because Wine enlarges and exhilarates the Heart. *Bromius*, from the Noise of the *Bacchanals* (c). *Liceus*, because he drives away Care. *Evan*, from the Ivy that was consecrated to him. *Læneus*, or *Torcularius*, because he invented the Use of the Wine-press; and 'tis for the same Reason that he was termed *Sabassius*, as may be seen in *Bochart* (1).

Biformis, because he was sometimes represented like an Infant, sometimes like a bearded Man. *Triambes*, because he had triumph'd three times. *Euge Fili*, because having transformed himself into a Lion to defend his Father against the Giants, that God had animated

(a) Βακχὸν κλαυθρὸν ποίνετες, as also *Eustathius* who derives the Word ὑπὸ τῷ Βαχεῖν, Ululare, incondite clamare.

(b) As you would say Δίος καὶ νύστα.

(c) This Word signifies *roaring*.

(1) Chan. L. 1.

animated him by these Words : *Euge Fili, Evobe Bacche, well done my Son Bacchus* :

That of *Thyonæus* is given him by *Horace*, because according to *Diodorus* and *Hesychius*, there was one *Bacchus* the Son of *Thyone*, as we have said but a little ago ; tho' some Authors, quoted by *Lyllo Gyraldi* (1) give other Reasons for it.

That of *Ditbyrambus*, if we may credit *Diodorus*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* comes from the Fable which imports that when the Giants had cut *Bacchus* in Pieces, his Mother *Ceres* collected his dissipated Members, and restored him to Life.

He takes the Name of *Meliastes*, from a Fountain of this Name, near which the Orgies were celebrated. That of *Psilas* was given him, if we may believe *Pausanias* (2), by the *Amycleans*, from the Word *Pfila*, which, in the *Dorick* Dialect, signifies the Tip of the Wing of a Fowl, to intimate that Man is carried away and born up by Wine, just as a Bird in the Air upon its Wings ; and this Denomination is extremely ingenious. That of *Bicorniger*, from the Horns which he sometimes wears, the Symbols of the Beams of the Sun which this God represented. That of *Corymbifer*, in Allusion to the Ivy Branches, named *Corymbi*, wherewith his Crown was sometimes garnish'd.

The same God had several other Names, derived either from the Places where he was worship'd, or from some Ceremonies of his Worship. *Ovid* has drawn together some of them in his *Metamorphoses* (a).

Several

(1) Synt. 8.

(2) In Lacon. c. 19.

(a) Thuraque dant, Bacchumque vocant, Bromiumque, Liæumque, Ignigenamque, Satumque iterum, Solumque Bimatrem.

Additur his Nyseus, Indetonfusque Thyoneus ;

Et cum Læneo genialis Confitor uvæ,

Nycteliusque, Eleleusque parens, & Iacchus & Evan,

Et quæ præterea per Graias plurima gentes

Nomina Liber habet.

Met. L. 4.

Several Names were also given the Women who celebrated his Festivals ; they were called *Bacchantes*, from the Howlings and Noise which they made : *Mimallonides*, because they prattled with an unbounded freedom, and *Thyades*, because heated with Wine they roam'd about like mad (1).

The whole of *Bacchus's* Army, both Men and Women, were armed with Thyrsus's. The Thyrsus, was a small Arrow wrap'd about with Vine and Ivy-branches, which covered its Point. The Poets attributed to it surprizing Virtues. A *Bacchanal*, as *Euripides* has it, having struck the Ground with what he carried, there sprung up forthwith a Fountain of living Water, and another, says the same Author, made a Spring of Wine bubble up in the same Manner.

The *Greeks* added other Fables to the History of *Bacchus*, which 'tis necessary to explain. When *Diodorus Siculus* (2), and *Plutarch* (3), say *Bacchus* went down to Hell from thence to fetch back his Mother, 'tis probable they designed by it some piece of Necromancy which *Bacchus* performed in calling up *Semele's* Ghost, or rather they meant his Deification of her, having, as we may say, translated her from Hell to place her in Heaven, where she was taken into the Number of the Goddesses under the Name of *Thyoné*. *Pausanias* says *Bacchus* went down to Hell near the *Alcionian* Lake, which is in the Neighbourhood of *Lerna*, that one *Polymnus* had pointed out the Way to him ; because in all Probability *Bacchus* had employed him in performing the Evocation, or the Apotheosis of his Mother (4).

VOL. II.

G g & H h

Other

(1) See *Bochart*. Cha. l. 1. c. 18.

(2) L. 4.

(3) De Serz Num. Vindicta.

(4) The Ancients intermix this Fable with such ugly Circumstances as I am obliged in Modesty to suppress.

Other Authors add with *Ovid*, that *Bacchus* transform'd into Dolphins the Mariners who had attempted to carry her off (1); and this Fable has no other Foundation but the Adventure which befel some *Phenician* Merchants, who as they were carrying Wine into *Italy* were shipwrack'd, or rather if we may credit *Bochart*, because these Merchants who were *Tyrians*, had upon their Ship the Figure of a Sea-fish, *Tursis*, a *Sea-hog* (a) whose Name resembled theirs; which gave a Handle to say that they had been transform'd into *Dolphins*: On which 'tis proper to remark that the Poets drew together into the History of one and the same Person, Events that happened at very distant Periods of Time.

The Poet whom I have now named, says also that *Bacchus* transform'd the *Mineides* into Bats, for having wrought on the Day of his Festival (b). The Meaning probably is that some young *Theban* Ladies of Note having shewed their Contempt of the Worship of *Bacchus*, a strict Search was made for them, and when they could not be found, or rather when the Priests had made secretly away with them, it was given out that *Bacchus* had transform'd them into those Birds that are so careful to hide themselves. These pretended Punishments of *Pentheus*, the Mariners, *Mineides* and *Lycurgus*, made *Bacchus* pass for a very revengeful Divinity, and the Priests did not fail to improve these Stories to make his Worship more venerable.

The Fable of this *Lycurgus* is thus related in *Homer*.

Not

(1) *Ov. Met.* l. 4. & *Philostr.*

(a) The Sea-hog and the Dolphin have a great Resemblance to one another.

(b) — — — — Mineia proles

Urget opus, spernitque Deum, festumque profanat.

Ovid. Met. L. 3.

Not long *Lycurgus* view'd the golden Light,
That daring Man who mix'd with Gods in fight;
Bacchus, and *Bacchus'* Votaries, he drove
With brandish'd Steel from *Nyssa's* sacred Grove,
Their consecrated Spears lay scatter'd round,
With curling Vines and twisted Ivy bound;
While *Bacchus* headlong fought the briny Flood,
And *Thetis'* Arms receiv'd the trembling God.
Nor fail'd the Crime th' immortals Wrath to move,
(Th' immortals blest with endless Ease above)
Depriv'd of Sight by their avenging Doom,
Chearless he breath'd, and wander'd in the Gloom:
Then sunk unpity'd to the dire Abodes,
A Wretch accurst, and hated by the Gods!

Pope's Iliad. 6. 161.

The Explication which Father *Hardouin* gives of this Fable in his Apology for *Homer* (1), to me appeared ingenious. *Lycurgus*, says he, is a Prince who forbids the Use of Wine to his Subjects. He is called a *Lycurgus* who does Wolf-like Actions, *λύκε ἔργα*, who ravages the Country, and makes such Havock as the Wolves. He was the Son of *Dryas*; that is to say, he was pitiless, had a Heart as hard as an Oak, which the *Greeks* call *δρῦς*. The Nurses of *Bacchus*, who is a celestial God, say they, because Wine is the Product of a Heaven, or of a temperate Climate; these Nurses, or these Vineyards, forthwith threw down their *Thyrus's*, that is the Vine-sets or Stocks, that were rooted up. As it was also to be feared, that he would destroy the Wine in the Cellars, this was offered to *Tethys*; that is, it was sold to the Sea-Officers who gave it a very kindly Reception. *Jupiter, or Destiny, struck him blind after this*; that is to say, it happened in Fact that *Lycurgus* died

G g 2

at

at Length, and at Death we loss *Sight* and *Life*. He was hated by the Gods; that is, he had not any one good Quality.

Plutarch relating this Fable has not been at the Pains to refine so much upon it. This Author informs us only that *Lycurgus* having attempted to pluck up the Vines that were in *Thrace*, where he reigned, and having put his own Hand to the Work, cut off his two Limbs, which was look'd upon as the Effect of the Vengeance of the Gods.

I forgot to take Notice that the *Panther* was consecrated to *Bacchus*, either because that Animal is very hot, which agrees to Wine; or because *Bacchus* being the *Osiris* of the *Egyptians*, who was the Symbol of the Sun, the Panther by his Spots figured the Stars, as some Authors are of Opinion (1); or rather because the Skin of this Animal was worn by that Heroe, according to the Usage of those early Times.

He was represented sometimes as a young Man, to denote the Joy of Feasts (a), sometimes as an old Man, to teach us that Wine taken immoderately consumes the Health, and makes us talkative like old Men, and incapable of keeping any Secret. The Magpie was consecrated to him, because in Triumphs whereof he was the Inventor, People were permitted to speak with an unbounded Licence, and even to insult over the Vanquishers, by upbraiding them with their Faults, as we learn from *Suetonius* on Occasion of *Cæsar's* Triumph.

Thus it is that the *Egyptians* had allegorized this History; it was their Genius, and their whole Theology was full of such Symbols. But the
Greeks,

(1) *Lect. des Poët.*

(a) Tu puer æternus, tu formosissimus alto
Conspiceris Cælo.

Ovid. Met. L. 4.

Greeks, who did not understand it, and who would not see that whatever they related of *Bacchus* had a Reference to Wine, or to the Sun, whereof that God was the Symbol, had no other Resourse for explaining it but their own Fables. They say'd, for Example, that he had Horns given him, because *Ceres* whom *Jupiter* had debauched, brought forth a Son under the Figure of a Bull; that he was crowned with Leaves of the Fig-tree, because the Nymph *Syca*, whose Name imports a Fig-tree, and with whom *Bacchus* was in Love, had been transformed into that Tree. 'Twas for the same Reason they fabled that the Vine and the Ivy were consecrated to him, because the Nymph *Staphyla* and the young *Cisson*, had been transformed into those Plants; and so of the Rest.

I have no mind to explain all the Figures, Bas-reliefs and Intaglios of *Bacchus* which we have now remaining. There are few *Pagan* Divinities of whom Time has transmitted to us a greater Number of Representations, and we may consult to this effect the Antiquaries, and especially *Montfaucon*, who has faithfully collected them. But because there are some of them that, by the Symbols they bear, serve exceedingly to illustrate the History of this God, 'tis proper that I take a cursory View of them.

He is commonly represented like a young Man, without a Beard, tho' there is likewise the bearded *Bacchus*: Oft times even like an Infant crowned with Ivy or Vine Leaves; and, according to *Pliny*, he is the first of the Gods who wore a Crown, holding the Thyrsus in one Hand, a Cluster of Grapes in the other, and sometimes a Horn, which was a drinking Vessel. A fine earthen Vase publish'd by *Spon* (1), represents to us *Mer-*

(1) Miscel. Erud. Ant.

cury giving the young *Bacchus* to a Nymph whom this Author takes to be *Leucothoe*. But how shall we find this out, considering what Variety there is among the Ancients with Respect to the Education of this God? 'Tis true *Lucian* says *Bacchus* after his Birth was carry'd by *Mercury* to *Nysa*, to be educated by the Nymph of the Place; but there are other ancients who assure us that he was educated at *Melatis*, or in the Island of *Eubœa*, or at *Naxos*.

Sometimes he was represented naked, sometimes his Shoulders covered with a Panther's Skin, and sometimes riding upon the Shoulders of *Pan*, or in the Arms of *Silenus*, who according to *Nicander* of *Colophon*, was his Foster Father. You see him also seated upon a celestial Globe bespangled with Stars, and then he is the Sun or *Osiris*; as also when he appears with Arrows, which Figure the Rays of that Luminary, as he is to be seen upon a Medal of *Maronea*, a City, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, built by *Maro*, the Companion of *Osiris*, whom I have spoke of in the first Volume (1).

The Symbols which most commonly accompany this God, are the Thyrsus, the Ivy, the Vine Leaves, Clusters of Grapes, the Skin of the Goat, or Leopard, or Panther or Lion.

The Figure of *Bacchus* surnamed *Esymnetus*, which *Beger* says is upon an Intaglio, and *M. Vailant*, upon a Medal, contains a Passage of History which I ought not to omit. *Pausanias* (2) tells us that the *Greeks* having, after the Siege of *Troy*, divided the Spoils, *Erypilus* had in his Lot a Coffer wherein was a Statue of *Bacchus*, by the Hand of *Vulcan*, which *Jupiter* had given to *Dardanus*; and that *Erypilus* having opened the

(1) Hist. of *Osiris*.

(2) In *Achaic*.

the Coffin and cast his Eyes upon this Statue became delirious. In one of his lucid Intervals, he went to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, which answered him that he was to stop in a Place where he found People ready to offer a barbarous Sacrifice, there deposite the Coffin and fix his Residence. *Erypilus* upon his Return to the Place where his Ship was, reimbarks, and giving himself up to the Mercy of the Winds, arrives upon the Coast of *Patras*, where having landed at a Time when they were going to sacrifice a young Man and a young Virgin to *Diana Triclaria*, according to the Custom of the Country, he presented himself with the Coffin: Those of the Country persuaded that there was some Divinity within it, interrupted the Sacrifice, and received the Prince, who was in that Moment cured of his Madness. There *Erypilus* fixed his Residence, and after his Death the Inhabitants of the Country paid high Honours to him, and celebrated every Year the Anniversary of his Death. They instituted likewise an annual Festival in Honour of the God who was shut up in the Coffin, whom they called *Bacchus Esymnetus*.

Among the Monuments of *Bacchus* now extant, the finest are those that represent his Marriage with *Ariadne*, whom *Theseus*, as shall be said in his History, had left in the Island of *Naxos*. This Ceremony is engraved upon a Stone of inestimable Value, which is called *Michel Angelo's Seal*, which is in the King's Cabinet, and has been designed at large by Mr. *Hay*. But a Bas-relief of the *Villa Montalte*, represents this Ceremony yet more particularly. In a Chariot drawn by *Centaurs*, are *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; their Train of Attendants is magnificent. First, you see Players upon Pipes and Timbrals, of both Sexes, who appear upon the Head of the Procession; an Ele-

phant that comes after, figures the Conquest of the *Indies*; he is bound with a Fillet like the Victims doom'd for Sacrifice. *Silenus* riding upon an Ass, and drunk as his Way was, comes next accompany'd by Fawns, Satires and Nymphs, who are bearing Pots, drinking Vessels, Vine Branches, Bunches of Grapes, and *Thyrus*'s.

Those two Monuments, representing the Triumph of this God after the Conquest of the *Indies*, are also very Magnificent. There the God appears in a Chariot drawn by Lions or Panthers. As the Chariot is followed with all the Pageants that accompany'd the Festivals of this God, which were term'd *Trieterides*, and as the other now mentioned belongs to the *Orgies*, I shall give a Description of these two Festivals which at first I thought to have omitted.

As *Bacchus* had been three Years in conquering, or rather traversing the *Indies*, so the *Trieterica* were celebrated, alter a Revolution of two Years, in the third Year; and it was the Opinion, that during the Celebration of this Solemnity, *Bacchus* came in Person, and conversed with Men. This Festival was celebrated by the Matrons and Virgins, like the other Mysteries of this God. The Virgins, who carried the *Thyrus*'s, appeared to be acted with Enthusiasm, as well as the Matrons, who parted into Bands, run loose and dishevelled with terrible Grimaces and Contorsions, tossing their Heads in a frightful manner, and in every thing resembling mad Women. They made a great Noise with their Drums and Cymbals, and bawling out, *Evobe Bacche*. This horrid Procession was accompanied with vile Representations; the Night, which was the Time employ'd in this Festival, concealed at least the Abominations that were there committed. It was at one of these Festivals, to mention it by the by, that the *Bacchanals*,
whose

whose Fury is so well described by *Ovid* (1), tore in Pieces the unfortunate *Pentheus*, who attempted to restrain the Abuses that were committed at the Celebration of this Solemnity.

Tho' by the *Orgies* are sometimes *Orgies, their* to be understood *Sacrifices*, not those *Origin.* only that were offered to *Bacchus*, but also to other Gods, yet the Word was more particularly apply'd to the Festivals of that Name, which were likewise called the *Mysteries*. *Greece* had three Solemnities of this Name, those of *Bacchus*, those of *Cybele*, and those of *Ceres*; and each of them had many Ceremonies peculiar to itself. I am only to speak now of the *Orgies* of *Bacchus*, and I shall briefly examine into their Original, their Extent, their Ceremonies; what was signified by the Symbols that were there employed, and how long these infamous *Mysteries* continued.

That the *Orgies* derived their Original from *Egypt*, is a Fact equally agreed to by both Mythologists and Antiquaries, which therefore needs not to be proved; and they owe their Institution to *Isis*, who having recovered the dissipated Members of her Husband, murdered by the Conspirators, at whose Head was *Typhon* his Brother; and not being able to find his manly Parts, which the Fishes of the *Nile* had devoured, consecrated the Representation of them, which the Priests in after-times carried about in the Festivals instituted in Honour of that Prince. This is the true Origin of the *Phallus*, or *Ithyphallus*, which made a Part of the Ceremonies of the *Orgies*. That *Orpheus* and *Melampus*, in their Travels to *Egypt*, had seen the Festivals of *Osiris* celebrated, and introduced them into *Greece*, where they were received, as all the other Festivals, those especially where
Lewdness

(1) *Met.* L. 4.

Lewdness and Libertinism reign with the greatest Impunity ; this is a second Fact yet more agreed to : Only 'tis a Mistake to ascribe their Origin to *Orpheus* and *Melampus* which would confound the Orgies with the *Thesmophoria*, (tho' these had a great Resemblance to the other, and *Bacchus* was mentioned there too) since *Herodotus* tells us (1), that the Orgies were introduced into *Greece* by *Danaus* and his Daughters, long before the Birth of *Orpheus* and *Melampus*. In fine, that *Bacchus*, in Honour of whom the Orgies were celebrated, is the same with *Osiris*, is a Truth not controverted.

The Celebration of the Orgies was not confined to *Greece*, this Festival was soon diffused thro' almost the whole Pagan World. It was undoubtedly the same that was celebrated by the *Moabites*, the *Midianites*, and some other neighbouring Nations, in Honour of *Baal-Phegor*, that Idol of Nakedness, as he is called by *Isidorus*, who was the same with *Priapus* ; and he again the same with *Osiris*, and honoured with the same Ceremonies.

From *Greece* they passed into *Phrygia*, whither *Orpheus* is thought to have introduced the Use of them in the Time of *Laomedon* (2) ; and that small Coffer, or Basket, which *Erypilus* had for his Lot, is a Proof that the *Trojans* celebrated this Festival, whereof that mysterious Basket, as shall be seen in the Sequel, made a considerable Part.

That the Knowledge of the Orgies was brought into *Italy*, either by the *Arcadians*, when they planted a Colony in *Latium*, or by *Eneas* himself with his *Trojans*, is what I have no Occasion to examine ; but certain it is, that these Festivals were known there from the earliest Periods of Time, and that they were celebrated there with a great deal

(1) L. 2.

(2) Lact. de fals. Rel. l. 1. c. 22.

deal of Solemnity. 'Tis not my Design to go over all the Countries where they were received and celebrated under different Names (*a*); you may find a Detail of them in Father *Panel's* Treatise of *Cistophori*.

At first the Orgies were not charged with many Ceremonies: There was only carried in Procession a Pitcher of Wine, with a Branch of the Vine; then followed the He-goat, which they sacrificed as an Animal hateful to *Bacchus*, whose Vines he ravaged; then appeared the mysterious Coffin or Basket, which was followed by those who carried the *Phallus*; but this primitive Simplicity did not last long, and Luxury, which introduced Riches, infected also the religious Ceremonies. On the Day set apart for this Solemnity, Men and Women crown'd with Ivy, with their Hair dishevelled, and their Bodies almost naked, run thro' the Streets, crying out as delirious, *Evohe Bacche, &c.* In the midst of this Gang were to be seen People drunk, dress'd like Satyrs, Fauns, and *Silenus's*, making Grimaces and Contorsions; where so little Regard was had to Modesty, that it would be quite shameful to attempt a Description of them. Followed next a Company mounted upon Asses, which was attended with Fauns, Bacchanals, *Thyades*, *Mimalonides*, *Naiads*, Nymphs and *Tityri*, or Shepherds; who made the whole City re-echo to their Shrieks and Howlings. After this tumultuous Herd were carried the Statues of Victory, and Altars in form of Vine-sets crown'd with Ivy, smoking with Incense, and other Aromaticks: Then appeared several Chariots loaded with *Thyrus's*, Arms, Garlands, Casks, Pitchers, and other Vases, Tripods and Vans. The Chariots were followed by young Virgins, who carried the Baskets and little Boxes, wherein

(*a*) *Apateria*, *Lencea*, *Anthesteria*, *Phallophoria*, *Liberalia*, *Brannonia*, *Sabazia*, and Numbers of others.

wherein was contained the most mysterious Circumstance of this Festival, and for that reason they were called *Cistophoræ*. The *Phallophori* followed them with a Chorus of *Ityphallophori* habited like Fauns, counterfeiting Persons drunk, and singing in Honour of *Bacchus* Songs suitable to their Functions. This Procession was closed by a Troop of Bacchanals, crowned with Ivy interwoven with Branches of Yew, and with Serpents.

In some of these Festivals, which were the same, only under other Names, naked Women whip'd themselves, others tore their Skin. But let us draw the Curtain over these Obscenities ; only we may take notice, that on those Festival-days all Crimes were committed, which Drunkenness, Example, Impunity, and the most uncontrouled Licentiousness can encourage. After this, who would not blush to see even a Queen, *Olympia*, celebrating those scandalous Mysteries.

For understanding the Meaning of all the Circumstances of this Festival, and of the Symbols that were therein exhibited, it suffices to reflect upon what has been said in the first Volume concerning *Osiris*, the same with *Bacchus*, and his Expedition to the *Indies*, whereof the *Orgies* were a Commemoration. That Prince had taken along with him Women, Musicians of both Sexes, Satyrs, Fauns, &c. that is to say, Men equip'd like Fauns and Satyrs ; and this is what was represented by these Bacchanals, and the other female Enthusiasts above-mentioned ; by the *Silenus's*, the Satyrs, and the rest of that mad Gang ; by those Quires of Musick, those Songs, Shrieks and Howlings.

The Ivy that was used in all the Parts of the Ceremony, was especially consecrated to *Bacchus*, for which the Mythologists give several Reasons ; among others, the Metamorphosis of young *Cisson*,
who

who having lost his Life in the Fury of one of these Festivals; was transformed into Ivy; but the true Reason is, that this Plant, always green, signified the Youth of *Bacchus*, who was said never to wax old; that is to say, the State of the Sun permanent in his Strength and fructifying Virtue.

The Serpents, which twined about the mysterious Basket, and were wore by several of those who joined in the Festival, either by way of Shoulder-belts, or otherwise, being Animals whose Youth is renewed every Year, at changing their Slough, were Emblems of the same Import.

The infamous Representation of the *Phallus* kept up the Remembrance of that which *Isis* had consecrated, as has been said. As for the Van, which *Virgil* calls *Bacchus's* mystical Van (*a*), I am persuaded we need seek for no other Mystery in it, but that it was intended to be an Emblem of that Prince's having taught the Art of Agriculture, and the manner of cleansing the Corn.

The Bow and Arrows that were carried in this Solemnity figured, that to mild Measures *Osiris* had added Force in the Conquest of the *Indies*. On this likewise depends the true Signification of the *Thyrus*; for we are told that the Women, whom this Prince had carried with him, attack'd the *Indians* with that Instrument, who were not upon their guard against it; observing only the Ivy and the Vine-Leaves, which covered real Pikes.

As one Part of the Solemnity of the Orgies was celebrated in the Night-time, whence *Bacchus* had got the Name of *Nyctileus*, no wonder that

(*a*) ————Mystica Vannus Jacchi.

Georg. L. 3.

that they bore lighted Torches in the Procession which we have now described : We are only to remark, that the Function of the *Daduchi*, that is, of the Torch-bearers, was the most honourable of all.

The *Caduceus*, which was also exhibited there at Times, intimated that *Bacchus* had always preferred Peace to War ; and that in the Conquest of the *Indies* he had not employed Arms, till he had in vain tried all mild Methods to subdue an untractable People. This is the Reason why the Ancients give that God the *Caduceus* as well as *Mercury*. They added too, that it was he had reconciled *Jupiter* to *Juno*, at the time of their greatest Difference.

Antiquaries think some of those Medals called *Cistophori*, exhibit the Figure of the Plant named *Ferula*, which is a sort of Cane very light and full of Pith, as we have said in the History of *Prometheus* ; and if they carried it in the Solemnity of the Orgies, it was to point out that *Osiris*, who was reckoned the Inventor of Medicine, had prepared some Medicaments of that Plant, which *Pliny* reckons to be very salutary. For what is alledged by some of the Ancients, that he had commanded Arrows to be made of that Cane, whose Lightness might hinder them from doing much Mischief, relates to the Times when he was at Peace.

In fine, of all the Symbols that accompanied this Solemnity, none remains to be explained but the mysterious Basket : But here I must imitate the Silence of the Ancients, who, whenever they came to speak of what that Basket contained, checked themselves, from a Principle of religious Veneration. I am indeed of Opinion, that *Clemens Alexandrinus*, whose Business it was to detect the Abominations of Paganism, ought not to have shewed

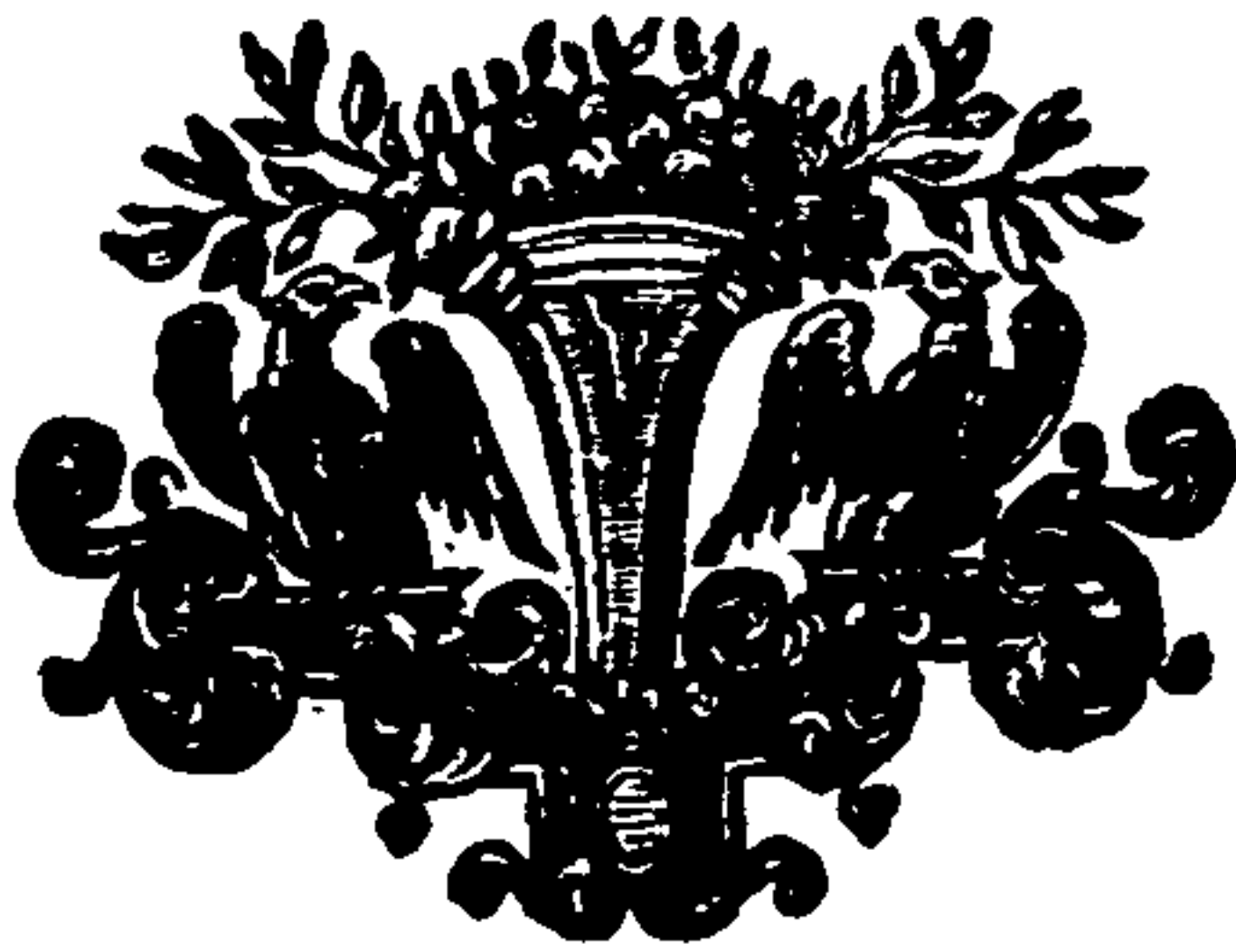
shewed the same Reserve; but it is a Question whether he himself was well informed as to what was contained in that Box.

Debauchery, Lewdness, and Prostitution being carried to the greatest Extremity, it was thought convenient at last, tho' somewhat late, to put a stop to their Progress. *Cicero* (1) informs us that *Diagondas* abolished these infamous Festivals at *Thebes*; and under the Consulship of *Posthumius*, the Year of *Rome* five hundred and sixty-eight, was published that famous Decree of the Senate which interdicted them. This Edict, which threatened Death to those who should celebrate them for the future, was published and promulged through the whole Empire, with all the Solemnity requisite in such a Case. It was dug up about sixty or fourscore Years ago, engraved upon a Table of Brass, published by *Fabretti*, but with several Faults. At last a Modern copied and explained it with more Correctness, as may be seen in the eighth Volume of the *Bibliotheca Italica*.

Such scandalous Rites ought long ago to have been buried in Oblivion; but great Care was taken to perpetuate their Memory; for besides the Historians and Poets, who make frequent mention of them, Medals of them were struck by publick Authority, and Monuments erected that kept them in Remembrance: These Medals are called *Cistophori*, because there you see the Figure of the Coffer, with the Serpents around, or coming out of it. As for the Monuments, they represent the whole Pomp of these Festivals, and there you see *Bacchus*, the *Bacchanals*, the *Menades*, the Players on Flutes, *Matrons* and Virgins, with the *Crotalum*

(1) De Leg. 2.

lum and *Tympanum* ; Fauns, Satyrs, holding in their Hands Vases and Cups ; Priests leading the Victims destined for the Sacrifice, such as the Boar , the He-goat, the Bull, &c. and last of all the old *Silenus* quite drunk, upon his Ass, which he is hardly able to manage.



B O O K II.



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

B O O K II.

*Of the Gods of the Sea, the Rivers,
and Fountains.*

THE Waters occupy too considerable a Part in the Globe, to have been left without tutelary Deities ; this perhaps is the Part of the World over which Paganism had established the greatest Number : The Ocean, the Seas, the Rivers, the Floods, the Fountains, the Streams, the Lakes, and all the other Collections of Water, had their particular Gods ; the Water itself was reckoned a Divinity, and had a religious Worship paid to it ; this is what I shall endeavour to prove in the following Chapter.

C H A P. I.

Of the Worship paid to the Water, and of the Causes of its Institution.

IF the Exigencies of Life made Numbers of Gods to be invented, and led the first Pagans to deify almost all the Parts of the World, especially the four Elements, the Water had a Title to be one of their first Divinities, since the antient Philosophy, the Principles whereof *Thales* fetched from *Egypt*, and propagated them afterwards in *Greece*, taught that it was the first Principle of all Things; that it had the greatest Share in the Production of Bodies; that it made Nature fruitful, nourished the Plants and Trees; and that were it not for this, the Earth, quite withered, parched, and burnt up, would be a sterile Mass, and exhibit only a frightful Desert: But before we go any further, we must call to Mind what we have said of the physical or natural Gods, and of the animated Gods. The Water, as an Element, could only be a physical Divinity; but those Gods were seldom left without joining to them animated ones, who became their Symbols, as *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Isis*, among the *Egyptians*, and *Apollo* and *Diana* among the *Greeks*, became the Symbols of the Sun and Moon.

The Worship which was paid to these Divinities came to be confounded, nor was the Distinction any longer kept up between the natural Gods and those that were called animated. Just so it was with the Water: The Ocean, the Seas, the Rivers, &c. became the Objects of religious Worship; but *Nephtune* was reckoned an animated God, who presided over them: The Case was the same with every Flood and Fountain, and every other Mass of Water, that had each a particular Divinity, or a Nymph, or Naiad, and the Honours that were paid to the Water in general, were afterwards blended with those that

that were paid to the representative Divinities of the Water.

That the Water, as an Element, received divine Honours, is a Fact that cannot be controverted. We have seen, in the seventh Book, what *Herodotus* says of the Veneration which the antient *Persians* had for it, the Sacrifices which they offered to it, and that they carried Superstition so far, as not to dare to spit, to blow their Noses, or wash their Hands in it, let fall, or throw any Ordure into it, nor even make use of it for quenching their Fire. *Strabo*, on this Occasion, gives much the same Account with *Herodotus*, only he attributes to the *Cappadocians* what the other ascribes to the *Persians*.

Saint *Cyril* (1) says the *Persians* did not indeed pay divine Honours to Stocks and Stones, like the *Greeks*, nor did they worship the *Ibis* and *Ichneumon*, with the *Egyptians*, but they adored only the Fire and Water.

Tho' the *Egyptians* had a peculiar Reason for having the Sea in Abhorrence, because they believed it represented *Typhon*, yet they had not therefore the less Veneration for Water. Saint *Athanasius*, who, as he was born in *Egypt*, must needs have been acquainted with the Religion of his Country, after having said (2) in general, the Pagans adored the Water, adds, the *Egyptians* especially were distinguished in the Worship which they paid to that Element, which they looked upon as a Divinity.

Julius Firmicus (3) asserts the same; the *Egyptians*, says he, pay a religious Worship to the Water, and address their Prayers and Vows to it. The Water of the Nile above all was held by them in high Veneration: That beneficial River, to which they gave the Name of *Oceanus*, *Xpeus*, and *Nilus*, was also called *Siris*, which, by Abbreviation, is the same Name with *Osiris*, because in Reality it represented that God; for, as has been said more than once, the same God

(1) Adv. Jul. (2) Orat. contra Gentes. (3) De Er. Prof. Rel.

was the Symbol of several Things at once; thus *Osiris*, who in the Heavens represented the Sun, on Earth denoted the Waters of the *Nile*. Without this Distinction, we shall never understand the Pagan Theology; but ther, so soon as we adopt it, we must be persuaded that the *Nile* was the great Divinity of the *Egyptians*.

In the first Volume, we have taken Notice that the *Egyptians* represented the God of the Water by a Vase perforated on all Sides, which they called *Hydria*; and we mentioned at the same Time the Victory which that God had gained over the Fire, which was the great Divinity of the *Persians*. I shall add here, that according to *Vitruvius* (1), the Priests upon certain Days filled that Vase with Water, adorned it with great Magnificence, and then placed it upon a kind of publick Theatre, where all prostrated themselves before the Vase, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, and gave Thanks to the Gods for the Benefits they received from this Element. The Intention of this Ceremony was to teach the *Egyptians* that Water was the Principle of all Things, and had communicated Life and Motion to every Thing that breathes.

But among that People Water, by way of Eminence, was the *Nile*, and to it was referred all the Veneration which they had for this Element. Indeed never was River so useful nor so necessary as that is, since besides the Goodness of its Water, which is a drink both salutary and delicious, its periodical Overflowings render *Egypt* one of the most fertile Countries in the World; which, were it not for that, would be one of the most barren and desert. The same Fruitfulness it communicates to Women, and to all Animals; and 'tis no rare Thing, in that Country, to see Ews that have brought forth some two, some three Lambs, Goats that suckle three or four Kids, and so others; and here, if any Thing among Men, who have not Knowledge to of the

(1) Lib. 8.

the Honour of all that is in Nature, to him who created the same for our Use, had a Title to great and lively Acknowledgments even of Homage, 'tis undoubtedly so beneficial a River: Accordingly nothing could surpass the Respect and Veneration which the *Egyptians* had for it.

But of all the Festivals they celebrated in honour of this River, that of opening the Canals at the Times of its swelling, was the most solemn and magnificent. I shall not enter at present into the Description of this Festival, at which the antient Kings of *Egypt* assisted in Person, accompanied by their Ministers, by all the Grandees of the Kingdom, and by an innumerable Multitude of People; you may consult the Travellers, (a) who in this Article have entred into a most curious and particular Detail; and confining myself to what immediately relates to my Subject, I shall only say, that by way of Thanks before hand to the River for the Benefits which the overflowing was to produce, they used to throw into it in the Form of Sacrifice, Barley, Corn, Sugar, and other Fruits. What was practised at *Memphis*, upon the opening of the Canal, was in like Manner proportionally performed in the Provinces; and we may say that the Season of cutting the *Nile*, so it is called in the Country, was a general Festival thro' all *Egypt*.

But as Superstition knows no Bounds, they stained with Blood, and that in the most cruel Manner, a Day that seemed to breathe nothing but Joy, by the Sacrifice of a young Virgin whom they drowned in this River: A barbarous Custom, which lasted a very long Time, and was so difficult to be abolish'd, that nothing would satisfy the People, when this Sacrifice came to be absolutely prohibited, but to sacrifice at least the Representation of a young Person.

This Festival still continues, tho' the Avarice of the Bashaws makes it less solemn; the same Liba-

(a) See the third Voyage of *Paul Lucas*; the Description of this Festival given by *M. de Maillet* and other Travellers.

tions are performed to the *Nile*, with Offerings of Fruits and Pulses; and the Priests called *Coptes*, the most ignorant of all Mortals, think they sanctify it, by throwing into it some Beads, or some Bits of a Cross. The same *Egyptians* paid also a religious Worship to the Water, under the Symbol of their God *Canopus*, who represented that Element; but I shall add nothing here to what I have said of him in the History of the Gods of that People (1).

The *Indians*, we know, paid high Tributes of Adoration to the *Ganges*, whose Waters, to which they attributed signal Virtues, were reckoned by them holy and sacred: Their Superstition in this Respect continues still, and the Princes who reign upon the Banks of that River, well know how to make Gain of it, by making their Subjects buy the Permission to draw Water from the River, or to bathe themselves in it.

The Worship paid to Water was not long confin'd to *Persia* and *Egypt*, but was very soon propagated, like the other Superstitions of the oriental Nations, to the neighbouring Countries. *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that the People on the North-side of the *Euxine Sea*, paid a religious Worship to the *Palus Meotis*, whereof they had Statues, by which they used to swear.

Vossius (2), who has treated this Article with his usual Erudition, asserts the same of the antient *Germans*, and some other Nations, as may be seen in his learned Work upon the Origin and Progress of Idolatry.

'Tis well known that the Antients offered frequent Libations to the Ocean, to the Seas, and Rivers, and that they hardly ever embarked till they had first performed Sacrifices to the Waters, and to the Divinities who presided over the same; of this I might quote Numbers of Examples, but shall content myself with that of the *Argonauts*. When they were
ready

(1) V. 3. B. 6. (2) De Orig. & Prog. Idol.

ready to set sail, *Jason* (1) ordered a solemn Sacrifice in order to propitiate the Divinities of the Sea; every one was impatient to comply with the Commands of his Leader, they raised an Altar upon the Sea-shore, and after the usual Oblations, the Priests poured out Flour, mixed with Honey and Oil, offered up Oxen to the Gods in whose Honour the Sacrifice was performed, and prayed for their Favour and Protection in their Voyage (2).

Maximus Tyrius, already quoted, assigning the Reasons that induced several Nations to worship the Rivers that watered their Country, lets us know, at the same Time, the Universality of the Worship that was paid them. The *Egyptians*, says he, worship the *Nile*, because of its Usefulness; The *Thessalians*, the *Peneus*, for its Beauty; The *Scythians*, the *Danube*, for the vast Extent of its Waters; The *Etolians*, the *Achelous*, because of the Fable of his Combat with *Hercules*; The *Lacedæmonians*, the *Eurotus*, by an express Law that enjoins it; The *Athenians*, the *Ileusus*, by a Statute of Religion; *Sacro Instituto*.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* were too superstitious not to adopt the Worship of the watery Gods. Besides what the Author now quoted says of the *Thessalians*, the *Etolians*, *Athenians* and *Spartans*, Antiquity furnishes us with a thousand Examples of the Excesses to which they went in this Respect. Their Temples contained Statues of the Rivers and Fountains, as those of the other Gods. There were few Rivers and Fountains in *Greece*, near which you would not have seen Statues, Numbers of Inscriptions, and Altars consecrated to those Rivers and Fountains; there they regularly went to perform Libations, and offer Sacrifices, as we learn from *Pausanias*.

Medals represent to us the Rivers as Gods, among others one of *Posthumius*, whereon is the *Rhine*, with this Inscription, DEUS RHENUS. The *Tyber*,
I i 4 in

(1) Apollon. Rhod. l. 4. (2) See the History of this Expedition, Vol. 6.

in like Manner, appears upon the Reverse of a *Ves-pasian*, not only as a Divinity, but also as the Patron and Protector of *Rome*. When *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, he performed religious Ceremonies to that River, gave himself up to his Protection, and prayed him to be propitious to him (a). *Sibotus*, King of *Messene*, was not content with worshipping the River *Pamifus*, he made a Law obliging his Successors to go every Year and offer Sacrifices to him; but not to multiply Examples, of which there would be no End, I shall only quote here from the younger *Pliny*, what Religion had consecrated to *Clitumnus*, a River in *Umbria*. “Near the Source of this River, says that Author (1), is a Temple antient and Venerable: The God of the River himself is there represented in a Robe; he is a very propitious Deity, and predicts future Events, as appears from the whole Apparatus that is there to be seen, and which is proper for the Delivery of Oracles. Around this Temple are Chapels dispersed in great Numbers; each of them has a Statue of the God, each is famous, each is distinguished by some particular Piece of Devotion, &c.”

If the great Usefulness of Water to the Earth, induced the first Idolaters to make a Divinity of it, we may suppose the Wonders that have been observed in that Element, did likewise contribute not a little to promote the Superstition. *God is wonderful in the Waters*, say the holy Books (2), and 'tis on this Element especially that he seems to have laid out a Profusion of Wonders. The ebbing and flowing of the Sea, that periodical Motion which swells and sinks the Waters by Turns every six Hours, and perpetuates their Motion, whereby they are preserved from Corruption; the Irregularity of this Motion,

more

(a) *Tuque, o Tybri, tuo Genitor cum flumine sancto
Accipite Æneam, — — —
Adsis o tandem, &c.*

Æn. L. 8. V. 72.

(1) *Epist. ad Rom. L. 8.* (2) *Mirabilis in altis Dominus.*

more or less in the different Terms of the Moon, as well as in different Seasons ; the Flux of the *Eurippus*, which bears little or no Resemblance to that of the Ocean ; the saltness of the Sea, a second Source of its Incorruptibility ; the prodigious Number and Variety of Monsters which it engenders, and the enormous Bulk of some of its Inhabitants, such as the Whale, and some others that far surpass the greatest of the Land Animals, all are wonderful, all astonishing. Add to this the Accounts given of the Properties of Fountains, whereof some have a regular Flux like the Ocean, others are periodically hot and cold ; a vast Number of them very medicinal ; the Fables that were propagated with respect to others, whereof some communicated to those who drunk of them an Aversion to Wine ; others render'd effeminate, and made those who bathed in them to change their Sex ; others again, whence a Person after bathing in them came out all covered over with Feathers ; some which deprived People of their Reason, while others restored it ; here a Spring, whose Water cured of some unhappy Passion, there another which inspired with Love ; one improved the Memory, another brought on a total Oblivion ; in fine, it was fabled of some Waters, that they had a prophetick and oracular Virtue. We might enlarge a great deal upon this Article ; but the Reader may consult the Naturalists, and particularly the fourteenth Book of *Ovid's* *Metamorphoses*, where that Poet introduces *Pythagoras* expatiating upon the Properties of Rivers and Fountains. All these breed Admiration, and instead of ascribing such surprizing Effects to natural Causes, or to Relations not much to be depended upon, they abridged the Study of Philosophy, and made a blind Adoration of the Element itself where those Wonders were produced, to supply the Place of Experiment and Examination.

Lastly, The Fictions of the Poets conduced exceedingly to this Idolatry towards the Water, For
in

in Fact they spoke of the Rivers, the Floods and Fountains, only as of so many Gods ; they painted and represented them in their Works, as if they had actually seen them ; they make them come forth from their humid Grottos to appear to their Heroes, and foretel their Destinies ; they relate their Amours, their Combats, &c. There you have *Alpheus* pursuing *Arethusa*, whom *Diana* transforms into a Fountain ; here you have *Archelous* contending with *Hercules* for *Deianira*, and vanquished by his Rival ; sometimes young Women, to avoid the Pursuits of an amorous God, throw themselves into a River, and are instantly metamorphosed into Nymphs or Naiads ; or bewailing their Frailty, and melting into Tears, are dissolved into Fountains. The Charms of Poetry animated these Descriptions, and from being affected by them in the reading, People came to take them literally, and no longer to think of Rivers and Fountains, but as so many animated Divinities.

Hence that prodigious Number of Water-gods and Goddesses, a Number that surpasses that of Heaven itself, and of the other Parts of the Universe. For not only was every River, Fountain and Flood, believed to be a Divinity, or at least to have a tutelar God ; the Sea alone contained Gods without Number. *Oceanus* had by *Tethys* Seventy two Nymphs named *Oceanides* ; *Nereus*, fifty Nereids, whose Names we have in *Hesiod*. The Number of Nymphs, if we may believe that Author, amounted to three thousand, and probably he had not computed them all. If we add to the Nymphs the *Naiads*, the *Napææ*, the *Limniades*, &c. we shall find the Water-gods to have been past reckoning.

But 'tis not enough to have proved that a religious Worship in general was paid to the Water, and to the Divinities who inhabited it, we must further examine wherein this Worship consisted, and after what Manner their Gods were represented.

CHAP. II.

Of the different Sacrifices that were offered up to the Water-gods.

I Shall say nothing here of the extraordinary Sacrifice which the *Persians* and *Cappadocians* offered to the Water, according to the Testimony of *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, because this would oblige me to repeat what I have said in the History of the Religion of these Nations (1). To range this Subject in some Order, I shall first speak of the Worship paid to the Ocean and the Seas ; then of that which was given to the Rivers and Fountains, and shall conclude with that of the Nymphs, and the other Divinities of this Class.

Antiquity lets us know little or nothing concerning the Worship of the Ocean ; *Justin* of all the Antients has spoke of it most distinctly, when he tells us, that *Alexander*, upon his Return to his Ships, poured out Libations to the Ocean, praying he would grant him a happy Return into his own Country (a). *Aristeus* having come in quest of his Mother to the Grottos of the River *Peneus*, that Nymph having learned his Errand, offers a Sacrifice to the Ocean, the Author of all Beings ; but the Sacrifice consists only of simple Libations. She poured out the Liquor three Times, says *Virgil*, upon the live Coals of the Altar, and three Times a sparkling Flame rose up from the sacred Fire, and mounted up as high as the Roof (b).

The Victims most commonly offered to *Neptune*, were the Horse and the Bull ; the first of those Animals

V. 1. L. 7.

(a) Expugnata deinde urbe, reversus ad naves libamenta dedit, prosperum reditum in patriam precatur. Just. L. 2.

(b) Oceano libemus, ait, simul ipsa precatur, Oceanumque patrem rerum, &c.

Virg. Georg. L. 4 382.

mals was especially consecrated to that God, who was thought to have produced the first Horse, which he had made to spring out of the Earth with a Blow of his Trident; a Fiction which I have explained in the History of the Contest between him and *Minerva*; the Bull, because by his Strength and bellowing, he figures the roaring Waves of a troubled Sea, and as he was the Symbol of the Floods, as shall be said afterwards. 'Tis needless to quote Examples to prove that it was the Custom to offer these two Kinds of Victims to *Neptune*; History abounds with them; and *Virgil*, who keeps strictly to the Customs that commonly prevailed, represents *Laocoon* offering upon the Shore a Bull to *Neptune* (a).

The Sacrifices that were offered to the Sea were of a different Nature. We learn from *Homer* (1), that when she was troubled, they offered to her a black Bull, or a Hog and a Lamb when she was Calm and smooth. But the Victim most commonly offered to the Sea was the Bull, and the Horse as to *Neptune*, who was its Sovereign; sometimes they actually sacrificed this last Animal, sometimes threw it into the Waves, sometimes, in short, they contented themselves with consecrating it to the Sea, and to the Rivers, by allowing it the Liberty to feed in the neighbouring Pasturages; frequently the Sacrifice was performed upon the Sea itself, sometimes upon the Shore; and Antiquity furnishes us with Examples of all these Variations. *Cloantus* in *Virgil* (b), thus addresses himself to the Gods of the Sea.

It

*The Gods, who rule the Ocean which I sail;
Victor before your Altars, on this Shore,
To you a Snow-white Bull I will present,
Oblig'd by Vow* ——— *Trap's Virgil:*

- (a) *Laocoon, ductus Neptuni sorte sacerdos
Solemnes Taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.*
Æn. L. 2. V. 201.

- (1) *Odysf. 7.*

- (b) *Di quibus imperium pelagi, quorum æquora curro,
Vobis lætus ego hoc candentem in littore taurum
Constituum voti reus.*

Æn. L. 5. 236.

It was the Practice in these Kinds of Sacrifices to receive in a *Patera* the Blood of the Victim, which was afterwards poured out into the Sea by way of Libation. When the Sacrifice was offered upon the Sea itself, they let the Blood of the Victim flow into it, and also threw into it the Entrails, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (a), upon occasion of the Sacrifice that was offered to the Sea by *Scipio Africanus*, when he was setting out for *Africa*.

Sometimes to this Rite was added a Libation of Wine, and an Offering of Fruits (1). Thus we see it represented upon *Trajan's* Pillar, near the Altar where *Trajan* appears with a *Patera* in his Hand to perform a Libation to the Sea. As for the Rivers, they were worshipped in a different Manner.

First of all *Hesiod* lays it down as a Precept, that no Person was to pass a River till he had first washed his Hands. The *Roman* Magistrates never passed the little Rivulet which was near the *Campus Martius*, till they had first consulted the Augurs, and the Generals did the same before they set out for War. 'Tis certain, says *Cicero* (2), that our Captains are wont to sacrifice to the Waves before they embark. But their religious Veneration for them was carried much higher afterwards, since before crossing them for any military Expedition, they offered up Horses to them in Sacrifice; thus *Xerxes*, according to *Herodotus*, before he passed the *Strymon* in his Way to *Greece*, sacrificed some of them to that River, and *Tiridates* offered one to the *Euphrates*, while *Vitellius*, who was with him, performed the taurobolick Sacrifice in honour of that River; for Bulls were also offered up to the Rivers, as well as to the Ocean and the Sea. *Lucullus*, as we read in *Plutarch* (3), made a Sacrifice thereof to the *Euphrates*, while he was pursuing *Tymnes*: This Practice too must needs have

(a) Cruda exta cæsa victimâ, uti mos est, in mare porrigit. Lib. 29.

(1) Virg. *Æn.* L. 9. (2) *De Nat. Deor.* L. 3. (3) 24 in Luc.

have been very antient, since *Achilles* says to *Lycaon*, *This rapid River, the Xanthus, to which we offer so many Bulls, will not protect you.* Lastly, they carried this Superstition so far, that the young Virgins of *Troy* were obliged, the Evening before their Marriage, to go and offer their Virginity to the River *Scamander*, in consequence of which we need not be told what sometimes happened.

The *Grecian* Youth, as we are told by *Pausanias* (1), contented themselves with offering Locks of their Hair to the River *Neda*; and *Homer* informs us, that *Peleus* had consecrated to *Sperchius* that of his Son *Achilles*.

The Nymphs, the *Napææ*, the Naiads, had also their Sacrifices, sometimes of Goats and Lambs that were offered to them, with Libations of Wine, Honey and Oil; frequently of nothing but Milk, Fruits and Flowers. 'Tis true, *Aristæus*, as we read in *Virgil* (2), offers to the Nymphs four Bulls, and as many Heifers; but so solemn a Sacrifice to those petty Divinities of the Water, has no other Example in Antiquity. As for the rural Festivals that were celebrated in honour of them, they were usual among the Country People, and in those rustick Ceremonies you might have seen Milk, Honey, and Oil flowing in Abundance.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ocean and Tethys.

THE Ocean was justly intitled to the first Place among the Water-gods, since he contains the greatest Collection of Waters, and communicates them to the other Seas, and to the whole Earth, by that admirable Circulation which diffuses Fruitfulness over all.

The

(1) In An. (2) *Geor.* L. 4.

The Poets, by whom he was made a Person, have described his Genealogy; *Hesiod* tells us he was the Son of the Heavens and the Earth. “The Earth, “says he, by her Marriage with *Uranus*, had the “deep engulphed Ocean, and with him *Cæus* and “*Creius*, *Hyperion*, *Iapetus*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, &c. (1).”

As this Poet joins the Generation of the Ocean with that of several Persons who had a real Existence, as has been proved in the History of the celestial Gods, one would be inclined to believe, that in this Place he has an Eye not to a purely physical Generation, but to a natural one; and consequently, we may reckon there was one of the *Titans* had the Name of *Oceanus*. Hence we might explain literally, 1. What *Homer* says of all the Gods having derived their Original from *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (2), because they had actually a great Number of Children who were deified, like the other *Titans*. 2. What is said by the same Poet, that the Gods went frequently to *Ethiopia* to visit *Oceanus*, and to share in the Festivals and Sacrifices that were there offered, which would signify, that all those of the *Titans*, who, upon account of their Conquests, had settled in different Places, assembled from Time to Time to go and pay their Respects to *Oceanus* in the Place where he reigned. 3. That *Juno* had been brought up by *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, because in Reality *Rhea* sent her to her Sister-in-law to take Care of her Education, and to save her from the cruel Superstition of *Saturn*. 4. What *Eschiles* says, that *Oceanus* was the intimate Friend of *Prometheus* the Brother of *Atlas*. But at the same Time it must be owned, that the Antients have, for the most Part, considered *Oceanus* only as a natural Divinity; and as his Name, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (3), imports *Foster-father*, he is justly said to have been the Father not only of the Gods, but also of all Beings; which is true in this Sense, that Water alone contributes more to the Production and Nourishment of Bodies,

(1) Theog. (2) Il. 14. V. 312. (3) In Prometheus, L. 2.

Bodies, than all Nature besides. For according to both antient and modern Experiments, a Tree, or Plant, in Vegetation consumes several thousand Portions of Water for one of Earth. What the *Greeks* said of the Ocean, the *Egyptians* applied to the *Nile*, (which among them went a long Time under the Name of the Ocean) and perhaps with more Reason, since it was actually in their Country that the first Gods had lived. “The Ocean, among the *Egyptians*,
 “ says *Diodorus Siculus* (1), is nothing else but the
 “ River *Nile*, whence they alledge the Gods deri-
 “ ved their Birth, because *Egypt* is the only Country
 “ in the World that has Cities built by the Gods
 “ themselves.”

The *Greeks* derived the Name of Ocean, Ὠκεανός, from the Word ὠκύς, which denotes the rapid Motion of the Water (2); they termed it also βαθυδίνες, because as its Motion was swift, so it extends to the very Bottom of the Waters. *Euripides*, in his *Orestes*, gives it the Epithet of *Tauriceps* (3), which equally agrees to *Neptune* and the Rivers, partly because of the raging of the Waves that seem to imitate the bellowing of that Animal, partly from the different Branches that form the Rivers, which were figured by the Horns. Thus we are told that *Hercules* had torn off one of *Achelous's* Horns, because he had reduced to the Channel of that River one of its Arms that overflowed *Etolia* (4). The Ocean is married to *Tethys*, to signify that he refines and purifies all Things, and unites them together; or, to express myself in the Terms of a learned Mythologist (5), *Quod pura omnia & splendida efficiat, resque contrarias concordæ ac mutuo nexu decenter copulet*. As to what remains, we must carefully distinguish this *Tethys* from the Nereid *Thetis*, who married *Peleus* the Father of *Achilles*. The Mythologists even observe upon this Subject, for we must not omit Circumstances however trifling, that the Name of the first

(1) L. 1. (2) ὠκύς a velocitate. (3) ταυροκεphάλος. (4) See the Hist. of this Hero. (5) Lyl. Ger. Syn. 5. p. 168.

first is written with a *Greek T*, and that of the Mother of *Achilles* with an *Iota*. An ancient Fable informs us, that *Jupiter* having been bound by the other Gods, *Tethys*, with the Aid of *Egeon*, set him at Liberty; which undoubtedly signifies that this Princess made use of that Giant in delivering her Relation from some Danger, or to save him from the Ambuscades which were laid for him by the other *Titans* who were at War with him.

Antiquity has transmitted to us only two Monuments that represent *Oceanus*; one is a Statue that was dug up at *Rome* about the sixteenth Century, which shews us that God under the Figure of an old Man sitting upon the Waves of the Sea, with a Pike in his Hand, and by him a Sea-monster with which we are not acquainted; the other is an *Intaglio* of *Beger*, whereon that God is in like Manner drawn under the Figure of an old Man sitting upon the Waves, with some Ships appearing at a Distance.

But before I close this Chapter, I shall give my Sentiments of those frequent Voyages of *Homer's* Gods to visit *Oceanus*, by whom they were entertained twelve Days amidst banqueting and good Cheer. The Poet, on this Occasion, designs to inform us of the Piety of the *Ethiopians*, and particularly of an ancient Custom that prevailed among those who dwelt upon the Coasts of the *Atlantick* Ocean, who celebrated, at a certain Season of the Year, solemn Festivals, during which, they used to carry about in Procession the Statues of *Jupiter* and their other Gods, offered Sacrifices to them, and kept great Feasts, which lasted twelve Days. *Pausanias* (1), speaking of those *Ethiopians* who inhabited the City *Meroë* and the neighbouring Plains, who were accounted the most blameless of the human Race, says, the Sun was believed to keep his Table among them; and 'tis undoubtedly from this Table and those Feasts that the *Greeks*, and after them the *Romans*, got the Custom of serving Tables before

(1) In Att:

the Statues of their Gods, which Ceremony they termed *Leſtiſternia* (a). I am not ignorant, that thoſe who are for allegorizing all the antient Fictions, alledge the Poet by this deſigned to teach us, that the Sun, and the Planets, whoſe Names were given to the Gods, fed upon the Exhalations from the Ocean; as if *Homer's* Ideas on this Subject had been individually the ſame with thoſe of *Cleantes* the Philoſopher.

However that be, the Fable of *Oceanus* is very obſcure; and what has perplexed it ſo much, is, that it blends Hiſtory and Phyſiology together. *Oceanus* has ſometimes been conſidered as a *Titan* Prince, ſometimes as the vaſt Expansion of Waters that goes under that Name. The Antients have thrown many Things together on this Subject, which to reduce wholly to Hiſtory, or wholly to Phyſiology, would be equally ridiculous; the ſame may be ſaid of the Children who are given him, whom he had, ſay they, by *Tethys* his Wife and Siſter; ſince in that Number they reckon not only the Rivers, the Nymphs and Fountains, but alſo moſt of the Perſons who had reigned or dwelt along the Sea Coaſts, ſuch as *Proteus*, *Etbra* the Wife of *Atlas*, *Perſeis* the Mother of *Circe*, and ſeveral others.

C H A P. IV.

Neptune and Amphitrite.

AS the Ocean, according to the Remarks of *Gerard Voffius* (1), after the antient Mythologiſts, denoted the exterior Sea, or the great gathering of Waters that encompaſſes the whole Earth, ſo *Neptune* was taken for the interior Sea, ſuch as the *Mediterranean*, and the other Seas. The Stoick Philoſophers puzzled to know what that God was, agreed at

(a) See what has been ſaid to this Purpoſe in the Article of Sacrifices, V. 1. B. 4.

(1) De Idol. 3.

at last that he was an Intelligence that filled the Sea; as *Ceres* was that of the Earth. But *Cicero* (1) owns he neither knows nor conceives what was that Intelligence of the Sea and Earth; nor had so much as a Notion what it could be.

If we take *Varro's* Authority, the *Latins* gave to this God the Name of *Neptune*, *a nubendo*, because he covers the Earth (a). The learned *F. Tournemin* derives the Word from the Hebrew *Naphta*, which signifies *to flow*, and this Etymology, no doubt, is preferable to that which derives it from *Nare* to swim, by changing a little the first Letters; for how shall we support this Etymology, since, instead of changing the first Letters, the first is the only one wherein the Word *Neptune*, and that of *Nare* coincide. Accordingly *Cotta* in *Cicero* (2) laughs at it; " 'Tis true, " says that Speaker, since you derive *Neptune* from " *Nare*, to swim, wherein, if I may be allowed the " Expression, you yourself seem to swim more than " *Neptune*; you may, with the same Ease, find the " Original of all the Names in the World, since " the Ground of it is only the Conformity of a sin- " gle Letter."

Let us remark here, by the By, what there will be occasion to observe oftener than once in this Work, the Negligence I mean of some Authors, otherwise of good Learning, who take for a Writer's own Sentiment what he has occasionally mentioned in his Works. Thus *Lylio Giraldi* says *Cicero* derives the Name of *Neptune* from *Nare*, to swim. 'Tis true, in the second Book *de Natura Deorum*, one of the Speakers in that Dialogue, says the *Persians* said so; but in the third, *Cotta*, who is *Cicero* himself, destroys almost all that the other two had advanced; besides, 'tis not easy to know, either from the two first Books of that Work, or from the third, what was the real Sentiment of that Au-

K k 2
thor.

(1) *Dē Nat. Deor. L. 3.*

(a) *Neptunus a nubendo, quod nubat, id est, operiat terras;*

(2) *L. 3. de Nat. Deor.*

chor. As for those, says he, who want to know what is my sincere Opinion upon every Subject, they carry their Curiosity too far. I hope I shall be pardoned for this little Digression, which I judged necessary.

The *Greeks* called *Neptune Poseidon*, and we find several Etymologies of this Name; for in short it may signify either he who shakes the Earth with his Feet, or who sees many Things, or who dashes Ships in Pieces (a). Those who have been studious to find out the Origin of this God, have been still more perplexed than those who contented themselves with tracing the bare Derivation of the Name. If we may credit *Herodotus* (1), *Neptune* was a *Lybian* by Birth, and had been in high Veneration in that Country, Time out of Mind. The *Egyptians*, says the same Author, were not acquainted with him; even when they put him into the Number of their Gods, they paid no Worship to him; it was not therefore from the *Egyptians*, concludes that Author, that the *Greeks* received this God, as they had done almost all the others, but immediately from the *Libyans*. History informs us, that the People of *Africa* were acquainted with *Greece*, and brought their Horses thither from the earliest Periods of Time; and perhaps even before the first Colonies of *Egypt* and *Phenicia* had arrived there. It was undoubtedly by this Means that they came to know *Neptune*, whom they reckoned among their great Gods, and honoured him with a particular Worship. But after all, we know not what Ideas the *Libyans* had of him. Did they look upon him as the God of the Sea, or as that God who had first taught the breeding and breaking of Horses? For my Part, I am apt to think the last was the Idea they had of this God; and

(a) Ποσειδών from πῆς, a Foot, and σείω, to shake, and δῶν for γῆ, the Earth, in the Dorick Dialect. The word may come from πολλὰ εἶδεν, who sees many Things. M. Le Clerc and F. Tournemin are for the third Etymology.

(1) L. 2. C. 51, 52.

and the *Greeks*, who took him for the God of the Sea, perhaps because it was by the Sea the Knowledge of him had come to them, retained still the old Notion of him which they had got from the *Libyans*; hence the Epithet of *Hippius*, or Horseman, which they gave him; hence also the Notion they entertained of his having made the Earth to produce the first Horse, as we have it in *Virgil*, who thus invokes him in the *Georgicks* (a).

And thou whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,
And made a Passage for the Courser's Birth.
Essay on the Georgicks.

And it must needs have been under this Idea that the Poet invoked him; for would he ever have addressed him as God of the Sea in a Work where he was describing the Country Life, and especially Horses, as he does in the third Book?

Some Authors call the Horse which was formed by the Earth struck with his Trident, *Arion*; others, as *Servius*, give it the Name of *Scythius*. But his true Name was *Scyphius*; and as this Name denotes a small Vessel, a *Skiff*, which the *Allemands* name *Chiph*, so they had taken for a Horse the Ship which carried the *Libyans* into *Greece*, and for his Rider, the God whose Worship they introduced thither. What confirms this Conjecture, is, that a Ship may well be compared to a Horse, because of its swift Motion; and we know the antient Inhabitants of *Cadiz* called their small Vessels Horses, because they moved swiftly. Thus the Poets formed their winged Horse *Pegasus*, from the Idea of a Ship under Sail.

Whatever be in this, Antients and Moderns are equally divided as to what Idea we ought to have of

K k 3

Neptune.

(a) ——— Tuque, o, cui prima frementem
Fudit equum, magno tellus percussa tridenti
Neptune! ———

Neptune. The greatest Number look upon him only as a physical Being, or a natural Divinity, figuring the Water over which he presided ; others however, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Lactantius*, from *Euhemerus's* sacred History, take him for an animated God, for a real Personage. Among the Moderns, *Don Pezron* and *M. Le Clerc* are of the same Opinion with the Antients now named ; and I am convinced with them, that *Neptune* was a Prince of the Race of the *Titans*. He was, according to *Hesiod* (1), the Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, and Brother of *Jupiter* and *Pluto*. *Rhea* having hid him in order to evade *Saturn's* Cruelty, gave out that she was delivered of a Colt, which the God swallowed as he had done her other Children. As he was the first, according to *Diodorus* (2), who embarked upon the Sea with the Apparatus of a naval Army, he was intitled to the Empire thereof ; and *Saturn*, his Father, having given him all Power over that Element, he was considered afterwards as the God of it ; and this is also what makes the Mariners, according to the same Author, address to him their Vows and Sacrifices ; or which amounts to the same Thing, in the Division which the three Brothers made of the Empire of the *Titans*, *Neptune* had for his Lot the Sea, the Islands, and all the Places that are adjoining to them. *Lactantius*, who had read *Euhemerus's* History, expressly says so (a) ; which however, as *M. Le Clerc* remarks, is only to be understood of the *Mediterranean Sea*, the Ocean being then so little known, that they durst hardly venture upon it ; *Neptune* signalized himself very much by Sea, even in his Father *Saturn's* Lifetime ; who, as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus* (3), had given him the Command of his Fleet ; he was always careful to check the Enterprises of the *Titan* Princes,

(1) Theog. (2) L. 5.

(a) Jupiter imperium Neptuno maris, ut Insulis omnibus, & quæ secundum mare loca sunt, omnibus regnaret. Lact. Div. Inst. L. 1. C. 2.

(3) L. 5.

Princes, hindered them from settling in some Islands as they designed; and when *Jupiter* his Brother, whom he served always with very great Fidelity, had forced his Enemies to retire to the western Countries, he shut them up therein so closely, that they never could stir out; which gave Rise to the Fable of his having kept the *Titans* imprisoned in Hell, and hindered them from getting out, as we have already said in the preceding Book.

I doubt not but *Neptune* also distinguished himself by Sea, no less by the Establishment of Commerce than by his Victories. 'Tis probable that there were Merchant-ships that traded in his Time upon the Coasts of *Africa*, to which he was a good Protection. In a Word, this Prince, according to *Lactantius* (1), was *Jupiter's* Admiral, and the Superintendant of the Seas, such as *Marc Antony* was by Order of the Senate; *Cujus regnum tale fuisse dicemus, quale Marci Antonii fuit infinitum illud imperium, cui totius oræ maritimæ potestatem Senatus decreverat.* This is what had given the Antients a Handle to look upon this Prince as the God of the Sea, to speak of him only under this Idea; to consecrate Temples and Altars to him, and to supplicate his Favour by Prayers and Sacrifices.

'Tis however certain, that the *Greeks* have embellished the History of *Neptune* with that of *Japhet* and *Javan*; *Japhet*, who had for his Lot the western Countries, equipped some Ships to carry him thither (2); and this, no doubt, induced *Bochart*, (3) who has found a great deal of Conformity between the History of *Neptune* and that of *Japhet*, to take them for one and the same Person, and he draws a Parallel between them which tallies pretty exactly.

In like Manner, it is not to be doubted that the Name of *Neptune* was given to most of the unknown Princes, who came by Sea, and settled in some new

K k 4
Country,

(1) L. 1. C. 2. (2) V. Vossius de Idol. (3) Phaleg. L. 2. C. 2.

Country, or who reigned over Islands, or who signalized themselves by their maritime Victories, or by the Establishment of Commerce. This Name was even extended, if we may believe *Aulus Gellius*, to those who had as much Sternness and Ferocity as Valour (a), or like *Cercyon*, the *Cyclops*, &c. Hence so many *Neptunes*, the many Wives and Mistresses, and the numerous Offspring they give to this God; the many Metamorphoses, and the many Rapes laid to his Charge. *Vossius* (1) has taken the Trouble to unmask some of those *Neptunes*, and to determine the Time when they lived. He who had by *Libya Belus* and *Agenor*, was some *Egyptian Prince*, who lived about the Year before *Christ* 1483. He has probably distinguished himself by Sea, and, at same Time, by his Application to the Method of the breaking Horses. He who by *Amymone* the Daughter of *Danaus*, had *Nauplius*, the Father of *Palamedes*, lived about the Time of that Prince. 'Tis not amiss, by the by, to relate his Adventure. They tell us, that *Danaus* having sent his Daughter to draw Water for offering a Sacrifice, a Satyr attempted Violence upon her (2). The frightened Princess implored *Neptune's* Aid; the God relieved her, and put the Satyr to Flight: But he himself offered the same Insult to her which she had just evaded by his Means. 'Tis probable that this Adventure, which happened near one of *Neptune's* Temples, in the Neighbourhood of *Argos*, where *Danaus*, who came from *Egypt*, was going to offer a Sacrifice, refers to some Priest of that God. He who was the Father of the famous *Cercyon*, whom *Theseus* slew, lived a little before the Conquest of the *Argonauts*. He who by *Tyro*, the Daughter of *Salmones*, had *Pelias*,

(a) Præstantissimos virtute, &c. Jovis filios Poetæ appellaverunt; ferocissimos & immanes tanquam e mari genitos, Neptuni filios dixere Cyclopes & Cercyona, & Scyrone, & Lestrigonas, L. 15. C. 21.

(1) De Idol. (2) *Philost.* Fable of *Neptune* and *Amymone*.

as, lived about the same Time. He who passed for the Father of *Theseus*, was *Egeus* King of *Athens*, who had a Mind to conceal his Marriage with *Ethra*, the Daughter of *Pithæus*. He, in fine, who is the Subject of this Article, and whose History is full of the Adventures of all the rest, live in the Time of *Isaac*, a little before the Death of *Abraham* (1).

The *Scythians*, according to *Herodotus*, had also their *Neptune*, and called him *Thamimasades*; in fine, the first *Neptune* is undoubtedly *Japhet*, or some of his Sons, since this is he to whom the Scripture tells us the Isles of the *Gentiles* fell by Lot (2). 'Tis perhaps he of whom *Sanchoiatho* speaks, when he says *Chryſor* invented Floats of Timber, and was the first who sailed, and that for this Reason he was deified after his Death; unless we will understand it of *Noah* himself, who, in this Sense, is the antientest of all the *Neptunes*. But he who distinguished himself most was the Son of *Saturn*, or the *Titan* Prince whom I have been speaking of.

We are farther told, that *Neptune* had to Wife *Amphitrite*, the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Doris*, that this Prince being in love with her, but unable to gain her Consent to marry him, sent to her a Dolphin, that acted his Part so well, as to compel her at last to marry this God of the Sea. They add, that *Neptune*, to reward the Dolphin, placed him among the Stars (a). Some Authors take this *Amphitrite* to be only a poetical Personage, whose Name signifies to surround (b). Thus we may easily account for their giving her to be the Wife of *Neptune*, or of the Sea, which encompasses the Earth.

But I see no Reason why we may not look upon her as Queen of some Islands, and the Fable of the Dol-

(1) See what has been said of the Age of *Jupiter*, B. 1.

(2) *Gen.* 10.

(a) See *Hyginus*, *Cælo Poet. Astr.* in *Delphino*, & *Aratus* in *Phen.*

(b) *Ἀμφὶ τὴν γῆν περιετρεφεῖτο*. Hinc *Ovid.* L. 1. *Met.*

————— *Nec brachia longo*
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.

Dolphin, as the Intrigue of some able Confident, or of some Ambassador who settled all the Articles of his Master's Marriage, and thereby became highly in favour with him.

Amphitrite was perhaps the Daughter of *Oceanus*, who was a Prince of the Blood of the *Titans*, Uncle to *Neptune*, who settled upon the Coasts of *Africa*, as has been said; and then there will appear nothing extraordinary in this Match, nor in the Genealogy of this Princess. We ought, as little as possible, to depart from what is historical in the Poets, and, by no Means, deny the Existence of those antient Princes upon weak Etymologies; as if for that of *Neptune's* Name, which we have already given, we should go about to alledge that there never was a Prince to whom the *Latins* gave the Name of *Neptune* for having signalized himself by Sea. Saint *Augustin* (1), after *Varro*, gives the Name of *Salacia* to the Wife of *Neptune*, and 'tis easy to see the Reason. We must own, however, that the Poets often take *Neptune* for the Sea itself (2). But 'tis easy to distinguish what is really historical from what is but merely fictitious; as that charming Description of *Neptune's* Retinue which we have in *Virgil* (a), where he represents this God in his Chariot, whose Wheels hardly touched the Waves, accompanied by all the Divinities of the Sea, by *Tritons* and Dolphins, before

(1) De civit. Dei. (2) Ovid Loc. cit. Eurip. in Cyclop. Orph. in Argon, &c.

(a) Jungit equos curru genitor, spumantiaque addit
Fræna feris, manibusque omnes effundit habenas;
Cæruleo per summa levis rotat æquora curru:
Subsident undæ, humidumque sub axe tonanti
Sternitur æquor aquis, fugiunt vasto æthere nimbi.
Tum variæ comitum facies, immania cete,
Et senior Glauci chorus; Inousque Palæmon,
'Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis.
Læva tenent Thetis & Melite, Panopœaque Virgo,
Nesæe, Spæioque, Theseiaque, Cymodoceque.

Æn. L. 5. in fine.

The Archbishop of *Cambray* in his *Telemachus* has finely imitated this Passage.

fore whom he says the Waves subside, and by their silent Submission acknowledge the Presence of their Lord. In like Manner, what *Homer* had said long before the *Latin* Poet of the Equipage of the same God, when he makes him come forth from his liquid Palace, riding in a Chariot drawn by brazen-footed Horses (1). But what shall we say to the other Fictions that have been broached in relation to this God. What is the Meaning, for Example, of their telling us that he had built the Walls of *Troy*, that when *Laomedon*, who had employed him, would not pay him his Wages, the God ravaged the Plains of *Troy*, and sent a Monster to devour *Hesione* the Daughter of that King? As I am fully to explain this Fable in the History of *Hercules* who rescued *Hesione*, I shall only briefly observe at present, that the Walls of *Troy* were so well built, and the Moles that they had raised there to defend them from the Inundations of the Sea, so strong, that they gave out, by a natural enough Hyperbole, that the God of the Sea himself had built them: But as nothing is Proof against the Injuries of Time, and Storms, these Works having been afterwards demolished, they fabled that *Neptune* had revenged himself on the Perfidiousness of *Laomedon*, who had actually employed the Money which he had found in the Temple of that God, in raising these Moles, and had not again refunded it (2).

Neptune has the Trident given him, for which the Mythologists assign several Reasons. 'Tis, say some of them, to figure by its three Points, the Quality of the three Sorts of Waters that are upon the Earth; those of the Sea that are salt; those of the Fountains of sweet Water; and those of the Ponds that partake a little of both (3); or to allude to *Neptune's* threefold Power over the Sea, which he troubles, asswages, and preserves (4). For my Part, without hunting after Mysteries, I am persuaded that

(1) H. L. 3. (2) See the History of *Hercules* and that of *Laomedon*, V. 6. (3) V. Nat. L. 2. C. 2. (4) Id. *ibid.*

that the Trident was a kind of Scepter which the Kings of old made use of.

It now remains that I should speak of *Neptune's* Metamorphoses ; but all I have to say of them is, that they are certain Allegories under which his Intrigues lie concealed ; Thus when we are told that he transformed *Theophane* into a Sheep (1), that he metamorphosed himself into a Horse to seduce *Ceres*, and into a Dolphin for *Melantbo*, we may suppose this God, or those who took his Name afterwards, carried off those Princesses either upon Horses, or in Ships that bore for Ensigns those Animals.

We find on Medals, and other Monuments of Antiquity now extant, *Neptune* represented in different Manners ; but commonly under the Figure of a Man in Years, drawn in a Shell by two Sea-horses, holding in one Hand his Trident, and in the other a Dolphin. *Pausanias* (2) says the *Trezenians* worshipped him under the Title of King ; and he adds, the Coin of *Trezene* represented on one Side a Trident, and on the other a *Minerva's* Head. Accordingly we find in *Goltzius* two Medals, one that has a Trident, the other a *Minerva*, with the Epithet of *πολις*, or Protectress of the City.

Antiquity gives several Names to *Neptune*, besides these which we have already explained ; and as many of them contribute greatly to let us into the Knowledge of this God, 'tis necessary to insist upon them a little. The Name of *Asphalion*, or of *Asphaleion*, for it is found written in this last Manner upon a Medal of the *Rhodians*, which signifies firm, stable, immoveable, and answers to the *Stabilitor* of the *Romans*, was given him, according to *Strabo* (3), upon occasion of a new Island that appeared in the Sea. The *Rhodians*, then very powerful, having landed there, built a Temple in honour of *Neptune Asphalion*, and he had very soon several others. If we may credit the antient *Greek* Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, there was one of them upon the Cape of *Tenarus*

(1) Hyg. Fab. 183. (2) In *Corinth.* (3) L. 1.

Tenarus in *Laconia*; and according to *Pausanias* (1), another near the Port of *Patras*: This Surname, in short, was perfectly agreeable to this God; because as he was thought to have the Power of shaking the Earth, so he had likewise that of establishing it (a); which makes *Macrobius* say (2), that the Gods had often opposite Titles, with respect to one and the same Thing in their Dependence, and that as *Neptune* had the Name of *Enosifthon*, which denoted his Power to shake the Earth, so he had that of *Asphalion*, to teach us that he had also Power to establish and support it; accordingly they seldom failed to offer Sacrifices to him in great Storms and Earthquakes.

The *Ionians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, called this God *Heliconian*, and assembled with a great Concurrence of neighbouring People upon the Promontory of *Mycale*, to offer Sacrifice to him (3); they gave him the Name of King, from the Adventure which he had with *Minerva*, about the Territory of *Trezene*. For *Jupiter* having ordered, that they should have it in Common, he took the Name of King thereof, and *Minerva* that of *Polyas*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (4), as he took that of *Prosclystus*, from another Contest which he had with *Juno*, about the Country of *Argos*. In resentment that *Jupiter* had adjudged it to that Goddess, he laid all the Country under Water; but *Juno* having supplicated him to stop the Inundation, he yielded to her request, and upon this he got the Epithet now mentioned, which signifies, to flow out, *effluere*; because he had made the Waters of the Rivers that overflowed the Country to retire. A Temple was also built to him under this Name.

(1) In *Achaicis*. (2) *Sat.* 1. *L.* 1.

(a) *Servius* upon that Passage where *Virgil* says of *Neptune*,

Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti

Fundamenta quatit —————

says the Foundations of the Earth were under the Power and Dominion of *Neptune*.

(3) *L.* 1. *C.* 48. (4) In *Corinth*.

Name. The Surname of *Trident-bearer* has no difficulty in it, that of *μυήτρος*, was in Allusion to the Noise of the Sea, which resembles the bellowing of a Bull: For this Reason, say the *Mythologists*, that Animal was sacrificed to him; and he himself was called *Ταύρος* or *Ταύρεος*, and the Festivals that were celebrated in Honour of him, were called *Ταυρεία*. But the two most pompous Epithets were those mentioned by *Pausanias*, (1) *Lord of the Earth*, which was an Inscription on one of his Statues in *Lucania*; and that of *Soter*, or *the Saviour*, which, according to *Herodotus* (2), was given him, probably by some of those who believed he had saved them from some great Danger. In fine, this God had several other Names, from the Places where he was peculiarly honoured, as those of *Tenarius*, from the Promontory of that Name in *Lucania*. *Onchestius*, from the City of *Onchestus*; *Isthmius*, from the Isthmus of *Corinth*, where he had a magnificent Temple, whereof *Pausanias* gives the Description (3); *Heliconius* from *Helicon*, &c. The *Romans* gave him that of *Consus*, answering to *Hippius*, which we have explained: Hence the Name of the Festivals called *Consualia*, celebrated in Honour of him, during the *Circensian Games*.

As the Adventures we have now been relating, and several others that we find in *Pausanias*, gave almost always Occasion to the raising of a Temple to *Neptune*, and to particular Festivals, so he was one of the most highly adored Gods of the Pagan World: For besides the *Lybians* who reckoned him their great Divinity, there were in *Greece* and *Italy*, especially in the maritime Places, a great Number of Temples raised in Honour of him, as also Festivals and Games; particularly those of the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, and those of the *Circus* at *Rome* were especially consecrated to him under the Name of *Hippius*. One of the Exercises there being Horse-races.

The *Romans* too had so great Veneration for this God, that besides the Festivals which they celebrated

(1) In *Lacon*. (2) L. 7. (3) In *Corinth*.

ed in Honour of him on the first of *July*, and which was appointed to that Day in their Calendar, by these Words, *D. Neptuni Ludi*, the whole Month of *February* was consecrated to him, either because the half of it was destined among them to Purifications, whence its Name was derived (1), those Purifications being chiefly performed by Water, the Element over which this God presided; or perhaps to supplicate him to be propitious to the Sailors previously to their setting out to Sea at the beginning of Spring. The greatest Singularity in them was, that as *Neptune* was believed to have formed the first Horse, the Horses and Mules, covered with Flowers, ceased from all Labour during the Festivals of this God, and enjoyed Rest which none durst disturb.

Besides the ordinary Victims, namely the Horse and the Bull, sacrificed to this God, and the Libations that were made in Honour of him, as we are told by *Herodotus* (2), the *Aruspices* offered to him particularly the Gall of the Victim, the Bitterness of that Entrail having an Affinity with the Sea-water.

It would be in vain to attempt to mention all the Temples that were consecrated to him, but I cannot choose but take Notice, that there was one among the *Atlantides*, wherein he was represented in a Chariot drawn by four winged Horses, whereof he was holding the Reins; and his Statue was so large, that it touched the Roof of the Temple, tho' very high; this is what we learn from *Plato*, in his long Discourse upon the Island *Atlantis* (3). *Pliny* (4) makes mention of the Temple he had among the *Carians*, and *Herodotus* (5) of another, which the *Pasideans* had consecrated to him. The same Author speaks also of a brass Statue seven Cubits high, or ten Foot and a half, which he had near the Isthmus of *Corinth*.

Pausanias (6), who in that full Description he gives of the Stadium of *Olympia*, says, there was near the Goal

(1) From the Word *Februaire*, to expiate or purify. (2) L. 7.
(3) In his *Critias*. (4) L. 31. (5) L. 7. (6) In *Eliac*.

Goal the Figure of a Genius whom he calls *Teraxippus*, being placed there to frighten the Horses, informs us at the same Time, that before they passed it, they failed not to invoke *Neptune Hippius*, and to supplicate him, that the Horses which drew the Chariots, might not be maimed therein. (a)

I have already said, that to *Neptune* were attributed Earthquakes and other extraordinary Motions either by Sea or Land ; I add farther, that this God was also reckoned the Author of any considerable Changes in the Courses of Floods and Rivers ; accordingly the *Thessalians*, whose Country had been overflowed, when the Waters withdrew gave out, that it was *Neptune* had formed the Canal into which the Waters had withdrawn : “And surely, says *Herodotus*,
 “ (1) Upon this Occasion their Opinion is just ; for
 “ all those who reckon this God to be the Author
 “ of Earthquakes, and take the Formation of Gulfs
 “ to be his Work, will have no Difficulty to be-
 “ lieve, that *Neptune* had made the Canal when they
 “ came to see it.” For the same Reason he was accounted the tutelary God of Walls and their Foundations, which he was thought to overturn when he pleased. Accordingly *Virgil* represents him with the *Trident* in his Hand, destroying the Walls of *Troy*, and shaking their Foundations. (b)

As several Gallantries are laid to *Neptune's* Charge, besides those mentioned in this Chapter, we are particularly told that, in order to succeed in his Amours, he had frequently metamorphosed himself : *Arachne* in the fine Work which she drew in the Presence of *Minerva*, there drew the History of all his Transformations ; accordingly she had represented, says *Ovid* (2), *Neptune* metamorphosed into a Bull, in

{a} You may consult upon this Article *Diomysius Halicarnassensis*, L. 2. who recites the different Ways they had of speaking of this Genius.

(1) L. 17.

(b) *Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
 Fundamenta quatit.* Æn. L. 2.

(2) Met. L. 6.

in the Intrigue which he had with one of the Daughters of *Eolus* ; under the Form of the River *Enipus*, in his Amours with *Iphimedia*, the Wife of the Giant *Aloeus*, by whom he had the two *Aloides*, *Ephialtes* and *Otus* ; under that of a Ram, when he wanted to seduce *Bisaltis* ; under that of a Horse to delude *Ceres*, who had metamorphosed herself into a Mare, to avoid his Pursuits. Lastly she gave him the Figure of a Bird, in the Intrigue which he had with *Medusa* ; and of a Dolphin in that with *Melanthe* (a).

After what I have said as to the manner of representing *Neptune*, and the Picture given of him by *Virgil*, I would have nothing to add with regard to the Statues, Medals, and Bas-Reliefs of him, which Time has preserved to us in very great Numbers, were it not that some of these Monuments remind us of some particular Passages of his History, or in that of the Princes who had these Figures engraved. Sometimes we find him upon these Monuments standing, sometimes sitting upon the Waves of the Sea ; frequently in a Chariot drawn by two or four Horses ; sometimes they are common Horses, sometimes Sea-horses, that have the upper Parts of that Animal, while their lower Parts terminate in a Fish's Tail, as almost all the Sea Monsters ; only once with winged Horses, as he is represented upon an Intaglio published by *Beger*, who justly reckons this is the *Atlantick Neptune* mentioned by *Plato*. In all these Attitudes is this God urging on his Horses, and gives them loose Reins ; which *Virgil* has so happily expressed in this Verse ; *Flectit equos, curruque volans dat lora secundo* (1). *Neptune* crowned by Victory in *Maffei*, denotes the Gratitude of the Person who reckoned himself indebted to him for a naval Battle ; holding his Right-foot upon a Globe, as he is in a Medal of *Augustus*, and in another of *Titus*, he in-

L 1

forms

(a) The Reader knows, from what I have said on the Sources of Fables, how to judge of these various Transformations, and therefore I shall add nothing here.

(1) *Æn.* L. 1.

forms us that these Emperors were equally Masters of Sea and Land. Seated upon a smooth Sea (*a*), with two Dolphins swimming upon the Surface of the Waves, and having a Prow of a Ship near him, loaded with Grains or Pearls, he denotes the Plenty which is procured by successful Navigation. When he appears sitting upon a troubled Sea (*b*), with the Trident planted before him; and a monstrous Bird with a Dragon's Head and Wings, without Feathers, like a Bat, that seems making an Effort to fall upon him, while *Neptune* remains calm and undisturbed, even negligently turning away his Head, all this is to figure that this God equally triumphs over Storms and Sea-monsters. Upon a Medal published by *Beger*, where Victory appears upon the Prow of a Ship, sounding the Trumpet, while *Neptune* on the Reverse, in Posture of a Combatant, is darting his Trident to put his Enemies to Flight, he represents to us, as is well remarked by that Antiquary, the great Victory of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* over *Ptolomeus*, which *Plutarch* describes. Lastly, a Bas-relief of very great Beauty (*c*), represents to us *Neptune* carrying off a young Virgin, whom he bears upon his Sea-horses. *Cupid*, to whom this God has yielded up his Trident, makes use of it to animate his Horses, whereof one is holding the Tail of a Dolphin in his Mouth. Two young Virgins appear upon the Shore, supplicating *Neptune* to give them back their Companion. The Mythologists, who speak so much of the Amours of this God, and of his various Metamorphoses, say nothing, as far as I know, of this Rape.

But we must not confound *Neptune* with *Taras* his Son, who appears upon the Medals of the *Tarentines* with the Symbols of his Father. The City of *Tarentum* in *Italy*, which the *Greeks* name *Taras*, owed its

(*a*) A Figure published by *Maffei*.

(*b*) A Figure published by *Montfaucon* in his *Travels to Italy*.

(*c*) *Admir. Rom.*

its Original to the Son of this God, who had laid its Foundations. The *Tarentines*, in Gratitude, represented him upon their Medals (1), under the Figure of a Sea-god, mounted on a Dolphin, and commonly holding his Father's Trident in his Hand: I say commonly, for sometimes he has in its Stead *Hercules's* Club, the Symbol of Strength; or an Owl, to represent *Minerva* the Protectress of the *Tarentines*; or a Crown, in Allusion to his Conquests; or the Cornucopia, to signify the Richness of the Country, where he had built the City *Tarentum*; or, in fine, a Pot with two Handles, and a Cluster of Grapes with *Bacchus's* Thyrsus, the Symbol of the Plenty of Wine among the *Tarentines*.

C H A P. V.

Nereus, the Nereids, Doris and Triton.

NEREUS, whom all the Antients reckon among the Sea-gods, was, according to *Hesiod* (2), the Son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*. *Apollodorus* (3) gives him *Oceanus* for his Father, and *Terra* for his Mother, and other Mythologists make him the Son of *Neptune*. *Hesiod* highly celebrates this *Nereus*, who was, according to him, a mild and peaceful old Man, a Lover of Justice and Moderation. The Antients have enquired into the Reason why this Poet, as well as the Author of a Hymn which is ascribed to *Orpheus*, have run out upon the Praise of this Sea-god. *John* the Deacon gives a Reason for it as ridiculous as false; 'tis, says he, because Seamen, who have always present Death before their Eyes, are commonly good People; but unluckily it is quite the contrary. The good Deacon, as *M. Le Clerc* remarks, had never seen either Seamen or Sailors, and speaks of them just as we do of the Inhabitants of the Moon. That learned Critick

L 1 2 there-

(1) See *Bezer*, *Treasure of Brandebourg*. (2) *Theogon*.
(3) L. 1.

therefore has Recourse to the *Phenician* Language, in which the Words, *Nabae*, *Noae*, whence the Name of *Nereus* was derived, signify *to shine*, *to give Light*, which, as it relates to Man, imports *to know*, *to have Understanding*, *to be wise* (a).

Be that as it will, all agree with *Hesiod* that he married his Sister *Doris*, and that he had by her the fifty *Nereids* whose Names are these, *Proto*, *Eucrate*, *Sco*, *Amphitrite*, *Eudore*, *Tbetis*, *Galene*, *Glauce*, *Cymolthee*, *Speo*, *Tbalia*, *Melite*, *Eulimene*, *Agave*, *Pasubee*, *Erato*, *Eunice*, *Doto*, *Pherusa*, *Dynamene*, *Nesee*, *Aetee*, *Protemedee*, *Doris*, *Panope*, *Galatea*, *Hippothoe*, *Hipporoe*, *Cymodoce*, *Cymatolege*, *Amphitrite*, *Cymo*, *Etone*, *Halimede*, *Glaucanome*, *Pontoporia*, *Liagore*, *Evagere*, *Laomedee*, *Polynome*, *Antonome*, *Lysianassa*, *Eetarne*, *Psamathe*, *Menippe*, *Nyso*, *Eupompe*, *Themisto*, *Pronoe*, *Nemertes*. In this List taken from *Hesiod*, *Amphitrite* occurs twice, there being two *Nereids* of that Name, which differ only in Quantity.

Homer (1) gives their Names with some Variation, and reckons only Thirty two of them; the rest, says he, having remained in the Bottom of the Sea; *Glauce*, *Tbalia*, *Cymodoce*, *Nesee*, *Spio*, *Tboa*, *Helia*, *Cymothoe*, *Aetee*, *Limnoria*, *Melita*, *Jera*, *Amphithoe*, *Agave*, *Doto*, *Proto*, *Pherusa*, *Dynamene*, *Dexamene*, *Amphinome*, *Callianira*, *Doris*, *Panope*, *Galatea*, *Nemertis*, *Apsudes*, *Callianasse*, *Clymene*, *Janira*, *Janesse*, *Mære*, *Orithyia*, *Amathia*. These Names, in short, almost all derived from the *Greek*, agree perfectly to Divinities of the Sea, since they express the Waves, the Billows, the Trumpets, the Calms, the Roads, the Isles, the Ports, &c.

All Antiquity agrees, that *Nereus* excelled in the Art of Prediction. He foretold *Paris* the War which the Rape of *Helen* would bring upon his Country (2); and he informed *Hercules* where to find the golden

(a) See M. Le Clerc's Note upon the 233d Verse of *Hesiod's* Theogony.

(1) Il. L. 18. (2) Il. L. 6.

golden Apples that *Eurystheus* ordered him to go in quest of. He attempted, 'tis said, to transform himself into various Shapes, that he might not be obliged to make that Discovery to the *Grecian* Prince ; but he held him fast till he had resumed his pristine Form. We learn from *Apollodorus*, that *Nereus* commonly resided in the *Egean* Sea (1), where he was encircled with Nereids, who diverted him with their Songs and Dances (2). Accordingly *Pausanias* (3) takes the old Man who was worshipped by the *Gylbeates*, and who, according to them, had his Palace in the Sea, to have been no other but *Nereus* ; and he cites, in proof of it, these Verses in *Homer*.

Ye Sister *Nereids* ! to your Deeps descend,
Haste, and our Father's sacred Seat attend.
Pope's *Iliad*. 18. 177.

'Tis evident that there is a great deal of Physiology intermixed with this Fable, the Poets having frequently taken *Nereus* for the Water itself, as his Name imports. *Hesychius* accordingly derives it from *νερὸς*, which signifies *flowing* ; I am, however, of Opinion, that the Ground of the Fable exhibits to us some antient Prince of this Name who became famous by Sea, and improved Navigation so much, that People came from all Parts to consult him in dangerous Voyages. These pretended Metamorphoses, and the various Shapes which he assumed to get rid of those who came to consult him, are but so many Symbols figuring that he was crafty and artful, wise and prudent, like *Proteus*, whom we shall speak of by and by. Some Authors however (4) were of Opinion that *Nereus* had been the Inventor of Hydromancy, or of the Science of Prediction by Means of Water, and that this is the Reason of representing him as a great Soothsayer ; and perhaps

L 1 3 this

(1) L. 4. *Argo*. (2) *Orpheus Hym.* in *Nereid*. (3) In *La-co*. (4) *V. Nat. Com.*

this is the Reason for ranking him among the Gods of the Sea. *M. Le Clerc* confirms this Sentiment (1) by a happy Conjecture, deriving the Name of *Nereus* from the *Hebrew*, in which Language it signifies *videns* ; and this is what made him be reckoned by all the Antients a Man skilled in the Art of Prediction, which *Horace* thus expresses ;

Ut cerneret sera Nereus fata (2).

Thus for understanding this Fable, we must distinguish two *Nereus*'s, the one poetical, the fabulous Stories of whom are only founded upon the Etymology of his Name ; the other real, whose History has been disguised with poetical Images.

But what are we to think of the Nereids his Daughters ? Are we to look upon them as metaphorical Personages, as their Names signify, or as real Persons ? I grant, 1. That the Nereids, whom *Hesiod* and *Homer* name, are mostly but poetical Beings ; but think some of them had a real Existence, such as *Cassiope* the Mother of *Andromede*, *Psammathé* the Mother of *Phoce*, who, according to *Pausanias*, having gone into the Country in the Neighbourhood of *Parnassus*, gave her Name to it ; and accordingly that Country has since been called *Phocis* ; *Thetis* the Mother of *Achilles*, and some others. But, 2. It must also be owned, that the Name of Nereids was given to Princesses who inhabited either in some Islands, or upon the Sea-coasts, or who became famous for the Establishment of Commerce and Navigation. It was transferred afterwards not only to some poetical Personages, who owe their Existence only to Etymologies conform to the Qualities implied in their Names, but even to certain Fishes that have the upper Part of their Bodies much like that of Women,

Pliny

(1) Upon *Hesiod.* (2) *Od.* 10. L. 1.

Pliny says, in the Time of *Tiberius*, there was seen upon the Sea-shore a Nereid such as the Poets represent them (*a*), and that an Ambassador from *Gaul* had told *Augustus*, that upon the Sea-coasts had been seen several dead Nereids. *Albertus Magnus* (*b*), and some others, frequently speak of such like Prodigies.

The same Account was given of the *Tritons*, which the Poets represent as Monsters, having the Half of their Bodies human, and the other half Fish, with Shell-trumpets in their Hands, whereby they make the Shore to resound (*c*). When this Name was used in the Singular, it denoted that one of the *Tritons*, who always preceded *Neptune*, whose Arrival he proclaimed by the Sound of his Shell, and was therefore taken for the Trumpeter of that God. *Hesiod*, who has given his Genealogy, says he was the Son of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*; *Virgil* and *Ovid* give a Description of him (*d*). *Pliny* tells us, that a Message came to inform *Tiberius* (*e*) that one of them had been seen near *Lisbon*, the Sound of whose Shell-trumpet had been heard, and his Form the same as is commonly represented. The Fishers have often caught Fishes pretty much resembling what we are told of the *Tritons*, and perhaps upon such Relations have been invented the poetical Fables of those Feasts which they gave the

L 1 4 good

(*a*) Spectata in eodem littore Nereis humana effigie, Plin. L. 9. C. 5.

(*b*) See his Discourse of Animals, and *Pausanias* in Arcad.

(*c*) See the Description *Virgil* gives of a *Triton* speaking of *Auletes*, *Æneid*. L. 10.

Huc venit immanis Triton, & cærulea concha
Exterrens freta : cui laterum tenuis hispida nanti
Frons hominem præsert, in Pristin definit alvus.

(*d*) Cæruleum Tritona vocat, conchaque sonanti
Inspirare jubet, fluctusque & flumina signo
Jam revocare dato, &c.

Ovid. Met. L. 10.

(*e*) Tiberio nunciatum est visum & auditum canentem concha
Tritonem qua noscitur forma, Plin. Loc. Cit.

good *Nereus*, where *Triton*, *Neptune's* Trumpeter, walked upon the Sea with his Azure Chariot and Horses. *Macrobius* observes, that the Statues of *Triton* used to be placed upon the Top of *Saturn's* Temple.

The antient Monuments, as well as Medals (a), accord, in representing the Nereids as young Women riding upon Dolphins, or upon Sea-horses, holding commonly in one Hand *Neptune's* Trident, and in the other a Dolphin, and sometimes a Victory and a Crown. However, we find them sometimes half Women, half Fishes, conformable to this Verse ;

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne (1).

Such as we see them upon a Medal of *Marseilles*, and upon some others.

As for the *Tritons*, they are always represented half Men and half Fishes ; their Hair is like that of the *Ranunculus*, a Sea-plant, the rest of the Body appears to be covered with Scales ; they have Fins under the Ears, a large Mouth, Teeth of wild Beasts, blue Eyes, their Hands and Fingers covered with Scales, and Fins instead of Feet upon the Breast and Belly. But be it Caprice of the Artist, or some Mystery which we know not, we find some of them upon Monuments that hardly resemble the Description now given in any one Thing. Such is that which was represented upon a Freeze found in *Burgundy*. It has the Head and whole Body of a Man, without so much as one Scale to be seen, except on the Thighs, which terminate in two long Fishes Tails. He bears a Cloak upon one Arm, and a Shell in the Right-hand. He has by him a Monster, and a Sea-dog lying squat on the Ground. But not to insist on this, most of these Sea Divinities were worshipped in *Greece* ; *Pausanias*, in particular, says (2) the Nereids had sacred Groves and Altars in several

(a) As may be seen in *Beger*, Treasure of *Brandeburg*.

(1) *Hor. Art. Poet.* (2) In *Corinth*,

several Places, especially upon the Sea-shores; *Wit-ness*, says he, *the Nereid Doto, who had a celebrated Temple at Gabala.*

C H A P. VI.

P R O T E U S.

NOTHING is more celebrated than this Sea-God, and the two greatest Poets of Antiquity have vied with one another in drawing his Character. *Homer* (1) in the Discourse of *Menelaus* to *Telemachus*, makes him give an Account, how, when he had lost himself near a little Island belonging to *Egypt*, *Eidoëa*, the Daughter of *Proteus* appeared to him, and advised him to go and consult her Father, to learn from him his Destiny, giving him however to know that he could not gain his End, without binding him while he was asleep, and holding him fast that he might not escape, whatever Figure he assumed, till he had revealed to him his Adventures. *Menelaus* takes with him three of his Companions, who surprize *Proteus* asleep, fall upon him, and without being affrighted at seeing him transformed into a Lion, a Dragon, a Leopard, a Boar, Water, Trees, &c. still hold him fast in their Arms, till being returned to his former State, they loose him, and then he informs *Menelaus* of what detained him in *Egypt*, and at the same Time what he was to do, in order to arrive happily in his own Country.

Virgil, who only changes the personages, but in the main has faithfully copied his Model, tells us, how *Aristæus*, upon the Loss of his Bees, went to consult his Mother *Cyrene*, who thus addresses him.

*In the Carpathian Bottom makes abode
The Shepherd of the Seas, a Prophet, and a God;
High o'er the Main in watry Pomp he rides,
His azure Carr and finny Coursers guides:*

Proteus

(1) *Odyss.*

Proteus his Name : To his Pallenian Port,
I see from far the weary God resort.
Him, not alone, we River Gods adore,
But aged Nereus bearkens to his Lore.
With sure Foresight, and with unerring Doom,
He sees what is, and was, and is to come.
This Neptune gave him, when he gave to keep
His scaly Flock that graze the wat'ry Deep.
Implore his Aid, for Proteus only knows
The secret Cause, and Cure of all thy Woes.
But first the wily Wizzard must be caught,
For unconstrain'd he nothing tells for Naught ;
Nor is with Pray'rs, or Bribes, or Flatt'ry bought.

Surprize him first, and with hard Fetters bind ;
Then all his Frauds will vanish into Wind.
I will myself conduct thee on thy Way,
When next the southing Sun inflames the Day :
When the dry Herbage thirsts for Dew in vain,
And Sheep, in Shades, avoid the parching Plain.
Then will I lead thee to his secret Seat ;
When weary with his Toyl, and scorch'd with Heat ;
The wayward Sire frequents his cool Retreat.

His Eyes with heavy Slumber overcast ;
With Force invade his Limbs, and bind him fast :
Thus surely bound, yet be not over bold,
The slipp'ry God will try to loose his Hold :
And various Forms assume, to cheat thy Sight ;
And with vain Images of Beasts affright.
With foamy Tusks he seems a bristly Boar,
Or imitates the Lion's angry Roar ;
Breaks out in crackling Flames to shun thy Snares,
A Dragon hisses, or a Tyger stares :
Or with a Wile, thy Caution to betray,
In fleeting Streams attempts to slide away.
But thou, the more he varies Forms, beware,
To strain his Fetters with a stricter Care :
Till tiring all his Arts, he turns agen
To his true Shape, in which he first was seen.

Dryden's Virg. Georg. 4.

Aristæus exactly executed the Order of his Mother, and learned from *Proteus* the Manner of repairing his Swarms. As the Fable of *Proteus* is really built upon an historical Bottom, let us see what may have given rise to it ; though 'tis not easy to be explained, and the Authors who have attempted it, vary as much about it, as *Proteus* himself. First, the *Greeks* who would have all the Gods and great Men born among them, alledged, that *Proteus* was from *Pallene* in *Thessaly* ; but that the Cruelty of his Children had compelled him to leave it and retire into *Egypt*, and upon this feigned that *Neptune* had saved him ; as we read in *Lycophron* (1). They added, that he returned some Time after ; and this is the Tradition followed by *Virgil*, since he says :

. *Patriamque revisit*
Pallenem.

The two Sons of *Proteus* called *Polygonus* and *Telegonus*, put all thole to Death who came to lodge with them, after having vanquished them at Wrestling ; *Hercules* after *Proteus's* Departure, rid the Earth of those two Tyrants.

Servius confirms all that we have now said (a) ; but this Allegation of the *Greeks* is a mere Chimera, *Proteus* having been King of *Egypt*, as we shall prove in the sequel.

Madam *Dacier* saw very plainly that this Fable in *Homer* was historical, her Words are to this Effect
in

(1) In *Cassandra*.

(a) Carpathos, inquit, Insula est contra Ægyptum, a qua vicinum Pelagus Carpathium appellatum est. Hic aliquando regnavit Proteus, relicta Pallene civitate Thessalia, ad quam tamen reversus est postea : quod ostendit (Virgilius) hoc loco dicens. *Patriamque revisit Pallenem.* Hoc ideo dicit, quia Proteus antequam in Ægyptum commigraret, Thraciæ fuit Incola, ubi habuit Uxorem, ex qua filios Telegonum & Polygonum, qui cum advenas secum luctari adigerent & excruciant, ad postremum ab Hercule victi, & interempti patris animum perculerunt ; quapropter tædio presentium rerum solum vertere coactus, Ægyptum petiit.

in her Remarks upon the fourth Book of the *Odyssey*.
 “ The Question is, says she, to find out the Reason
 “ of this Fiction, and what induced *Homer* to ima-
 “ gine a Sea God capable of all those Changes:
 “ For we must not think it is a mere Fable, and
 “ that the Poet had no other Aim but to figure
 “ thereby Matter which undergoes all Sorts of
 “ Changes, or to give an Emblem of Friendship,
 “ which ought never to be firmly depended upon
 “ till it has been tried under all Shapes. These are
 “ but vain Subtilties, and shallow Dreams ; for as
 “ Strabo has it, ’tis not *Homer’s Way* to affix to any
 “ Truth those prodigious Fables. He has applied Fable
 “ to certain Facts, to give additional Charms to his
 “ Narration, as a Goldsmith adds Gold to Silver.
 “ Fully to unravel the wonderful Mystery of this
 “ Fiction, we must first find out the Truth which is
 “ the Foundation of it, and then we shall easily see
 “ the Fiction under which he has disguised it accord-
 “ ing to his Custom.”

Let us then separate the Truth from the Fiction.
 First of all, History informs us that there was at
Memphis a King named *Proteus*, who succeeded to
Pheron, this is the first Truth : The second, which
 is no less certain, is, that *Egypt* was the Country of
 the most skilful Enchanters who wrought the grea-
 test Prodigies. We see in Scripture that *Pharaoh’s*
 Magicians imitated a Part of *Moses’s* Miracles ;
 that by their Enchantment they changed a Rod into
 a Serpent, as that great Servant of God had done ;
 that they converted Water into Blood, and covered
 the whole Land of *Egypt* with Frogs, as he did. ’Tis
 therefore probable that *Menelaus*, being at *Canopus*,
 went to consult one of these Enchanters, who dealt
 in Prediction : And this is the Foundation *Homer* had
 to build his Fable upon, which he applied next to a
 known Name, *Proteus*, of whom he makes a Sea
 God, gives him Sea Monsters for his Guides, and
 imputes to him all those Changes, in Allusion to all
 the Prodigies wrought by the Enchanters. Here then
 is

is the Truth, and the Fable which serves for a Veil to it, plainly unraveled. *Eustathius* tells us, that some of the Antients were of Opinion, that *Proteus* was a Wonder-worker ; and I am surprized that this Light did not guide him to the Source of this Truth. It will perhaps be said, that the Magicians we read of in Scripture, wrought those Prodigies upon external Objects, and that *Proteus* performed his upon himself: But besides that Fable does not always deliver Truths, such as it found them, is it to be doubted, that those Magicians who did so surprizing Things out of themselves, would also perform upon their own Persons, Things no less wonderful, and exhibit themselves under various Shapes, very apt to raise Astonishment? Since among the *Greeks*, who to be sure would have been but Novices in the Art to the *Egyptians*, some were found who wrought Prodigies upon themselves of this Nature. *Eustathius* quotes the Example of *Callisthenes* the Physician, who, whenever he had a mind, appeared all on Fire, and shewed himself under other Forms, which astonished the Spectators.

There are some Authors who alledge, that *Proteus* was a skilful Orator, who could easily make those who conversed with him alter their Sentiments. *Lucian* asserts, that he was a Comedian extremely supple, a perfect Scaramouche, who turned himself, as we may say, into all Sorts of Shapes. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* alledges, the Fable of *Proteus* comprehends the Mystery of the Formation of the World ; and his Changes that were designed to teach us, that Matter was capable of receiving all Sorts of Forms ; and that *Eidotea*, who advises to bind her Father, is Divine Providence, which fixes this Matter to certain Subjects. Others will have it, that *Proteus* signifies Truth, which lies concealed from those who don't apply themselves to the Study of it.

But the most probable Opinion, and what is most common among the Antients, and among the rest,
Homer

Homēr (1), *Heròdotus* (2), *Diodorus Siculus* (3), *Cle-
mens Alexandrinus* (4), *Lycophron* (5), *Isacius* and se-
veral others, is, that *Proteus* was an ancient King of
Egypt, who kept his Court at *Memphis*, and who
reigned about the Time of the *Trojan War*. What
Herodotus in particular says of him is to this Effect ;
and though the Passage I am going to quote from
him be somewhat long, yet I thought it deserved to
be given entire. “ *Pheron*, King of *Egypt* had for
“ his Successor an Inhabitant of *Memphis*, called in
“ the *Greek Language Proteus*, of whom we see a
“ Temple at this Day in *Memphis*, which is very
“ fine and magnificently adorned. It is situated by
“ the Temple of *Vulcan*, to the South : The *Pheni-
“ cians* from *Tyrus* dwell in the Neighbourhood,
“ and from thence the Place is called the Field of
“ the *Tyrians*. There is in this Temple of *Proteus* a
“ Chapel dedicated to *Venus*, surnamed the Stranger,
“ whom I conjecture to be *Helen*, the Daughter of
“ *Tyndarus*, because I have heard that *Helen* was for
“ some Time *Proteus*’s Guest, and that she had the
“ Name of the foreign *Venus*. For there is no
“ other Part of the Temple that is consecrated to
“ her under that Name. And indeed when I asked
“ the Priests what they thought of *Helen*, they told
“ me, as *Paris Alexander* was returning to his own
“ Country, after having carried her off from *Sparta*,
“ he was driven by Storm upon the Coasts of *Egypt*,
“ and seeing the Tempest still continue, he was
“ forced to land there at the Mouth of the *Nile*
“ which is called *Canopick*, where he made some
“ Stay. There was upon the shore a Temple to
“ *Hercules*, which is there at this Day, whether if
“ any Slave retires, to whatever Person he belongs,
“ and takes on the holy Signs that are there, put-
“ ing himself under the Protection of that God, he
“ is not allowed to be taken, and this Privilege has
“ even remained unviolable to our Time : The
Slaves

(1) *Odyss.* L. 4. (2) L. 2. (3) L. 1. (4) *Strom.* 5.
(5) In his *Cassandra*.

“ Slaves of *Paris* having heard of the Freedom that
 “ was to be found in this *Téple*, instantly return-
 “ ed thither, and falling down upon their Knees
 “ before that God, began to accuse their Master,
 “ and to divulge the Rape of *Helen*, and the Injury
 “ which he had done to *Menelaus*. They made
 “ their Complaints in Presence of the Priests and
 “ Governor of that Mouth of the *Nile*, named *Tho-*
 “ *nis*, who having heard them out, dispatched a
 “ Message to *Memphis* to bear this News to *Proteus*,
 “ which was delivered in these Terms. There has
 “ just arrived a Foreigner of the Race of *Teucer*,
 “ who has committed an unheard of Crime in *Greece*.
 “ he has seduced the Wife of his Host: He has
 “ carried her off, and with her a vast deal of Riches.
 “ Contrary Winds have driven him upon your
 “ Coasts, whether shall we let him go with Impu-
 “ nity, or shall we spoil him of what he has brought
 “ with him? Immediately *Proteus* ordered the Go-
 “ vernour to seize upon this Man; he accordingly
 “ obeyed, and brought him before *Proteus*; who, af-
 “ ter he had reproached him bitterly, banished him
 “ from his Presence; however, being unwilling to
 “ put him to Death, lest he should have violated the
 “ Law of Hospitality, he ordered him to depart out
 “ of his Dominions within three Days, and detained
 “ *Helen* to give her back to her Husband.”

Diodorus Siculus allows also that *Proteus*, whom he names *Cetes*, was King of *Egypt*; and asserts at the same Time, that whatever the *Greeks* fabled of his various Metamorphoses, the *Egyptians* said of their King *Cetes*; but he differs from *Herodotus*, in two Points: 1. In saying that he ascended the Throne after an Interregnum of 150 Years, whereas *Herodotus* makes him to have reigned immediately after *Phero*. 2. In making him to have been present at the War of *Troy*, which has induced some Moderns to say, that he was the same with *Tithonus*, the Father of *Memnon*.

However that be, what may have given Rise to the Metamorphoses in *Virgil* and *Homer*, I take to be this. *Proteus* was a wise and eloquent Prince; and his Precaution whereby he evaded every Danger, might serve him instead of the prophetick Gift which is ascribed to him; for according to *Cicero*, Foresight is a Prophecy. As it was very difficult to learn his Secrets, there was no great Impropriety in saying, there was no coming at the Knowledge of them but by binding him. He was besides exceeding stately, and seldom appeared in publick: No body was permitted to come in his Way; there were but a few of the great Lords, whom *Homer* allegorically calls the large Fishes, *φῶνες*, who durst accompany him. It was commonly at Noon when he went out of his Palace, which the same Poet calls his Cave: He used to walk along the Sea-Coast for the Benefit of the cool North-wind, covered perhaps with an Umbrello, which he calls a Cloud. Sometimes he appeared in the midst of his Soldiers, as a Shepherd in the midst of his Flocks: He knew their Number and their Names, and frequently reviewed them. Hence the same Poet says, he counted his Flocks regularly every Day about the Hour of Noon. His being quick and lively even to Excess, might justify the Expression of being all Fire; and then from his absolute Command of his Passions, he appeared in a Moment after more smooth and pliant than Water. Would it not seem that our two Poets designed by all these Strokes to give an allegorical Description of a King, wise and provident, artful and insinuating, and not of a Sea Monster, or a Camellion, that changed Form and Figure? Nothing is more usual in the Poets, and even in Scripture, than these Symbolical Descriptions that figure the Character of a Person under Terms of Obscurity. Thus the Prophet *Isaiah* considers *Nebuchadnezzar* as the Morning Star; and *Jacob*, his Son *Judah* as a Lion (1), &c. which would never bear to be understood literally.

In

(1) *Genesis* 49.

In like Manner, by this maritime Race, whom *Virgil*, after *Homer*, calls *Gens humida ponti*, 'tis evident those Poets designed the *Egyptians* who lie near the Sea ; and by those Sea-calves, *turpes Phocas*, the *Satrapes of Egypt* ; and if they call them *Neptune's Flocks*, 'tis because a King ought to be the Father and Pastor of his Subjects. Again, it is in the same Sense that they call *Proteus* the Son of *Neptune*, because he was powerful by Sea, and Master of *Carpathia* ; whence he himself came to be accounted afterwards a Sea-god. Perhaps too the equivocal Meaning of the Word *Cetes*, a Name he went under, according to *Diodorus*, or rather *Ketiu*, as he is named by *Perizonius*, the Import whereof is a Whale or great Fish, served to propagate this Fable ; and what wonderfully confirms these Conjectures, *Homer*, who is the Author of it, had learned it from the *Egyptians*, who often covered their Histories with ingenious Veils of Allegory and Fiction.

In the mean Time, if we take *Diodorus Siculus's* Account, there will be less Mystery under it than we may imagine, since, according to him, this Fable was hatched among the *Greeks*, and was invented from a Custom that prevailed among the Kings of *Egypt* to wear upon their Heads as a Badge of their Strength and Power, the Skin of a Lion, or of a Bull, or of a Dragon ; sometimes even Branches of Trees, Fire, and rich Perfumes ; these Ornaments giving them a Figure in the Eyes of their Subjects, and striking them with a superstitious Awe.

Proteus left a Son named *Remphis*, who succeeded him. As for himself, he was ranked among the Gods ; and we have just now seen what *Herodotus* says of his Temple. We shall conclude with some critical Reflections of our Literati. *M. Fourmont* (a) alledges the *Greeks* formed the Name of *Proteus*, which they gave to this King, from *Phrao* or *Phro*, of which they made *Prot*, with the final *eus* ; an

M m

Etymology

(a) Critical Reflections upon the History of antient Nations, L. 3. C. 10.

Etymology no doubt preferable to that of *Perizonius*, who says that Prince got the Name of *Proteus*, only because he was chosen after an Anarchy. The late *Hectius*, who has run the Parallel between *Moses* and almost all the Pagan Gods (1), has not failed to compare him to *Proteus*, maintaining that this Fable is founded upon what the Scripture says of *Moses's* Rod. But with that learned Prelate's good Leave, *Proteus*, whom all Antiquity agrees to have lived in the Time of the *Trojan* War, is posterior by near 240 Years to the Legislator of the *Hebrews*.

C H A P. VII.

Phorcys, Saron, Portunus, Matuta, Glaucus
and *Egeon*.

PHIORCIS, or *Phorcus*, another Sea-god, was, if we may believe *Hesiod* (2), the Son of *Ponius* and *Terra*, and had by his Wife *Ceto*, the *Graie*, whose Hairs were white at the Moment of their Birth (3); a physical Generation, intimating that the Waves whiten when they are ruffled. *Homer* (4) speaks of the Cave where *Phorcys* dwelt, upon which *Perphyry* has made a learned Commentary, but which is reduced to some mysterious and abstracted Notions of Physiology. *Varro* is the only Author who has reduced to History what those Poets say; and he contends, that *Phorcys* was a King of *Corfica*. As he lost his Life, and a Part of his Army in a naval Battle against *Atlas*, those who survived this Overthrow, gave out that he had been transformed into a Sea-god.

Saron was looked upon as the particular God of the Sailors, and the *Greeks*, for that Reason, gave him a Name from an Arm of the Sea which is near *Corinth*,

(1) Dem. Evang. Pro. 4. (2) In Theog. (3) See the History of *Perseus* and the *Gorgons*, V. 6. (4) Odyss. L. 13.

Corinth, or from the *Saronick Gulf*. This is what *Aristides* gives us to understand, when he says, *For they don't always dwell in the Sea like Glaucus, Anthedon, and Saron*. 'Tis farther probable, that this *Saron* is the same whom *Pausanias* speaks of (1), and who was King of *Corinth*. “ *Althepus*, says he, succeeded *Saron*: The latter, as we are told, built a Temple to *Diana Saronis* in a Place where the Waters of the Sea form a Morass; accordingly they call it the *Phebæan Morass*. This Prince was passionately fond of hunting. One Day, as he was in Chase of a Stag, he pursued it to the Sea-coast, the Stag having thrown himself in to swim, he plunged in after him, and in the Keeness of his Pursuit, was carried insensibly on till he found himself in the deep Sea, where his Strength being exhausted, he, unable to struggle longer with the Waves, was drowned. His Body was brought to the sacred Grove of *Diana*, near this Morass, and buried in the Court of the Temple: This Adventure was the Cause of changing the Name of the Morass, which is now called the *Saronick Morass*.”

Portunus, if we may believe *Servius*, presided over the Sea-ports, as his Name sufficiently intimates. His Story is very noted, and his first Name was *Melicertus*. *Por'unus*, or *Palemon*, and *Ino* or *Matuta*, his Mother.

Athamas his Father, King of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, having turned delirious, slew one of his Sons named *Leræbus*, and *Ino* the Mother of this young Prince, with her other Son *Melicertus*, threw herself with him into the Sea: They were both of them changed into Sea-gods; *Melicertus* under the Name of *Palemon*, and *Ino* under that of *Leucothoe* (2). The Foundation of this Story is true, and I gave a full Explanation in the seventh Volume of the other Adventures of this Family.

The *Greeks* had no sooner performed the Apotheosis of *Ino* and *Melicertus*, than they founded a religious

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) *Ovid. Met. L. 4. Hygin, &c.*

ous Worship to them, which was received in several Countries. *Melicertus* especially was worshipped in the Island of *Tenedos*, where Superstition was carried the Length of offering to him their Children in Sacrifice. At *Corinth* *Glaucus* instituted the Isthmian Games in honour of him, which being interrupted some Time after, were re-established by *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*.

Pausanias tells us (1), that in the Temple which the *Corinthians* had consecrated to *Neptune*, were three Altars; one for this God, the other for *Leucothoe*, and the third for *Palemon*: There was also, adds the same Author, a low Chapel, the Descent to which was by a secret Stair, and there *Palemon* was said to lie concealed, and whoever made a false Oath in this Place, be he Citizen or Stranger, was instantly punished for his Perjury.

Leucothoe was also worshipped at *Rome*, and there she had a Temple, whither the *Roman* Ladies came and offered their Vows for their Brothers Children, not daring to pray the Goddess for their own, because she had been too unhappy in Children. This is what we learn from *Ovid* (a). Female Slaves were not permitted to enter into this Temple, or if they were found there, they were beat unmercifully.

As the Nations that received the Worship of strange Gods frequently changed their Names, so *Ino*, whom the *Greeks* named *Leucothoe*, was called *Matuta* by the *Romans*; and *Melicertus*, whom the former worshipped under the Name of *Palemon*, was known at *Rome* under that of *Poriummus*. We have no Figure of this God; but *Boissart* has preserved one to us of *Matuta*, under whom we find the Words, *Mat. Lug.*

Tho' *Homer* considers *Egeon* only as a Giant, *Ovid* however says he was one of the Sea-gods. Accord-
ing

(1) In *Corinth*. C. 2.

(a) Non tamen hanc pro stirpe sua pia mater adoret:
Ipsa parura felix visa fuisse parens.

ing to *Hesiod* (2), he was the Son of *Cælus* and *Terra*. *Eumelus*, another antient Poet, in his Poem of the Titanoinachy, makes him the Son of *Pontus* and *Terre*, and says he dwelt in the Sea, whence he aided the *Titans*. *Conon* asserts that *Neptune* vanquished him, and threw him headlong into the Sea. This is mostly all we know of *Egeon*.

Among the Sea-gods were likewise ranked *Scylla* and *Charybdis*; but what I am to say of them in the History of *Ulysses* (1) makes it superfluous for me to speak of them here.

Glaucus, if we believe *Servius* (a), was a famous Fisherman of the Town of *Anthedon* in *Beotia*, who having laid upon the Grass the Fishes which he had caught, perceived them to recover their Life and Motion, and throw themselves into the Sea. He made no question but there was a peculiar Virtue in some of those Herbs; he tasted thereof, and was transformed into a Sea-god. Thus *Ovid* and *Ausonius* relate the Fiction; but History lets us know that it had no other Foundation but the peculiar Skill of this famous Fisher, as we learn from *Strabo* (3). *Philostratus*, in one of his Pictures, having regard only to the Fictions of the Poets, thus paints *Glaucus*. His Beard, says he, is moist and white, and his Hair waves upon his Shoulders. His Eye-brows are so thick, and so near one another, that they seem to make but one. His Arms are made fit for swimming, and his Breast is covered with a Sea-weed. The rest of his Body terminates in a Fish, whose Tail is crooked as far as the Reins.

Antiquity acknowledges three *Glaucus's*; the one the Son of *Minos*, another the Son of *Hippolochus*,
M m 3 who

(1) Theog. (2) V. 7.

(a) Piscator fuit de Anthedone civitate, qui cum capcos pisces posuisset in littore, & illi, recepto spiritu, rursus mare petiissent, sensit quarundam herbarum potentiam, quibus conversus est in Deum marinum, Serv. in 1 Georg.

(3) Geog. L. 11.

who is mentioned in the *Iliad*, a third surnamed the *Pontick*: This Plurality of Names has introduced a great deal of Confusion into the Genealogy of the *Glaucus* now in question. Some Authors give him *Polybus* for his Father, others make him the Son of *Phorbas*, others, in fine, of *Neptune*. What we may conclude to be more certain, is, that he was a skilful Fisher, and, at the same Time, a very fine Swimmer. As he used to remain a long Time under Water, he would needs have it believed, for the Sake of a Name, that he was then enjoying Inter-course with the Sea-gods. However, notwithstanding his Skill in swimming, he happened to be drowned, as we learn from *Palephatus* (1); and to do Honour to his Memory, he was said to be transformed into a Sea-god. The City *Ambedon* paid him a religious Worship, erected Temples to him, and offered him Sacrifices. *Ovid's* Manner of relating this Fiction is very singular, and I don't remember to have read any thing like it in the Antients. The Poets in after Times vented likewise a great Number of Fictions about him; some say it was he who ravished *Ariadne* in the Island of *Naxos*, where *Theseus* left her, and that *Bacchus*, by way of Punishment, tied him to a Vine-tree, as we may see in *Athenæus* (2). According to *Diodorus Siculus* (3), it was he appeared to the *Argonauts* under the Figure of a Sea-god, when *Orpheus*, upon occasion of a Tempest, made a solemn Vow to the *Samothracian* Gods. He even foretold them, as we have it in *Apollonius Rhodius*, that *Hercules* and the two *Tyndaride*, *Caster* and *Pollux*, should one Day be advanced to divine Honours. They add further, that in the Combat between *Inoas* and the *Tyrrhenians*, he joined with the *Argonauts*, and was the only one not wounded. *Euripides* (4), and after him *Pausanias*, tell us that he was *Nereus's* Interpreter, and had the Gift of Prophecy. If we may credit *Nicander*, it was

(1) L. 2. C. 28. (2) L. 7. C. 12. (3) L. 4. (4) In his *Orestes*.

was from him that *Apollo* himself learned the Art of Prediction. In fine *Strabo*, herein followed by *Philostratus* in his Picture of *Glaucus*, will have it that he was transformed into a *Triton*, and the Portraiture of him given by the last of these Authors, perfectly resembles the Description of that Kind of Monster. From all these Fictions, we may conclude that *Glaucus* having been drowned, came to be worshipped as a Sea-god. The Place where he perished became famous, and *Pausanias* speaking of the City of *Anthedon* in *Beotia*, remarks that there was in that City what was called *Glaucus's Leap*; that is to say, the Place whence he had thrown himself into the Sea.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Nymphs, Dryads, Hamadryads, Napææ, Oreades, &c.

TH O' some of the Divinities named in the Title to this Chapter, are in the Class of terrestrial Gods, such as the *Dryads*, the *Hamadryads*, the *Oreades*, &c. however, as most of them owe their Origin to the Water, I judged it proper not to separate them, but range them all among the Gods of the Sea.

The Nymphs in general were among the Pagans the Gods of the Mountains, Woods, Fountains, and Rivers; for which Reason they got several Names. Those whose Abode was on the dry Land, had the Name of Nymphs in general. The Guardians of the Rivers and Fountains were called *Naiads*. Those who inhabited the Pools and Marshes were termed *Limniades*. Those who presided over the Groves, *Napææ*. Those who delighted in the Woods, *Dryads*; or *Hamadryads*, if they were attached to some particular Tree; and these last lived and died with the Tree. Such as were over the

Mountains, were named *Oreades* (*a*); and those, in short, who dwelt in the Sea, *Nereids*. A Kind of Sacrifice was wont to be offered to them of Milk, Oil, and Honey; and sometimes the Sacrifice was a Goat.

'Tis not easy to say, what was the Original of those Fables that have been delivered about Nymphs; for there is no possibility of making all that the Poets say of them mere Allegory. I can never persuade myself, that they meant no more by those Symbols, than to give us an Idea of the Properties of Water and fluid Bodies, which are the Principles of the Generation of Trees and Plants, and all because the Word Nymph comes perhaps from *Lympha*, which signifies *Water*; nor can I believe this to be *Hesiod's* Reason for making them spring from the Sea-foam like *Venus*; and of their being called the Mothers of the Rivers, the Daughters of the watry Element or of the Ocean, and the rest (*b*). Therefore I take the Idea of Nymphs to have come from an ancient Opinion that the Souls of the Dead wandered about the Tombs where their Bodies were interred, or in the Places which they had frequented during their Abode in this World; this is the Sentiment of *Porphyry* (1). What makes very much for this Opinion is a Remark of *Meursius*, that the Greek Word *Nymphē* is no other than the *Phœnician* Word *Nephas*, which imports Soul; and he adds that this Opinion, as well as many others of those Times, took its Rise from the *Phœnicians*.

For

(2) All these Names, in *Greek*, intimated the Places where they resided, see *Noël le Comte*, L. 5. & 12. They had also several other Names, as *Ionides*, *Ismenides*, and a hundred others, which they derived either from the Places of their Birth, or rather from the Places where they were adored, as they are explained by *Pausanias* and *Strabo*.

(b) The Learned give several Derivations of this Name, some derive it from the *Hebrew* Word *Nouph*, *stillare*, whence the *Greeks* have made their *Napææ*. See *F. Thomassin*, *Lect. des Poëtes*, c. 2. l. 7.

(1) *De Antir. Nymph.* p. 25.

For our better understanding this Notion, we are to know, that before the Syſtem of the *Elifian* Fields and *Tartarus*, an Opinion not much older among the *Greeks* than *Orpheus* and *Homer*, the common Belief was, either that the Souls hovered about the Tombs, or haunted the Gardens and delightful Groves, which they had frequented during their Union with the Body. Hence theſe Places came to be the Objects even of religious Veneration; where it was uſual to invoke the Shades that were believed there to haunt; to propitiate them by Vows and Sacrifices, that they might vouchſafe to watch over the Flocks and Houſes. This is the original of the ancient Cuſtom of ſacrificing under green Trees, where the wandering Ghoſts were thought to take great Delight; a Cuſtom formerly obſerved by the antient *Gauls* or *Celts*, who ſacrificed under the Oaks, in the *Celtick* Language called *Deru*; whence came the Name of *Dryads*, and *Hamadryads*, or of thoſe who inhabited the Woods and Trees.

But what ſtill greatly confirms this Opinion is, that the Stars and higher Parts of the Universe were believed to be ſo many animated Beings (*a*); and this Notion was afterwards extended likewise to the Earth, the Groves, the Mountains, the Rivers, to all which tutelar Dieties were aſſigned. This is the Original of thoſe Divinities; but it muſt be owned, that in later Ages Women of all Sorts, from the Lady of Diſtinction to the ſimple Shepherdſſes (*b*), who had been in any Adventure (*c*), were denominated Nymphs. Thus our Poets, faithful Copiers of the Reveries of the Antients, frequently give the
Name

(*a*) See what we have ſaid under the ſeventh Source of Fables, V. 1. B. 1.

(*b*) This, we doubt not, is the Reaſon why *Homer* gives the Names of Nymphs to *Phaetusa* and *Lampetia*, who kept the Flocks of the Sun in *Sicily*.

(*c*) According to *Servius*, the Number of the Nymphs was reduced to 200. *Hefiod* reckons 300 of them, and I ſuppoſe it was indefinite, conſidering the Number of Perſons who got the Name of Nymphs.

Name Nymph to the illustrious Women, who enter into the Subjects of their Poems. In fine, we may add what *Diodorus* says (1), that the Wives of the *Atlantides* were commonly called Nymphs; which inclines me to think that this was the Country where the Opinion of the Existence of those Goddesses took its Rise, because the Place where the Souls of Heroes were said to dwell after Death, was in the delightful Gardens of *Mauritania Tingitana*, or near Mount *Atlas*.

The Pagans did not indeed believe these pretended Divinities to be immortal; but they were supposed to be very long-lived (2): *Hesiod* makes them live several thousand Years (3). *Plutarch* has determined their Number to be 9720 Years (a).

If you ask the Meaning of those many Metamorphoses of Persons transformed to Nymphs, Dryads, &c. I reckon when some Princess was carried off at Hunting, or perhaps perished in the Woods, the ordinary Resource of Flatterers was to say *Diana*, or some other friendly Divinity, had transformed her into a Nymph. The same Report was spread of those who out of Melancholy retired into the Woods, there to deplore their Misfortunes; for then if they died near some Fountain, it was usual to say, they were transformed into Nymphs, and upon this some Poem was composed wherein the Fountain was called after the Name of the Princess; as it happened to the pretended *Egeria*, that celebrated Nymph whom *Numa Pompilius* went to consult in the Forest of *Aricia*. That Prince, in order to persuade the *Roman* People of the Divinity of that religious Worship which he had a Design to establish, gave out that all the Ceremonies of it were dictated to him by a Nymph, with whom he feigned to have Intercourse under the Name *Egeria*. After the Death of their
King

(1) L. 3. (2) Pausan. (3) Theogo.

(a) In his Treatise of the Cessation of Oracles, where he reasons pitifully upon this Subject, however People may be willing to turn it to Allegory.

King, the *Romans* went in Search of this pretended Nymph, and having found nothing but a Fountain in the Place whether *Numa* used to retire, and where probably he was wont to perform some Hydromancy, as *St. Augustin* alledges, they imagined that the Nymph had been transformed into a Fountain. From this Example we may judge of all the other Fables that have been delivered about the Nymphs or Naiads.

We shall say nothing of the fine Description that *Homer* gives of the Grotto of the Nymphs; nor of those Verses where *Horace* represents to us *Bacchus* instructing the Nymphs (a): For the Reader would not be satisfied with the Allegories which some Authors make out of them, and far less with the impertinent Obscenity which a stoick Philosopher with all the Air of Gravity and Seriousness has thrown out upon the Occasion (i). But to omit nothing of Moment upon the Subject, I shall here subjoin a List of Nymphs and Naiads: Their Names in an alphabetical Order are these:

<i>Acasta</i>	<i>Calypso</i>	<i>Doxo</i>
<i>Adma</i>	<i>Casinaria</i>	<i>Drymo</i>
<i>Ægeria</i>	<i>Cerceis</i>	<i>Dynamne</i>
<i>Ægle</i>	<i>Clio</i>	<i>Electra</i>
<i>Agatete</i>	<i>Clotho</i>	<i>Ephyre</i>
<i>Agave</i>	<i>Clymene</i>	<i>Erece</i>
<i>Amathia</i>	<i>Clytia</i>	<i>Eudore</i>
<i>Amphithoë</i>	<i>Corasice</i>	<i>Europa</i>
<i>Amphinome</i>	<i>Creseis</i>	<i>Eurybia</i>
<i>Amphitas</i>	<i>Cydippe</i>	<i>Eurymene</i>
<i>Amphyro</i>	<i>Cymodusa</i>	<i>Galatæa</i>
<i>Arethusa</i>	<i>Cymothoë</i>	<i>Galaxaura</i>
<i>Asia</i>	<i>Deiopcia</i>	<i>Glaucis</i>
<i>Atté</i>	<i>Dianaste</i>	<i>Halia</i>
<i>Bersé</i>	<i>Dioné</i>	<i>Hippo</i>
<i>Calianaste</i>	<i>Doris</i>	<i>Hyale</i>
<i>Calliroë</i>	<i>Dosithæa</i>	<i>Jacra</i>
		<i>Janira</i>

(a) Vidi Bacchum docentem Nymphas.

(i) *La Moine le Poëte* in his *Hexam. rust.*

<i>Janira</i>	<i>Nise</i>	<i>Sangaris</i>
<i>Janthé</i>	<i>Ocyroe</i>	<i>Spio</i>
<i>Idothæa</i>	<i>Opis</i>	<i>Styx</i>
<i>Idyia</i>	<i>Orithya</i>	<i>Syrinx</i>
<i>Laodicé</i>	<i>Panope</i>	<i>Thalessa</i>
<i>Lara</i>	<i>Panopea</i>	<i>Thalia</i>
<i>Leontademe</i>	<i>Pasitboé</i>	<i>Thero</i>
<i>Ligea</i>	<i>Peloris</i>	<i>Thespia</i>
<i>Limneria</i>	<i>Persa</i>	<i>Thetis</i>
<i>Lyceste</i>	<i>Perseis</i>	<i>Thoé</i>
<i>Lycerias</i>	<i>Petrea</i>	<i>Thyca</i>
<i>Marcia</i>	<i>Pherusa</i>	<i>Thyella</i>
<i>Melantho</i>	<i>Phcloé</i>	<i>Thisbé</i>
<i>Melite</i>	<i>Phyllidocé</i>	<i>Thorebia</i>
<i>Meloboris</i>	<i>Pitho</i>	<i>Thyche</i>
<i>Memnesthe</i>	<i>Plexaura</i>	<i>Thyro</i>
<i>Metis</i>	<i>Plione</i>	<i>Uranca</i>
<i>Minestra</i>	<i>Polydora</i>	<i>Xanto</i>
<i>Minopene</i>	<i>Proto</i>	<i>Zeuxo</i>
<i>Memeritis</i>	<i>Prymno</i>	<i>Zexo</i>
<i>Neso</i>	<i>Rhœdea</i>	
<i>Nisæa</i>	<i>Sagaritis</i>	

We may remark by the by that some of these Nymphs are named twice, according to the different Manner in which the Poets, from whom *Beger* has taken this List, pronounced their Names ; and of others, we may observe, are the same with some the Muses.

CHAP. IX.

Of Eolus and the Winds.

EOLUS is also reckoned amongst the Gods of the Sea, because he was believed to be the God of Winds and Storms. This Prince, the Son of *Hippotus*, and whose Merit ranked him among the Sons of *Jupiter*, lived in the Time of the *Trojan War*, and reigned, if we may believe *Servius* and *Varro*, over the Islands which were first called *Vulcanian*, and afterwards got the Name of *Eolian*.
These

These Islands seven in Number, lie between *Sicily* and *Italy*. on the Side of the Promontory of *Pelorus*, as we are told by *Diodorus* and *Pliny*. *Homer* speaks only of one, which he calls *Eolia*, though there is none of them that goes by that Name, but he calls it from the Name of its King *Eolus* : It was undoubtedly that of *Lipara*, where there are a great many *Vulcanos* ; whence *Aristotle*, speaking of this Island, says, it appears bright in the Night Time by Fires. *Strabo* is of the same Opinion, and this is the Reason why they sometimes placed here *Vulcan's* Forges ; a fable founded upon the Name which the *Phœnicians* gave to that Island : Those first Voyagers having landed there, and seeing the Fires which broke forth from it, named it, as *Bochart* has remarked, *Nibaras* or *Nebras*, which signifies a *Flambeau*, a lighted Fire.

'Twas in these Islands that *Eolus* reigned when *Ulysses* arrived there. That Prince was renowned for Wisdom and Prudence, and Hospitality to Strangers ; he was ready to assist them with friendly advice as to the Dangers of Navigation (1). He applied himself especially to observe the Winds, by viewing the Smoak which arose from the Caves of *Lipara*, as *Pliny* remarks : He even carried these his Observations so far, by the Help of a little Astronomy (2), and by considering the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, as we are told by *Strabo* (3), that he frequently foretold what Wind would blow for some Days ; a Thing not impossible to be foreseen, when one finds, after long Experience of the Climate, that the Wind which prevails one Day, generally continues for some Days after. As he lived at a Time when Navigation was very imperfect, and when it was very difficult for them, if they once departed a little from the Coast, to return thither and escape the Storm, hence they had frequent Recourse to him, to know what Winds should blow while they were to be at Sea. Several Persons were the better for his Advice ;

(1) *Diod. Sic.* l. 5. (2) *Ch.* 1. (3) *L.* 8.

Advice ; and his Reputation went so far, that he was looked upon as the King of the Winds, their Lord and Superintendant (a).

The Poets afterwards disguise, this History by their Fictions. *Homer*, instead of saying simply that *Ulysses*, who had consulted that Prince, by not giving Credit to his Counsels, and staying out at Sea longer than he ought to have done, had suffered a violent Storm which destroyed his Fleet in the View of *Ithaca*, says in a figurative Manner, that *Eolus* had shut up the Winds in a Bag of Goats Leather, and had given them to *Ulysses*, with express Order not to meddle with it till a certain Day. He adds that the Companions of *Ulysses*, seeing him fast asleep, opened the Bag, imagining it contained his Treasures ; and that in a Moment the Winds issued out with Fury, and raised that horrid Storm in which they all perished. *Virgil* again has borrowed his ideas from the *Greek* Poet and further embellished the Subject. He says (1), *Juno* having a mind to keep *Eneas* from *Italy*, where she knew a Settlement was promised him by the Fates, repaired to *Eolus* into the Islands where he kept the Winds shut up in a deep Cavern (b), that she entreated him to raise a Storm to drive *Eneas* from *Italy*, and so forth. In like Manner the other Poets speak of him : some of them said, before *Eolus* took upon him the Direction of the Winds, they made a terrible Devastation upon the Earth ; that they had separated *Sicily* from the firm Land ;
that

(a) — Hic vasto Rex Æolus antro
Luctantes ventos, tempestateque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis & carcere fœnat.

Virg. Æn. l. i.

Homer says much the same.

(1) En. l. i.

(b) *Seneca* rallies *Virgil* for having shut up the Winds in a Cave, since they are only Winds by their impetuous Motion ; but this Criticism falls to the Ground of itself, since the Winds are in a Cave, much after the Manner of the Air in the *Eolipike*, whence it only wants to vent itself with Impetuosity ; so that this is but a Question about a Word.

that a Tempest of old had opened that famous Inlet of the Ocean into the Mediterranean, which we call the Streights of *Gibraltar*, &c.

We must not however imagine that this Circumstance of the Winds shut up in a Bag contains some hidden Mystery : The Mythologists indeed (a) have made several Discoveries therein about the Nature of the Winds, which would be admirable if the Authors of this Fable had ever thought of them. We may reckon *Homer* in this Fiction is alluding to some antient Custom, like that which is still used in *Lapland*, where you meet with several Seamen who sell the Winds to those that embark, and promise for a certain Sum of Money, to imprison those that might molest their Voyage. 'Tis probable that the Antients had some such Practice among them ; which had given Rise to this Fiction of Winds shut up in a Bag.

Eratoſthenes had not considered this Circumstance of the Fable in so serious a Light, when he said, *he would undertake to shew all the Places which Ulyſſes had seen in his Voyages, when any one would find out the Person who had sewed up the Bag wherein the Winds were inclosed.* This is a Piece of facetious Rallery, but the Force of it is quite broke by *Polybius*, who maintains, as has been several Times said of Fables in general, that the Substance of *Ulyſſes's* Voyage is true ; but that *Homer* had interspersed them with Poetical Fictions and physical Allegories. I take this, for Example, to be the Case as to what the Poet says of the twelve Children of *Eolus*, six Sons and six Daughters, who were married to one another : For if we understand not this Article literally, as *Diodorus* has done (1), we may suppose he meant the twelve principal Winds, that often unite their Forces together in Hurricanes.

But now that we are upon the Chapter of Winds, we shall remark, that Pagan Superstition went the length

(a) See Natal. Hist. of *Eolus*.

(1) L. 5.

length of adoring them as Divinities : Sacrifices were offered to them upon undertaking a Voyage, as we learn from several Authors (a). *Ovid* mentions the Temple which *Scipio* erected to the Tempests : *Augustus*, according to *Seneca* (1), built a Temple in the *Gauls* to the Wind *Cyrcius* ; and *Virgil* says, *Eneas* sacrificed to the Zephirs a white Sheep : *Pecudem Zephyris felicibus albam* ; where 'tis proper to remark that the *Greeks*, in the Worship which they paid to the Winds, and in the Fable of *Eolus*, whom they made their Sovereign, had only imitated the oriental Nations, especially the *Persians*, who, according to *Herodotus* (2), ascribed a religious Worship to those blustering Divinities ; and to this Custom the Author of the Book of Wisdom is alluding, when he reckons among the Divinities of the *Gentiles*, the *Air and the Winds* : *Aut ventum, aut celum aerem deos putaverint* (3) ; and that at a Time when probably the Fables of the *Greeks* upon this Subject had not yet passed into the East.

To return to the History of *Eolus*, 'tis not amiss that we explain a Circumstance which *Homer* relates (4) of the Island of *Lipara*, where he reigned. That Poet says the Palace of *Eolus* resounded daily with Acclamations of Joy, and that there harmonious Sounds were to be heard : For 'tis probable that this is founded upon the Wonders that were reported concerning that Island. In one of the seven Islands of *Eolus*, says *Aristotle* (5), we are told that there is a Tomb concerning which strange Prodigies are related — We are assured that a Noise of Drums and Cymbals is there to be heard together with loud Acclamations, &c. 'Tis easy to see that what had given Rise to this, is, the Noise made by the Fire pent up in the Caverns of that Island ; and consequently *Homer* alludes to the antient Name of the Island, which was called the

(a) Tres Eryci vitulos, & tempestatibus agnam
Cedere - - - jubet. *En.* l. 3.

(1) *Qu.* nat. l. 5. c. 17. (2) *L.* 1. (3) *Wild.* c. 3.

(4) *Odyss.* l. 10. (5) *Lib.* de Incredibil.

Meligornis, as we learn from *Callimachus* (1). *Diana*, says he, *went in quest of the Cyclops, and found them in the Island of Lipara (this is the Name it has at present; but then it was called Meligornis) &c.* *Borchart* has very well remarked (2), that this subterraneous Noise, which we have been now speaking of, had given Occasion to call the Island by this last Name, since in the *Phenician* Language, *Meloginin*, or *Menagginin*, signifies the Island of those who play upon Instruments. The same Author derives also very happily from the same Language the Origin of the Name *Eolus*, and of this whole Fable, which had, no doubt, been written by the *Phenicians*; and 'tis probable that the *Greeks* finding in it the Word *Aol*, which, in that Language, like *Aella* in *Greek*, signifies a Storm; and having perhaps read in the same Annals the Word *Aolin*, that is to say, the King of Winds and Storms, formed thereof, after *Homer*, the proper Name of a Man whom they called *Eolus*.

But with Deference to the Authors of these Conjectures, I cannot be of their Mind. The Prince, whose History I have now given, was really named *Eolus*, and descended from the antient King of this Name, who was the Son of *Deucalion*, whose Descendants, after having given many Kings to *Greece*, sent several Colonies into the *Lesser Asia*, whose Coasts they peopled, and passed from thence into *Italy*; and of this last Transmigration *Diodorus Siculus* thus speaks (3); *Mimas*, the Son of *Eolus*, reigned in a Part of *Thessaly*: His Son *Hippotus*, who succeeded him, was Father to *Eolus* II. and he again of *Arne*, who gave her Name to the Capital of his Kingdom. This Princess having suffered her Gallant to debauch her, was sold by her Father to a Merchant of *Metapontus*, who brought her into *Italy*, where she was delivered in a little Time after of two Sons, who were adopted by their Master. Having after this been guilty of Murder, they were ba-

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nished

(1) Hymn to *Diana*. (2) Chap. L. 4. (3) L. 1.

nished from *Metapontus*. *Eolus* repaired to *Liparus*, the Son of *Auson*, who reigned over the *Liparian* Islands, whose Daughter he married, and succeeded him after his Death. *Eolus* had several Children: *Astiochus* the eldest reigned over the same Islands which were called *Eolian*, from the Name of their Father. *Jocastes* settled in the Confines of *Rheggio*; *Xuthus*, *Androcleus*, *Pheremon* and *Agathyrsus*, reigned in several Parts of *Sicily*, and their Descendants dwelt there till a Colony was sent thither by the *Dorians*. All these Circumstances we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (1), *Strabo* (2) and *Eustathius* (3).

The Winds, as we have said, were also created Divinities; and tho' Antiquity has transmitted to us little or nothing about the Worship was paid to them, we learn however from *Pausanias* (4), "That
 " at the Foot of a Mountain, near *Asopus*, was to
 " be seen an Altar consecrated to the Winds, to
 " whom, says he, on a certain Night of the Year,
 " a Priest offers Sacrifices, and there about four
 " Trenches performs some secret Ceremonies of
 " an odd Nature, in order to appease their Fury.
 " The same Priest during the Ceremony sings some
 " magical Verses, which, they say, *Medea* made
 " use of in her Inchantments." There were also discovered some Years ago, near *Nettuno* in *Italy*, an Altar consecrated to the same Divinities, with this Inscription; *Ara Ventorum*. *Herodotus* (5) and *Strabo* assure us, that the antient *Persians* sacrificed to the Winds *, and consequently it cannot be doubted that they were looked upon as Divinities, since Sacrifice is the least ambiguous Mark of the Kind of Worship called *Latria*. *Vitruvius* speaks of that celebrated Tower of the Winds which was at *Athens*, whereof *M. Spon*, who discovered it, has given a Draught, and has described it in the second Volume of his Travels thro *Greece* (6). On this Tower were
 to

(1) L. 5. (2) L. 1. (3) Upon the seventh of the *Odyss-*
sey. (4) In *Corinth*. (5) L. 1. * ἀνέμους. (6) 1 P.
 i. 76.

to be seen the eight principal Winds represented with their Names; but nothing can be concluded from this Monument for the Worship paid to the Winds; *Vitruvius* speaks of it only as a singular Piece of Architecture.

This is the Substance of what may be inferred from the few Monuments we have extant, concerning the Manner of representing the Winds. Upon the Tower which we have been speaking of, the eight principal ones are represented like young Men with Wings, whereof one seems to be blowing, the other to be pouring Water from a Pitcher, &c. In a Manuscript of *M. de Peyresc*, preserved in the Library of *S. Victor*, is to be seen a Bas-relief representing some Divinities, with the Signs of the *Zodiac*, and a Wind blowing with a Satyr's Ears, and two Wings upon the Forehead like *Mercury*. In fine, the Wind which was by the Altar of *Nettuno*, is blowing into a Shell-trumpet much after the Manner of a *Triton*.

CHAP. X.

Of the Sirens.

WE all know that the Poets represent the *Sirens* as beautiful Women, who inhabited steep Rocks upon the Sea-shore, whither having allured Passengers by the Sweetness of their Musick, they put them to Death. Some will have them to be the Daughters of the River *Achelous*, and of the Nymph *Calliope*; others alledge that they sprang from the Blood of the Wound which *Hercules* gave the God of that River, by pulling out one of his Horns. Their Number is not determined. *Homer* reckons only two of them, others allow five; namely, *Leucosia*, *Ligia*, *Parthenope*, *Aglaophon* and *Mopse*; others, in short, admit only the three first of these now mentioned (1).

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Several

(1) Serv. in L. 5. *Æn.*

Several Fables are delivered about them : *Ovid* says they accompanied *Proserpine* when she was carried off, and that the Gods granted them Wings to go in quest of that Princess (*a*). 'Tis added, that in despair of hearing any Account of her, they settled at length upon those Rocks, where their Employment was to destroy those whom they allured thither.

Homer (1), who places the *Sirens* in the midst of a Meadow drenched in Blood from the Carnage of those whom they had destroyed (*b*), tells us Fate had permitted them to reign till some Person should over-reach them ; that the wise *Ulysses* was he who accomplished their Destiny, having escaped their Snares by stopping the Ears of his Companions with Wax, and causing himself to be fastened to the Mast of his Ship ; which, he adds, plunged them into such Despair, that they drowned themselves in the Sea, where they were transformed into Fishes from the Waste downward. With regard to these two Opinions of *Homer* and *Virgil*, to mention it by the By, a Question arose some Years ago, whether the *Sirens* were considered by the Poets as Fishes, or as Fowls. An illustrious Prelate (2) thought to decide the Matter by saying, before their Metamorphosis, that is to say, before they threw themselves into the Sea, they were looked upon as Fowls, because of the Wings which the Gods had given them ;

(*a*) An quia cum legeret flores Proserpina vernos,
De numero comitum missæ Sirenes eratis?
Quam postquam toto frustra quæstistis in orbe,
Proinus ut vestram sentirent æquora curam,
Posse super fluctus alarum insistere remis
Optastis ; facilesque Deos habuistis, & artus
Vidistis vestros subitis flavescere pennis.

Met. L. 6.

(1) *Odyss.* L. 11.

(*b*) *Virgil* places them on Rocks surrounded with dead Men's Bones.

Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenium adducta subibat,
Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.

Æn. L. 5.

(2) *Hactenus.*

them ; but that they are to be reckoned from that Time among the Divinities of the Sea.

He ought to have added, that we are to consider the *Sirens* in three Periods of Time. First, they were beautiful Virgins, Nymphs who had nothing monstrous ; thus they were when they accompanied *Proserpine*, and gathered Flowers with her in the Meadows of *Enna* :

- - *Cum legeret flores Proserpina vernos,
De numero comitum mistæ Sirenes eratis.*

And that after having sought for that Princess by Land without finding her, they demanded Wings from the Gods to fly over the Seas :

*Protinus ut vestram sentirent æquora curam,
Posse super fluctus alarum insistere remis
Optastis ;*

Which was accordingly granted them :

- - - *Facilesque Deos habuistis, & artus
Vidistis vestros subitis flavescere pennis :*

From that Time we are to consider them as Fowls with Virgins Faces :

- - - *Cum virginis ora geratis.*

Lastly, From the Moment that they threw themselves into the Sea, in despair for *Ulysses's* having got the better of them, we are to consider them as Fishes and Divinities of the Sea.

However, not to dissemble, I am of Opinion that *Huetius* was mistaken, and that Antiquity never looked upon the *Sirens* to be Fishes ; neither *Homer*, who describes them only under the the Figure of voluptuous Women ; nor *Virgil*, nor *Servius* his

Commentator; nor *Ovid*, who thus describes them:

- - - - *Vobis, Acheloides, unde*
Pluma, pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis?

Nor any other of the Antients, that I know of, had ever that Idea of them; and when *Homer* says, Despair for having been baffled by *Ulysses*, induced them to drown themselves in the Sea, he speaks nothing of their Metamorphosis into Fishes: 'Twas the Painters, the Sculptors, and the Relations of Travellers concerning the Siren-fish, that gave a Handle to represent the poetical *Sirens* under that Figure. We likewise find them upon antient Medals, with the Feet of a Cock or of a Sparrow (*a*), and of several other Figures (*b*).

If, after all these Disquisitions, we would trace this Fable to its Source, *Servius* will inform us that it derived its Origin from certain Princesses who reigned of old upon the Coasts of the *Tuscan Sea*, near *Pelorus* and *Capreae*, or in three small Islands of *Sicily*, which *Aristotle* calls the Isles of the *Sirens*. These petty Queens were very debauched, and by their Charms allured Strangers, who were ruined in their Court by Pleasure and Prodigality. This is, no doubt, the Foundation of all that *Homer* says of the *Sirens* (1), that they bewitch those who are so imprudent as to come near them and listen to their Songs; that they detain them in a capacious Meadow, where nothing is to be seen but Heaps of Bones and Carcasses which lie withering in the Sun. None that visit them once, adds the Poet, ever return to receive the Embraces and joyful Congratulations of their Wives and Children; all who doat upon their Charms are doomed to perish.

What

(*a*) See the Treatise upon this Subject by the *Abbé Nicaise*.

(*b*) *Ovid*: L. 5. *Elean*: L. 7. *Servius* in *Æneid*. *Vossius* de *Idol*. L. 3. and the *Abbé Nicaise*, loc. cit.

(1) *Odyss*. L. 12.

What *Solomon* says (1) of the Miseries to which those are exposed who abandon themselves to sensual Pleasure, exceedingly justifies the Idea given us of the *Sirens* by the *Greek Poet*, and by *Virgil's Commentator*. “ Those foolish Women, says the wise King, call Passengers who go right on their Way. “ Who so is simple, say they, let him turn in hither: Stolen Waters (*that is stolen Pleasures*) are sweet; and Bread eaten in secret is most pleasant: “ The Fools know not that Giants are there, and “ that her Guests are in the Depths of Hell.”

However natural the Explication is which *Servius* gives of the Fable of the *Sirens*, there are Authors of Opinion that it has no other Foundation but the equivocal Meaning of the *Greek Word Syrein*, which signifies to draw to oneself, or *Syra, a Chain*; or, according to *Bochart*, from the *Hebrew Word Sir*, which imports a *Song*, or *Hymn*, whence has been composed the Name of *Sirens*, as you would say *singing Women*.

May not I alledge, in order to reconcile these Authors, that there were really lewd Princesses who dwelt upon the Sea-coasts, and who gave Rise to all these Fables; but that the Name of *Sirens* was only given them in latter Times, because they who found in the ancient Language the Word *Sir*, or *Syrein*, which marked their Character, took it for their Name? And when it is said that they were the Daughters of the River *Achelous*, the Meaning is, that the Isle of *Taphos*, whence those Virgins are said to have departed when they came and settled at *Carpæ*, is at the Mouth of that River.

As to the Time when they lived, *Ovid* informs us it was in the Time of *Proserpine*, and that they accompanied that Princess in the Meadows of Mount *Etna*, where here Rape was committed. *Homer* makes them live in the Time of *Ulysses*, after the War of *Troy*; and I reckon these various Opinions may be reconciled by saying that they lived not all

(1) *Prov. C. 9.*

at the same Time, but after one another ; that their Reign continued to the Time of *Ulysses*, who perhaps put to Death the last Princess of that Island. We need not be surpris'd that the Poets have put together, in one continued Relation, all that concerned the *Sirens*: This is not the first Time that they have brought nearer, or removed farther, by many Ages, the Events of fabulous Times ; and this I take to be a better Solution, than to say that *Homer*, by the magnificent Fable of the *Sirens*, had no other View but merely to teach us that his Heroe avoided the Charms of Pleasure, he whom he makes to stay seven Years with *Calypso*, and to be captivated with *Circe's* Charms. I must not however omit the Opinion of an antient Author (1) who takes the Fable of the *Sirens* to have arisen from what was observed near the Promontories either of *Sorentum*, or *Capræ*, where was heard a Kind of harmonious Noise occasioned by the breaking of the Waves against the Rocks, among which they are pent up, by Means whereof, Passengers were drawn in thither, and sometimes suffered Shipwreck ; where we may observe, that this Circumstance contributed perhaps not a little to embellish the Fable ; at least such a Kind of Harmony, tho' much more disagreeable, contributed to that of *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, as shall be said elsewhere (2).

BUT what shall we say to the Relations of Fishers, informing us that they have sometimes found *Sirens* in the Sea much like those Pictures of them which the Painters give, and which they have brought to the Courts of Princes ? As to that I answer, that sometimes Monsters have been found in the Sea, that had a Figure pretty much resembling that of a Woman, with a Fish's Tail, but very black and covered with Scales, which yet bore no Resemblance either to the *Sirens* or *Tritons* of the Poets ;

(1) Archip. V. Nat. L. 5. (2) History of *Ulysses*.

Poets; and we may reckon all these pretended Monsters, Satyrs, Nymphs, Sirens, &c. wherewith the Relations of Travellers are full, never to have existed but in what *Rabelais* calls the Country of Tapistry.

If I be farther asked what the holy Man *Job* understood (a), by saying he mourned for his Affliction with the Voice of *Sirens*? I presume he had an Eye to certain Birds, which, according to *Pliny*, (1) lulled Passengers asleep by the Sweetness of their Musick; and as these Birds frequented the Desarts, the Holy Man designed to express by them the doleful Solitude to which he was reduced: *Sicut passer solitarius in tecto.*

Some of the Scripture Interpreters are of Opinion that the Prophet *Isaiab* (2) had also the *Sirens* in his Eye, when he foretels that *Jerusalem* should be inhabited by Monsters that were to have the upper Part of their Body like a beautiful Woman, and the Feet and Tail of an Afs; at least it was this Notion had given a Handle to the antient Architect who built the Church of *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, to have engraved upon one of the Porticoes a *Siren* with the Body of a Woman, and the Feet and Tail of that Animal. (3). The Septuagint, I own, and after them *S. Jerom*, have translated the Word *Tanin* which the Prophet has made use of, by that of *Sirens*; but 'tis plain *Isaiab* designed in that Place only to figure the Solitude to which *Jerusalem* was one Day to be reduced, by foretelling that the very Monsters should lodge there; nor has he any Allusion to the Fable of the *Sirens*, any more than the Prophet *Jeremiab* to the *Lamiæ* (b), who
are

(a) Factus sum frater Sirenum, & sodalis passerum. *Job* cap. 30. v. 29

(1) L. 10. c. 49. (2) C. 3. v. ult. (3) Nicaise Loc. cit.

(b) *Philostatus in vita Apol.* says the *Lamiæ* had the Face as it were of a Woman, and a very white Neck, which they exposed

are said to have displayed their Bosoms to Passengers, to entice and devour them, and were really a Kind of Dragons that lay concealed in Bushes, where they devoured the Passengers that came near them.

posed to Passengers in order to attract and then devour them. The Name of *Lamia* is thought to come from *Lamor*, which signifies a *Rose-tree*, or from *laniare*, to devour; or rather from the *Arabick* Word *Lanama*, which, according to *Bochart*, signifies the same Thing. There was once a *Lamia* *Jupiter's* Mistress, whose Children *Juno* destroyed: She turned so delirious, as to destroy all that came in her Way.





MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK III.

Of the Gods of the Earth.

THE antient Pagan World was not content with filling Heaven and the Sea with Gods and Goddeses, they also peopled the Earth with them. The Earth itself was a Divinity, and all its Parts had their particular Deities ; thus the Woods had their Dryads, their Hama-dryads, their Satyrs, &c. the Mountains their Oreades ; the Corns, the Gardens, the Fields, a Multitude of particular Gods who presided over them, and watched for the Preservation of the Fruits ; the Houses, their Lares and Penates, and each of these Gods had his proper Functions, his Honours and Worship. 'Tis true, most of these Divinities were only physical Beings, which owed their Original to Fear or Necessity ; it cannot however be denied that some of them may be reckoned animated Gods : These were illustrious Men, who distinguished themselves, either in the Culture of the Fields and Gardens, or
by

by some useful Invention in Husbandry, for which they received Deification.

Farther those Gods of the Earth and of the Country were not all of the Number of those whom *Ovid* calls *the Commonalty of the Gods*, some of them were of the first Order. *Varro*, who invokes them in the Beginning of his Work of the Country Life, says, there were twelve of them, whom he calls *Consentes*, different from those twelve great Gods of Counsel, whom we have spoke of in the first Volume. First *Jupiter* and *Terra*, the one the Father and the other the Mother. 2. The *Sun* and *Moon*, that are so much regarded in Seed-time, and that have a great Influence upon the Fruits of the Field, and upon the Harvest. 3. *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, whose Productions are so necessary to Life. 4. *Robigus* and *Flora* that prevent what is pernicious to the Earth, and make them flourish and ripen in Season. 5. *Minerva* and *Venus*, of whom one had the Care of the Olives, and the other of the Gardens. 6. The *Water* and *Bonus-Eventus*, because without Water the Earth remains parched, and has no good Success in its Productions, either produces no Harvest at all, or but a bad one.

Virgil in the Beginning of his *Georgicks*, makes much the same Invocation, and seems to have copied *Varro* :

*Lights of the World! Ye brightest Orbs on high !
That lead the sliding Year around the Sky :
Bacchus and fostering Ceres, heav'nly Pair,
If for Chaonian Mast the joining Ear
First did the Earth by your kind Gift produce,
And mix'd with crystal Streams the Cluster's Juice ;
And you blest Powers, still present to the Swain,
Hither ye Fawns, and you the Dryad train,
Your Gifts I sing : And Thou* whose Trident's Force
First clave the Earth, and raised the neighing Horse :
And thou the Guardian of the Sylvan Toil,†
Whose full three hundred Steers graze Cæa's Isle :*

* Neptune. † Aristæus.

And

And Pan, if thy Arcadia be thy Care,
 Hither thou Guardian of the Flock repair :
 Minerva, for by you the Olives flow ;
 And you, fair Youth, the Founder of the Plough ;||
 And you, Sylvanus, with your Cypress Bough. }
 Come all ye Gods, and Goddesses that bear
 The suppliant Swain, and make the Fields your Care :
 You who the Bloom of seedless Fruits sustain,
 And you who on the sown send down the kindly Rain, &c.
 Essay on the Georgicks.

Such is the general Idea we are to have of the Gods of the Earth : Let us begin with the Genius who was thought to animate it.

C H A P. I. D E M O G O R G O N.

WE have Reason to place *Demogorgon* at the Head of the terrestrial Divinities, since he was the Genius of the Earth, as his Name imports (a). *Boccace*, in his Genealogy of the Gods (1), speaks of him upon the Authority of *Theodotion*, who had himself copied *Prenapides*, and what he says of him amounts to this. *Demogorgon* was a slovenly old Man, overgrown with Filth, pale and disfigured, who had his Dwelling in the Heart of the Earth. His Companions were *Eternity* and *Chaos* ; growing weary, they add, of this dismal Solitude, he made a little boul to sit upon, and having raised himself into the Air, encompassed the Earth, and so formed the Heavens. Having accidentally passed over the *Acroceraunian* (b) Mountains, he fetched from

|| *Triptolemus*.

(a) This Name is composed of two Greek Words, *Δαίμων* and *γῆρας* ; *Genius* or *Intelligence of the Earth*.

(1) L. 1.

(b) A Word signifying *Thunder-struck*. The Top of these Mountains sometimes sent forth Flames ; which is sufficient for explaining the Circumstances of the Fable.

from thence the burning Matter, which he sent to Heaven to enlighten the World, and thus formed the Sun, which he gave in Marriage to the Earth, whence were born *Tartarus* and the *Night*, &c.

The Authors now quoted give *Demogorgon* several Children, and *Boccace* has deduced their Genealogy. The first of his Children was *jarring Discord*. *Demogorgon*, said *Pronapides*, vexed in the Bottom of his Cave with the Pains that *Chaos* felt, opened her Womb and took from thence *Discord*, who left the Bottom of the Earth, to come and dwell upon the Surface. In like Manner he took from thence *Pan*, who is his second Son, and then the three *Parce*, *Clotbo*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*; next *Heaven*, *Pitbo*, and the *Earth*, who was his eighth Child. The *Earth* thereafter had several other Children, whose Father was not known; namely the *Night*, *Tartarus*, *Pharce*, *Tages*, and *Antæus*. The ninth of *Demogorgon*'s Children was *Erebus* who had a numerous Offspring; but I am ashamed to relate such wild Dreams.

'Tis easy to conceive that this is only a physical Fable, a particular Theogony, under Mask whereof the Antients have wrapped up in a very gross Manner the Mystery of the Creation of the World, which they had learned from some lame Tradition. This or something like it I take to be the Manner in which this Fable was introduced. The *Arcadians* seeing the Earth of itself bring forth Flowers and Fruits, form Fountains, Streams, and Rivers; send forth frequently Fire and Flames, and liable to Convulsions, imagined that she was animated, and gave the Name of *Demogorgon* to the Divinity that presided over her. So great was their Veneration for this terrible Name, that it was not allowable to mention it; and we may reckon what *Lucan* (1) and *Statius* (2) say of the God whom 'tis not lawful to name, is to be explained of *Demogorgon*.

'Tis

'Tis probable the Philosophers meant no more by this Divinity, than that vegetative Principle which gives Life to the Plants (*a*) ; but the vulgar fancied it was a real God who resided in the Bowels of the Earth, to whom they offered Sacrifices, especially in *Arcadia*. We must not forget however what was the Opinion of some Authors, that *Demogorgon* had been a Magician so skilful in his Art, that he had Ghosts and aerial Spirits under his Command, made them absolutely subject to his Will, and severely punished those of them who did not execute his Orders.

C H A P. II.

Of the Earth adored under different Names.

THE Earth was one of the chief and most antient Divinities of the Pagan World, and there were few idolatrous Nations that did not pay her a religious Worship : What is more singular in this Case, the Philosophers were, or at least affected to be of the same way of thinking with the Populace. *Plato*, in his *Timæus* and *de Legibus*, says, the World, the Heavens, the Stars, and the Earth are so many Divinities ; *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, his Disciple, not to mention others, reckons the Earth also among the Gods, as to which you may consult *Cicero* in his first Book of the Nature of the Gods. The Earth we know had several Names : The most antient of all is that of *Titæa* mentioned by *Sancho-niathon*, *Diodorus*, and several other Antients. This Name, as has been said in the History of the *Titan* Princes who were her Sons, signifies *Clay*, or *Earth*, and consequently was very suitable to her, as well as that of *Uranus* to her Husband, which signified *Heaven* : And as the Pagans know nothing next to the

(*a*) Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem.

Virg. Georg. l. 2.

the *Chaos*, older than the Heavens and the Earth, we may conclude that these were their two first Divinities. Another Name of the Earth was that of *Rhea*, the Wife of *Chronus* or *Saturn*, a younger Goddess by one Generation than *Titæa*, though frequently confounded with *Diana*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpine*, with this Distinction however, that *Diana* was taken for the upper Hemisphere of the Earth, and *Proserpine*, as also the God *Tellumo*, who was reckoned the same with *Pluto*, for the lower Hemisphere; lastly *Ops* & *Tellus*, *Vesta*, *Bona-Dea*, *Cybele*, the Great-Mother, were also other Names given to the Earth (*a*). Having said enough of the first of these Divinities, it only remains that we exhibit the antient Mythology relating to the others.

Varro, in *St. Augustin* (1), accounts for these different Names, and explains the Mystery of them. “ They believe, says he, that *Tellus* is the same
“ with the Goddess *Ops*,[†] because she is improved by Labour (2); the Great-Mother, because she produces Aliments; *Proserpine*, because the Corns spring out of her Womb; *Vesta*, because she is cloathed with Herbs and Turf:
“ Thus it is they reduce several Goddesses to this one, and not without Foundation. She is also
“ called, says the same Author, the Mother of the Gods: The Drum, which is given her, figures the Globe of the Earth, the Turrets she wears upon her Head, represent her Cities; the Seats with which she is surrounded, denote that she alone, while all Things are in Motion about her, remains fixed and immoveable. The Eunuch-Priests who serve her, point out that no more is
“ needful for obtaining Grains and Seeds, but to
“ cultivate

(a) We have three Hymns under *Orpheus*’s Name in Honour of the Earth, one under the Name of *Rhea*, the other under that of *Mother of the Gods*, and the third under her proper Name of *Earth*.

(1) *De Civ. Dei*, l. 7. c. 24. (2) *Ops* ab *Operé*.

“ cultivate the Earth, because all is to be found in
 “ her Womb. Their tossing and tumbling one an-
 “ other before her, is to shew those who cultivate
 “ the Earth not to be idle, since they have al-
 “ ways something to do. The Sound of Cymbals
 “ denotes the Noise that the Utenfils of Agriculture
 “ make ; and they are of Brass, because these U-
 “ tenfils of old were made of that Metal before
 “ Iron was found out. The Lion unchained and
 “ tame, represents that there is no Ground so wild
 “ and barren, but may be subdued and cultivated.”

The *Romans* and other People of *Latium* sacri-
 ficed to the Earth, in the different Seasons of the
 Year. First, on the 24th of *January*, that she might
 give Growth to the Grains, and the other Fruits
 which she bears ; and the Festivals celebrated on
 that Occasion, were called the *Holydays of the Seed-*
time, Feriæ sementinæ. The second Festival that
 was celebrated to her Honour, and in which she
 was invoked to receive from the Sun a moderate
 Heat, and favourable Rays for the Preservation of
 the Fruits, was called *the Festival of Joy* ; at least
 this is what I take to be the proper rendring of the
 Name of *Hilaria* that was given it : This was cele-
 brated the eighth of the Kalends of *April* *, at
 which Time the Days, as *Macrobius* remarks (a),
 begin to be longer than the Nights.

Cælius Rhodiginus (1) reckons this Festival was
 celebrated in Honour of *Pan* ; but herein he is con-
 tradicted by all Antiquity, which attests that it was
 consecrated to the Earth, under the Name of Great
 Mother of the Gods. I might alledge in Proof of
 it, the Testimony of Numbers of Authors ; but
 I shall only name *Herodian*, who positively asserts
 O o it,

* 25th of *March*.

(a) Celebratur lætitiæ exordium ad octavum Kalendas Aprilis,
 quem diem *Hilaria* appellant, quo primum tempore sol longio-
 rem diem nocte protendit. *Macro. Satur.* l. 1. c. 21.

(1) *Ant.* 6. c. 16.

it (*a*), and in this has been followed by *Lylio Gyraldi*, *Casaubon*, *Petavius*, *Lacerda*, *Lazius*, *Struck*, *Meursius*, *Gronovius*, and several others.

The third Festival, which was celebrated the first Day of *May* in honour of the Earth under the Name of the good Goddess, was called *Damium*, from a Name of that Goddess whom they surnamed *DAMIA*, as we learn from *Festus*: *Dea quoque ista Δαμία appellabatur*. The Criticks are perplexed about the Signification of this Name, and assign several Etymologies of it; but *Cicero* lets us know the true one (*b*).

When the Time allotted for the Celebration of this Festival was come, the Vestals repaired to the House of the High-priest to offer a Sacrifice to the good Goddess, the mysterious Divinity to whose Name the Men were Strangers, it being communicated only to Women. This Sacrifice, instituted for the Preservation and Prosperity of the *Roman* People, was performed with great Apparatus, and wonderful Circumspection. They were at great Expences in adorning the House where the Festival was celebrated, and as the Night-time was devoted to this Ceremony, the Apartments were illuminated with a vast Number of Lights. The principal Care

was

(*a*) Veris initio, statō solemnique die pompam Matrī Deūm Romani celebrant. In ea, quæ apud quemque sunt divitiarum præcipua Supellexque pleraque imperatoria, materiæ aut artis spectandæ, præferri ante Deam solent. Passimque omnibus ludendi licentia permissa, sic ut personas inducant quas cuique libitum, nullamque non magistratum quoque imaginem, prout cujusque studium, representent: Sic ut non temere falsos a veris dignoscas.

(*b*) Δάμιον is a Word of the *Dorick* Dialect, and is put for Δημιόν, that is to say, Δημόσιον, publick. *Paulus* and his Followers have taken this Expression for an Antiphrasis, as if it signified that nothing was less publick than this Festival, which was celebrated in private by the Women; whereas the true Reason of the Name, is, that this Sacrifice was offered to the good Goddess for the Publick; thus *Cicero* understands it, *Harusp. Resp. c. 17.* Sacrificium bonæ Dæ per Virgines Vestales pro populo, seu salute populi Romani fiebat, & in ea Domo in qua erat imperium.

was to admit to the Solemnity none but Women, to debar from thence all the Men, even the Master of the House himself, his Sons, and all his Male-slaves. Superstition proceeded so far as to block up the Windows thro' which Passengers might possibly perceive so secret Mysteries, and even to draw Curtains over the Pictures that represented Men or Male Animals.

The same Veil which hid from us the Mysteries of *Ceres Eleusis*, has also left us in the Dark as to the secret Worship that was observed during the Festival consecrated to the good Goddesses. 'Tis not possible to speak with Certainty of the Name of this Divinity, and of the Homages that were paid to her. Even the *Roman* Historians own their Ignorance as to this Point, and what some of them have said of it amounts only to Conjecture. *Macrobius* attributes the Title of good Goddesses to *Cybele*, or to the Earth, because she being the Source of all Blessings, supplies our Necessities. *Plutarch* seems to confound her with *Flora*, another Sort of Divinity, whom we shall speak of in this Book. *Varro* alledges she was the Wife of *Faunus*, and that her Modesty and chaste Deportment procured her divine Honours. She was so chaste, adds this antient Author, that she never looked upon another Man but her own Husband. For this Reason Women only were admitted to the solemn Sacrifice that was celebrated every Year in honour of her Memory. Popular Superstition went even so far as to persuade themselves that the Goddesses would strike with Blindness every Man who should presume to cast an Eye upon the Mysteries that were the Objects of the Ceremony.

The Place where this nocturnal Festival was celebrated was adorned with Flowers and various Foliages; Myrtle however was excepted, either because, according to the fabulous Tradition delivered by *Plutarch*, *Faunus* employed the Branches of that Shrub to punish the Intemperance of his Wife, who had drunk Wine contrary to the Custom of those

Times, or because the Myrtle is consecrated to *Venus* an unchaste Goddess, whose Worship did not correspond with that of a Goddess acknowledged by the *Romans* to be the Standard of conjugal Chastity.

Tho' most Moderns have been of Opinion that the Celebration of this mystical Sacrifice was restricted to the High-priest's House, yet we have a Proof of the contrary in *Cicero's* Discourse upon the Responses of the *Aruspices*. He says, the Place prescribed for this Solemnity, could be no where else but in the House of the first Magistrates, who, by Prerogative annexed to their Offices, had what he calls *Imperium*, that is, an absolute Authority, and the Privilege of the *Auspices*. Now this Privilege belonged only to the Consuls and Priests : The same is confirmed by *Dion* (1) ; and *Plutarch* informs us, that in the Time of *Cataline's* Conspiracy, the *Roman* Ladies celebrated the Festival of the good Goddess in the House of *Cicero*, who was then Consul.

This Festival, as I said, was celebrated the first of *May*, which is only to be understood from the Time of the Reformation of the Kalendar by *Julius Cæsar* ; for before that Time, it fell in the Month of *December*, as is easy to prove from *Cicero's* second Letter to *Atticus* (2) ; 'tis dated the first of *January*, and there *Cicero* mentions *Clodius's* outrageous Attempt against those Mysteries, as a recent Piece of News. The Kalendars that followed the *Julian* Reformation, fixed this Festival to the first Day of *May*.

We may add that the *Greeks* had also their good Goddess, and as little known as that of the *Romans*, by reason of the Care taken to conceal the infamous Rites that accompanied her Mysteries.

As to the Adventure of *Clodius*, who introduced himself in Disguise into the *House of Cæsar*, at the Time of celebrating the Festival of the good Goddess, which obliged that Dictator to repudiate his
Wife

(1) L. 57. (2) L. 1.

Wife *Pompeia*, we say nothing of it farther, it being a Fact so universally known.

In fine, the fourth Festival in honour of the Earth, was called *Opalia*, from *Ops*, one of the Names of that Goddess. Antiently it was celebrated the fourteenth of the Kalends of *January* *, the same Day with the *Saturnalia*, which has induced *Suidas* to think that this last Festival was celebrated both in honour of *Saturn* and of the Mother of the Gods ; wherein he is certainly mistaken, since, at the Time of the Reformation of the Kalendar, the *Saturnalia* passed to the sixteenth † of the Kalends of *January*, while the *Opalia* continued to be celebrated on the fourteenth.

'Tis not well known under what Figure the *Romans* represented the Earth ; probably it was under that of a Woman ; but what particular Symbols distinguished her from other Goddeſſes, is what we are ignorant of. For tho' ſhe was often confounded with *Cybele*, and the others whom we have named, yet ſhe had a proper Image, and a peculiar Worſhip. We ſee her ſometimes represented under the Figure of a Globe.

CHAP. III.

Of Cybele, or the Mother of the Gods.

SO many Particularities are told concerning this Goddess, that tho' she is the same with the Earth, yet we thought she required a particular Chapter. I shall first present you with her History as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus* (1).

“ The *Phrygians* say, they had once a King
 “ named *Meon* (*a*), who reigned also over *Ly-*
 O o 3 *dia* ;

* 19th of December. † 17th of December.

(1) L. 3. C. 30.

(a) This *Meon*, whom *Xanthus*, in *Diomysius of Halicarnassus*, calls *Manes*, was probably the first King of *Lydia*; accordingly we

“ *dia* ; this Prince married a Wife named *Dindy-*
 “ *me (a)*, by whom he had a Daughter. Having no
 “ Mind that she should be brought up, he exposed
 “ her upon Mount *Cybele* : The Gods, however,
 “ permitted her to be suckled by She-leopards and
 “ other savage Animals. Some Shepherdesses of the
 “ Place having discovered the Infant, carried her
 “ home with them, and called her *Cybele* from the
 “ Place where they had found her. She being
 “ grown up, surpassed her Companions not only in
 “ Beauty and Wisdom, but also in Genius and In-
 “ vention : For she found out a Flute composed of
 “ several Stops, and she was the first who intro-
 “ duced into Conforts Timbrels and Drums. She
 “ cured, by Purifications and Musick, the Diseases
 “ incident to Children and Cattle. As she had saved
 “ many Children, and used frequently to hug them
 “ in her Arms, hence she was unanimously called,
 “ *Mother in the Mountain*. The chief of her Fa-
 “ vourites was *Marfyas* the *Phrygian*, a Man esteem-
 “ ed both for natural and moral Endowments (*b*).

“ *Cybele*, now become marriageable, fell in love
 “ with a Youth of the Country, called first *Atys*,
 “ then *Papas*. Her Relations found her out at the
 “ Time of her having had secret Commerce
 “ with him, and being with Child to him. They
 “ conducted her, by Accident, to the Court of the
 “ King her Father. The Prince believed her at first
 “ to be a Virgin ; but having discovered the con-
 “ trary, he put *Atys* to Death, and the Shepherdesses

we are told that he was the Son of *Jupiter* ; for in the Stile of
 ancient Authors, the Beginning of the historical Times of every
 Nation is described as the Beginning of Mankind, and when the
 Succession of Kings ceases to be known, they make the Earth to
 be inhabited by the Gods, from some one of whom the first
 King is always descended. This *Meon*, or *Menes*, gave his
 Name to the *Memians*.

. (*a*) *Xantus* gives *Meon* to Wife *Callirhoe* the Daughter of *Oce-*
anus, or the Ocean.

(*b*) See what has been said of this *Marfyas* in the History of
Apollon.

“ ses who had found and nursed his Daughter, and
 “ ordered their Bodies to lie unburied. *Cybele*, trans-
 “ ported with Passion for the young *Atys*, and in
 “ Anguish for the Disaster of her Nurses, turned
 “ delirious, running thro’ the Country, beating
 “ Drums and shrieking aloud. *Marsyas* pitying her
 “ unhappy Fate, on account of Friendship that was
 “ formerly between them, thought fit to follow
 “ her: They arrived together at *Nyssa* where *Bac-*
 “ *chus* resided, and there they found *Apollo*.

“ ’Tis said that *Apollo*, after he had consecrated
 “ in the Cave of *Bacchus*, his Lyre and *Marsyas*’s
 “ Pipes, grew enamoured of *Cybele*, and accompa-
 “ nied her in her Ramblings as far as the *Hyperbore-*
 “ *an* Mountains. About that Time the *Phrygians*
 “ were afflicted with cruel Distempers, and the
 “ Earth no longer produced Fruit. Having de-
 “ manded of the Oracle a Remedy to their Cala-
 “ mities, ’tis said they were ordered to inter the Bo-
 “ dy of *Atys*, and to honour *Cybele* as a Goddess:
 “ But the Body of *Atys* being intirely consumed by
 “ Time, they represented it by a Figure, before
 “ which they made great Lamentations, to appease
 “ the Wrath of him whom they had unjustly put
 “ to Death, a Ceremony which they have reserved
 “ to this Day. They instituted in honour of *Cybe-*
 “ *le* annual Sacrifices, on the same Altars which she
 “ had formerly erected: At length they built to
 “ her a stately Temple in the City *Pessinus* in *Phry-*
 “ *gia*, and there founded Festivals.”

The Author, whom I have been copying, whose
 Work was composed of different Pieces which he
 had collected, either by reading, or in his Travels,
 after having spoke thus of *Cybele* in the third Book,
 delivers a quite different Tradition of her in the
 fifth. “ By the Commerce, says he, which *Jupiter*
 “ had with *Electra*, one of the Daughters of *Atlas*,
 “ were born *Dardanus*, *Jasion*, and *Harmonia*: She
 “ having espoused *Cadmus*, when in quest of *Euro-*
 “ *pa* he had gone as far as *Samothrace*, the Gods

“ vouchsafed to be present at the nuptial Feast;
 “ several of them made Presents to the married Cou-
 “ ple, and all the other Gods approved the Mar-
 “ riage by Acclamations of Joy. As for *Jasion*,
 “ ’tis said that he espoused *Cybele*, and had by that
 “ Goddess a Son named *Corybas*; but not long after
 “ having been deified, *Cybele* and *Corybas* retired in-
 “ to *Asia*, whether they introduced the Mysteries of
 “ the Mother of the Gods. *Cybele* after this mar-
 “ ried the first *Olympus*, by whom she became the
 “ Mother of *Alæa*, to whom she gave her own
 “ Name *Cybele*. *Corybas* again had matched with
 “ *Thebe* the Daughter of *Cilix*, and gave the Name
 “ of *Corybantes* to those Enthusiasts who celebrated
 “ the Mysteries of the Goddesses.”

Arnobius says, *Atys* was a Youth who kept Flocks,
 and that *Cybele*, even in her old Age, became ena-
 moured of him (*a*); and notwithstanding her being
 a Queen, he still received her with Disdain; whence
Tertullian says *Cybele* had sighed for an ungrateful
 Youth (*b*). *Midas*, the King of *Pessinus*, continues
Arnobius, seeing the high-spiritedness of the young
 Shepherd, conceived great Hope of him, and de-
 signed his Daughter for him in Marriage; but
 dreading the Jealousy of the amorous Queen, had
 the Precaution to order the City-gates to be shut
 on the Day of celebrating the Marriage. *Cybele* ap-
 prized that a young Rival was going to take away
 her Gallant, run, like one frantick, to *Pessinus*, and
 having got the Gates broke open, or obliged the
 Guards to allow her Access, which the Fable expres-
 ses by saying she had burst them open with a Bounce
 of her Head, she entered into the City with her
 Troops, made great Havock in it, and having at
 last found *Atys* hid behind a Pine, she served him in
 the

(*a*) Contra decus ætatis, illa Pessinuntia Dindymene in bubulei
 unius amplexu flagitiosâ appetitione gestire, Lib. 4. adversus gen-
 tes.

(*b*) Cybela Pastorem suspirat fastidiosam, Apoll. C. 15.

the same Way as *Cælus* had been by his Son (a). *Agdistis*, for this was the Name of *Cybele's* Rival, not being able to survive the Disgrace of her Lover, killed herself thro' desperate Grief,

Servius (1), *Tatian* (2), *Lactantius*, and *S. Augustin*, relate somewhat differently the Story of *Cybele* and *Atys*; but still it appears to turn upon the Amours of an old Queen for a young Man who slighted her. Some Authors alledge the whole of it has no other Foundation, but that the young *Atys* being Priest of *Cybele*, kept not the Vow of Chastity which he had made to her, whereupon he punished himself in that cruel Manner; and that the Circumstances of his being transformed by the Goddess into a Pine-tree was only added, because that Tree was consecrated to her. But 'tis more probable, as *Vossius* remarks (3), that it refers to a true History; and the Difference which occurs upon this Subject among Authors, ought not to remove us from this Opinion, since it is hardly possible to find Uniformity in so antient Histories.

Catullus, who has composed a little Poem upon the Amours of *Cybele* and *Atys*, informs us only that this young Prince having quitted the Place of his Nativity, retired into the Woods of *Phrygia*, where having castrated himself through some Transport of Rage, *Cybele* took him into the Number of her Priests: Others of the Antients say, that being beloved by *Cybele*, he punished himself in that Manner, for having been moved by the Charms of the beautiful *Sangaris*; or rather we reckon that *Cybele*, being now old when she fell in Love with this young *Atis*, gave him some Potion to force his Love, and

(a) *Minutius Felix* alludes to this Story, when he says: *Cybele Pyndimene, pudet dicere, adulterum suum infelicitè implicitum, quoniam ipsa deformis erat & vetula, ut multorum Deum matrem, ad stuprum illicere not poterat, exsecuit: Ut Deum scilicet faceret Eunuchum.* In Octav.

(1) Upon the 9th *Eneid*. (2) *Contra Gentes*. (3) *De Orig. Idol.* l. 1. c. 10.

and that this Potion being too violent, drove the Youth to perform that unnatural Operation upon himself.

'Tis probable that all these Stories are founded upon the Plurality of Persons who bore the Name of *Cybele*. The first I take to be the same with *Titæa*, *Cælus*'s Wife, whose Name imports the Earth. The second is the same with *Rhea*, the Sister and Wife of *Saturn*: The third a Princess of *Phrygia*, who lived in the Time of *Marsyas*, whose History has been filled up with the Adventures of the others, because they had dwelt in *Phrygia* where the *Titan* Princes kept their Court (a). This is the Country where the Worship of our Goddess was established: The Priests in after-Times perplexed her History, and gave her the Name of *Cybele*, from a Mountain in *Phrygia*. Others derive this Name from the *Hebrew* Word which imports *to bring forth with Sorrow*, and pretend that the Tradition of *Eve*, condemned to the Pains of Childbearing, is couched under this Fable. Circumstances quite inexplicable were added to it: They gave out that *Nana* by touching a Pomegranate, or an Almond-Tree which had sprung from the Blood of *Agdistis*, whom *Bacchus* had sacrificed to his Resentment, had conceived *Atys*, and therewith they intermix Obscenities which contain the most abominable Mysteries of the Pagan Theology, as *Arnobius* reproaches them (1).

The Worship of *Cybele* became famous, especially in *Phrygia*; her Festivals there were solemnized with great Uproar: The Priests making the Din of their Tabrets to resound, and striking their Bucklers with Spears, danced and made several strange Contortions with their Heads and whole Body, whence they got the Name of *Corybantes*: With these they mingled Skrieks and Howlings to deplore the Death of *Atys*, to whose Punishment those wretched Priests voluntarily

(a) See *Don Pizron Antiq.* of the Language of the *Celtæ*.

(1) *Adv. Gentes.*

voluntarily submitted. They were called *Galli*, and the High Priest *Archigallus*, as has been said in the first Volume (1). We know not exactly what was the Original of the Name : 'Tis not probably, as *S. Jerom* alledges (2), because none but *Gauls* were taken to be Priests of *Cybele*, and that they were thus treated for having been the Authors of burning *Rome* ; nor yet because the first Priest of that Goddess was called *Gallus* (3) ; but rather, as *Ovid* (4) and *Festus* insinuate, from the River *Gallus*, near which these Priests inflicted upon themselves the Punishment we are speaking of, to fulfil the Law which *Cybele* had prescribed to them. The Effect of the Water of that River was to throw them into Fits of Enthusiasm ; *Qui bibit, inde furit*, as *Ovid* has it. It was for the same Reason that they honoured the Pine-Tree, near which *Atys* had been castrated ; crowned its Branches, and covered the Trunk with Wool, because the Goddess had thus covered the Body of her dead Lover, hoping to restore him to Life ; that they abstained from eating Bread, because *Cybele* had observed a long Fast in Token of her deep Distress (5). In short, all their other Ceremonies seemed to be nothing else but a Memorial of the Story which I have related ; but because the Fable of *Cybele*, historical in its Original, became afterwards of a physical Nature, that Goddess being taken for the Earth, hence her Worship came to be blended with several Circumstances that had a Relation thereto.

And indeed the Antients have always confounded *Cybele* with the Earth, who was therefore called the Mother of the Gods, since 'tis she gives Birth to all things ; but they gave other Names to this Goddess which it is necessary to take Notice of. That of *Rhea* comes from the Verb *ρεειν*, *to flow*, because of the Showers that fructify the Earth ; or rather

1) B. 3. (2) In cap. 4. Hose. (3) Steph. upon the Word *Gallus*. (4) Fas. l. 4. (5) V. Arnob. l. 5.

rather from the Word *ἔρα*, *Terra*, by a simple Transposition of Letters ; and this Word again derives its Original from the Hebrew, *erets*, which has the same Signification. She was likewise termed *Vesta*, *quia floribus vestiebatur* ; or *Maia*, which signifies Mother or Nurse ; *γῆ μήτηρ*, that is *Mother Earth*. The Name of *Pessinuntian* Goddess, was taken from a City of that Name, where she was peculiarly worshipped, as those of *Berecynthia* (a), of *Dindymene*, and some others, from Places that went by those Names. That of *Idæa*, from Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, whereon she had a Temple, which *Claudian* describes with a great deal of Elegance (1).

The *Romans* celebrated an annual Festival, wherein Combats were intermixed in Honour of *Cybele*, under the Name of *Idæan* ; and that they might not recede from the Ceremonies practised in the Temple which we now have, been speaking of, they used the Ministration of a *Phrygian* Priestess. That of *Metragyrte*, which was given her by the *Greeks*, signified that she was the Great Mother ; as *Pessithea* (b), imported that she was the Mother of all the Gods. She was also called *Portophoros*, *Turret-Bearer*, because she was always represented with Turrets upon her Head (c). *Valerius Flaccus* gives her the Surname of *Mygdonia*, which is taken from a Place of that Name in *Phrygia*, where she was worshipped (d), as also that of *Andirine* : For *Strabo* (2) informs us, that near to *Andira* was a Temple consecrated to the Mother of the Gods, surnamed for that Reason *Andirine* : The same Author farther remarks that this Goddess was called *Adporina*, from a wild and steep Mountain,

(a) Berecynthus erat castellum Phrygiæ juxta Sangarium fluvium, ubi mater Deum colebatur. Servius.

(1) De raptu Proserp.

(b) As much as to say, *πᾶσι θεοῖς μήτηρ*.

(c) The *Latins* rendered this Denomination by that of *Turrita*, or *Turrigera*.

(d) Mygdoniæ Pan justa ferens sævissima Matris. *Val. Flac.* L. 6.

(2) L. 15.

Mountain, that was near *Pergamus*, where she had also a Temple that went by the same Name. *Arrian* is the only Author I know who gives *Cybele* the Epithet of *Phasiana* : 'Tis in his *Periplus* of the *Euxine* Sea, where he says, in going up to the *Phasis*, was to be seen on the right, the Figure of a Goddess holding in one Hand a Drum, with Lions under her Throne, like the *Cybele* or *Rhea* of *Athens*, the Work of *Phidias*.

She was represented as a Woman of a strong robust Make, ready to be delivered, to figure the Fruitfulness of the Earth: All the rest of her Equipage alluded to the same. The Keys which she held in her Hand, intimated that the Earth comprehends in her Womb during the Winter, the Seeds of all Fruits. Her Crown of Oak, was a Memorial that Men of old had fed upon the Fruits of that Tree. Her Temples were round, to figure the Roundness of the Earth: She was crowned with Turrets, in Allusion to the Cities that are upon it: In her Chariots were Lions *couchant* and tame, to intimate that even the most uncultivated Lands, are capable of being made fertile: If she was sitting, it was to denote her great Repose (*a*). The Sound of the Drums and Spears, carried an Allusion to the Tools of Brass that were employed in labouring the Ground before the Invention of Iron.

The Worship of the Earth is very antient, and 'tis not in *Phrygia* that we are to seek for the Original of it, since it was not received in *Europe* till the Time of *Cadmus*, who introduced it thither; and it was *Dardanus*, contemporary with that Founder of the Colony, that after the Death of his Brother *Jasion* repaired with *Cybele* his Sister-in-Law, and *Corybas* his Nephew into *Phrygia*, whether they introduced the Mysteries of the Goddess Earth, or of the Mother of the Gods. *Cybele* derived her Name to this Goddess, and *Corybas* made her Priests to

(*a*) All this is taken from St. Augustin, L. 7. de Civ. Dei, C. 24.

to be called *Corybantes*. This is the Reason why *Cybele* herself came in Proceſs of Time to be reckon- ed the Mother of the Gods.

Though *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (1) is not quite agreed with *Diodorus*, ſince he alledges that *Dardanus* founded only the *Samothracian* Myſteries which *Chryſes* his Spouſe had learned in *Arcadia*, and that it was only their Son *Idæus* introduced into *Phrygia* thoſe of the Mother of the Gods : Yet we ſtill ſee at what Time thoſe Myſteries were introduced thither, by knowing the Time when thoſe Perſons lived (2). If we may believe *Lucian* (3), there are a great many Proofs that the *Syrian* Goddeſs is the ſame with *Rhea*, ſince the one as well as the other has her Lions, Tabrets, Eunuch-Prieſts, and her Head crowned with Turrets. *Macrobius* alledges, the Goddeſs *Atergatis* of the *Syrians* was among that People the Symbol of the Earth (a). Here then is the Worſhip of the Earth already eſtabliſhed in *Syria* : But the People of that Country were not the real Founders of it, but had borrowed it from the *Egyptians* who honoured the Earth under the Name of *Isis*. This is what we learn from *Servius* (4), and from *Iſidorus* after him : *Isis Lingua Ægyptiorum eſt Terra*. *Macrobius* and ſeveral other Authors, ſay the ſame, and *Herodotus* grants *Isis* to be the ſame with *Ceres*, a Divinity always confounded with the Earth ; and this is the Reason why the *Egyptians* made Uſe of Tabrets and other ſuch like Inſtruments in the Feaſts of *Cybele*, as *Auſonius* has it :

Iſiacos agitant Mareotica ſiſtra tumultus.

What I have ſaid here is not inconſiſtent with the Hiſtory of *Isis* I have given elſewhere, ſince the

(1) L. 1. (2) See in the VIth Vol. the Hiſtory of *Cadmus*.

(3) De Dea Syria.

(a) Affyrii Deo Adad nomen dederunt : ſubjungunt ei Deam Adargatim, Solem Terramque intelligentes. *Saturn.* L. 1. c. 23.

(1) In 8. *Æn.*

the same Divinities were frequently the Symbols of several different Things: This no Doubt is the Origin of the Worship of the Earth, which was propagated with the other *Egyptian* Ceremonies, first to *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, then into *Phrygia*, which is a Part of *Asia Minor*, from thence into *Greece*, and last of all into *Italy*: This is the common Course of the Fables and Idolatry. But to say something more positive as to the particular Worship of *Cybele*, 'tis proper to remark, that it having been established even in the Time of her Father *Meon*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, and of the Appearance of her Statue at *Pessinus*, reckoned in one of the Epochs of the Chronicle of *Paros*, to have been in the 257th Year before the taking of *Troy*, and some Years after the Arrival of *Cadmus* and *Danaus* into *Greece*, it will follow that the Reign of *Meon* and the Commencement of the Mysteries of *Cybele* falls towards the Year 1580 before the Christian *Æra*.

The *Romans* distinguished themselves no less than the *Phrygians* by the Worship of this Divinity. That People, directed by some of the *Sibylline* Verses, sent a famous Embassy to *Phrygia*, to bring the Statue of that Goddess, which was of a black Stone, and they received it with a great deal of Pomp and Solemnity. Grave Authors tell us, that the Ship upon its Return having stopped at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, so as none were able to move it forward, they were obliged to consult the *Sibylline* Oracle; and were informed, that a Virgin was to introduce it into the Port. Then *Claudia* (She of the *Vestals* whose Reputation was the most dubious) looking upon this as a fine Opportunity for proving her Virtue, which had only been suspected from her too free Behaviour, joyned with her great Care about Dress, invoked the Goddess aloud by Prayer; and having fastened her Girdle to the Ship, she brought it forward without Resistance; by which she gained universal Admiration. *Tertullian*, I know, attributes
this

this Event to the Devil ; while others think the cunning *Vestal* took Advantage of the Wind which then began to blow ; but I may say without any Danger of outraging venerable Antiquity, that *Claudia* was either very presumptuous or very superstitious to tempt the Goddess in that Manner.

The *Romans* never failed once a Year to wash the Shrine of this Goddess in the River *Almon*, as we learn from several Authors (a). *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, this Ceremony was performed on the sixth of the Kalends of *April** ; and *Herodian*, in the History of the Emperor *Commodus*, adds that unbounded Licentiousness reigned in the Feasts of this Goddess ; *Passimque omnibus ludendi licentia permissa, &c.* This Author says farther, that they used to carry about at that Solemnity their most sumptuous Moveables and Plate.

C H A P. IV.

Of Vesta and the Vestals.

TO speak of this Goddess with some Accuracy, we are to remark, that as they distinguished two *Vestas*, the one was reckoned the Symbol of the Earth, and the other of the Fire ; and their Worship was somewhat different. After what we have said of *Cybele*, we have nothing to add to the History of *Vesta* taken for the Earth ; we shall only consider what relates to this Goddess as representing the Fire. Her Worship consisted chiefly in preserving the Fire which was consecrated to her. The *Romans* had Virgins set apart for this Employment whom they termed *Vestals* : *Eneas* is thought to have been the Founder of this Order in *Italy*, which *Numa Pompilius* re-established afterwards. They chose for *Vestals* young Virgins between the Age of
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(a) Lucan, l. 1. Ov. 4. Fast. Val. Flaccus, l. 1.

* 27th of March.

himself into the midst of the Flames, when the Temple of the *Vestals* was on Fire, and those timorous Priestesses fled; by which he was honoured with a Statue in the *Capitol*, with a glorious Inscription. This Temple was built by *Numa*, *Romulus* never having dared, whatever Devotion he had for the Goddesses, to erect one for Fear of renewing the Memory of his Mother's Crime, and of authorising by her Example the Licentiousness of other *Vestals*; contenting himself, as we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, with building small Chapels to *Vesta* in each Tribe.

'Tis agreed, that the Worship of the Goddess *Vesta*, and of Fire, was brought into *Italy* by *Eneas* and the other *Trojans* who landed there; but the *Phrygians* themselves had received it from the eastern Nations. The *Chaldeans* had a high Veneration for the Fire, which they accounted a Divinity: There was, in the Province of *Babylon*, a City consecrated to this Usage, which was called the City of *Ur*, or of Fire. The *Persians* were yet more superstitious in this Respect than the *Chaldeans*: They had Temples which they called *Pyræa*, *Fire-temples*, set apart solely for the Preservation of the sacred Fire, as has been said in the History of the *Persian* Gods (1), where we have shewn that the Worship of the Fire had made its Way into the most distant Countries, and even as far as *Peru*, and other Countries of *America*. We have only to add here, 1. That it was not only in Temples and in the *Pyræa* that the sacred Fire was preserved, since every private Person was obliged to maintain it at the Gate of his House; and hence, if we may believe *Ovid* (2), came the Name of *Vestibule*. *Virgil* gives us to understand, that *Æneas*, before he left his Father's Palace, had removed the Fire from the sacred Hearth (a). 2. That the Name of *Vesta* is synonymous with that of Fire, called by the

(1) V. 3. B. 8. (2) Fast 1. 6.

(a) *Æternumque Adytis effert penetralibus ignem.* *Æn.* 1. 2.

the *Greeks Esta (a)*, by the *Chaldeans* and the antient *Persians Avesta*. This, if we may rely upon the learned *M. Hyde*, was, doubtless, what induced the famous *Zoroaster* to call his Book, where the Worship of the Fire was explained, by the Name *Avesta*, as much as to say, *The Preservation of the Fire* (1).

We have been very cursory in the History of the Vestals; such as desire a more circumstantiate Account of them may read the Treatise of *Justus Lipsius*, and what is published upon this Subject by the *Abbé Nadal*.

Such were the Divinities who represented the Earth in general; but vast Numbers of others were introduced, tho' of a lower Rank, for each of its Parts. There were some for the Fields, and for the Stones that bounded them; for the Gardens and Orchards; for the Woods and Groves; for the Mountains and Hills; for the Flocks and their Keepers; for the Oxen and the Horses; for the Corns and the Harvests; for the Cities and Villages; for the High-ways and Cross-ways; for the Houses, &c. as shall be shewn in the following Chapters.

C H A P. V.

Of the God Terminus.

IF the Boundaries which separate the Fields had always been kept sacred, Laws and Religion needed not to have lent their Assistance against those who encroached upon them. The golden Age, whereof the Poets speak so much, that happy Time when all Goods were common, was but a Period of short Duration; and the same Covetousness which led Men to appropriate some Things to themselves, tempted them very soon to usurp what belonged to others;

P p 2

(a) *Esta*. unde *Vesta*, mutata aspiratione, in *V. Kossius*:

(1) *De Rel. Vet. Pers.*

others: Hence the Origine of those Boundaries which the Laws obliged every particular to fix to the Ground he possessed. If we may credit *Virgil*, *Ceres* herself, that famous Legislatress, who did so much Honour to the Culture of the Fields and to Tillage, was the first that founded the Law binding every one to bound his Grounds : *Partiri limite campum*. *Plutarch* traces not the Custom of Land-marks so high, at least with regard to the *Romans*, since he expressly says, that before *Numa Pompilius*, the Fields and Possessions that were in the Extent of that Peoples Territory, had no determined Limits, either by Trees, or Stones, or by any other Mark that can distinguish their Extent. But 'tis neither in the *Greek* nor *Latin* Authors we are to seek for the Institution of antient Usages. That of bounding the Fields appears to have been established from the earliest Ages, and I am apt to think the *Egyptians* were the first Founders thereof. As the *Nile*, by its periodical Inundations, confounded their Lands, they applied themselves to Geometry, whereof they are reckoned the Inventors, that after the Disorder occasioned by the Inundation, every one might have his own assigned to him : But as this Way of surveying the Fields of every individual was tedious and troublesome, 'tis probable that a more easy Method was instituted instead of it, by placing Boundaries that would hold out against the Disorders of their River. *M. de Boze*, Secretary to the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, who has made a learned Dissertation upon the God *Terminus* (1), which I shall make good use of in this Chapter, observes that the *Egyptians* received from the *Hebrews* the Custom of bounding the Fields, and that *Moses* (2) does not appoint his People to set Bounds to their Lands, since the Thing was settled every where; but only forbids them to encroach upon them.

However,

(1) Mem. de l'Acad. T. i. P. 50. (2) Deut. C. 19.

However, as the Laws established for the Security of the Land-marks, were not a sufficient Curb to Avarice, *Numa* persuaded the People that there was a God the Protector of the Land-marks, and Avenger of Incroachments. He even built a Temple to him upon the *Terpeian* Mount, and regulated the Ceremonies thereof. To make the Supposition more probable, he made this new God to be represented under the Form of a Stone or Stock, as we learn from *Tibullus* (1) and *Ovid* (2); and if we may believe *Lactantius* (a), that Stone was the same which *Saturn* had swallowed instead of *Jupiter*. The God *Terminus*, however, was represented afterwards with a human Body, placed upon a pyramidical Land-mark.

The Feast of this God was called from his Name *Terminalis*, and was celebrated about the End of *February*, on the sixth of the Kalends of *March*. On that Day publick and private Sacrifices were offered to him, but without any Effusion of Blood; the whole Ceremony consisted in Libations of Wine, Milk, Offerings of Fruits, and some Cakes of new Meal. The publick Sacrifices were offered in the Temples, and the others upon the Land-marks; the two Parties whose Lands touched one another, having on each Side adorned the Boundary with a Garland, offered to it their Gifts, as we are told by *Ovid* (b). Then they anointed it with Oil prepared upon the very Spot, and thus concluded the Festival. But this primitive Simplicity lasted not long; they forgot *Numa's* Law forbidding any animated Thing to be offered to the God Protector of the Marches, whose Worship was to be wholly rural, and in after

P p 3

Times

(1) *Eleg.* L. 1. (2) *Fast.* L. 2.

(a) This Stone was called by the *Latins* *Aladir*, and *Bætyle*, by the *Greeks*. See what has been said of it in the first Volume.

* 24th of *February*.

(b) *Te duo, diversâ Domini de parte, coronant,
Binaque ferta tibi, binaque liba ferunt.*

Times they sacrificed to him Lambs and young Pigs, whereon the two Families of those who sacrificed feasted near the March, where they sung the Praises of the Divinity in whose Name they assembled,

*Conveniunt, celebrantque dapes vicina supplex,
Et cantant laudes, Termine sancte, tuas* (1).

The Event, which I am going to relate, brought a great deal of Credit to the God *Terminus*, and, to be sure, did not a little promote this Worship. *Tarquin the Proud*, designing to build upon the Capital the Temple which *Tarquin* the elder had vowed to *Jupiter*, it was necessary to displace the Statues, and to pull down the Chapels that were there. All the Gods resigned their Places without Resistance ; only the God *Terminus* made good his, in spite of all the Efforts that were used to remove him, and they were obliged, after all, to let him alone ; thus he remained in the same Temple that was built in that Place.

Such is the Origin of the God *Terminus* ; we must not, however, dissemble that there was a God Protector of the Marches before *Numa* : This was *Jupiter* himself under the Name of *Jupiter Terminalis*, whom several very antient Authors confound with the God *Terminus*. *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (2) says it was even to *Jupiter Terminalis* that *Numa* consecrated the Land-marks ; and if we trace higher, we shall find in *Greece* the same God Protector of the Boundaries, under the Name of *Jupiter Homorius*, or *Horius*, as he is called by *Polybius* (3) ; and 'tis certain that the *Greeks* and *Romans* worshipped *Jupiter Terminalis* under the Form of a Stone, and that upon this Stone the most solemn Oaths were taken, according to the Form, *Jovem Lapidem Jurare*, which we have taken notice of in the first Volume. It was impossible to make the Marches to be kept
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(1) *Ovid* *ibid.* (2) *L.* 1. (3) *L.* 2.

with more Awe than by supposing the Sovereign of the Gods to be the Protector of their Privileges.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Flora, Pomona, Vertumnus and Priapus, the Gods of the Gardens and Orchards.

IF we may believe *Lactantius*, *Flora* was a Prostitute, who having gained much Substance, made the *Roman* People her Heirs, and left a considerable Sum for celebrating every Year the Day of her Nativity by a solemn Festival, and Games called from her Name *Floralia*. But, continues that learned Father, the Shame both of the Inheritance, and of such a Festival, inclined the Senate to put that Courtesan into the Number of the Gods, and to feign that she was the Goddess of Flowers. *Ovid* (1), to give an Air of Truth to this Fable, says *Flora* was a Nymph called *Chloris*, who being married to the *Zephyr*, received from her Spouse the Dominion over all the Flowers.

Some Criticks, among whom are *Vossius* and *Bayle* (2), finding no such Account in the Antients, have fallen foul upon *Lactantius*; and the last makes no Scruple to say that he had borrowed the Help of Falshood, and that no other Father of the Church, nor any of the Antients had said any Thing like it. But if 'tis true that *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius* and *St. Augustin*, among the Fathers of the Church; *Plutarch*, *Macrobius*, and an antient Scholiast on *Juvenal* among profane Authors, speak much the same Way with *Lactantius*; the Censure of those two Criticks will fall to the Ground of itself. Now *Minutius Felix* says (a) *Acca Laurentia* and *Flora* were two famous Courtezans, whom the

P p. 4

Romans.

(1) *Fast.* L. 4. (2) *Crit. Dict.* on the Art. of *Flora*.

(a) *Acca Laurentia & Flora Meretrices propudiosæ, inter mce-
los Romanorum, & Deos computandæ.*

Romans had deified. *Arnobius* gives *Flora* the same Epithet of Courtezan (1): As to St. *Augustin*, what Answer can be given to the Questions which he puts to the Pagans, namely, *Who then was this Mother Flora? What Sort of Goddess was she, since she derives all her Fame only from her Lewdness*, if she was not a lewd Strumpet, such as *Lactantius* represents her (2)? The same holy Doctor observes in another Place (3), that the Obscenities practised at the Floral Games, were expressive of the Character of the Person who had given Rise to them.

Plutarch relates, tho' somewhat differently, the same Story with *Lactantius*. A Priest of *Hercules*, says he, thought fit to game one Day with the Hero, on condition that he who won should regal the other: After this Agreement he threw the Dice for himself, and then for *Hercules*, who won. To fulfil his Promise, he prepared a sumptuous Entertainment; and, according to the detestable Custom of those Times, he brought into the Temple one of the greatest Beauties of the Town, named *Laurentia*, there to pass the Night. The Author adds, that she pleased the God, who appeared to her, and told her, that the first Person she would meet at going out of the Temple, should make her happy, and load her with Presents. *Tartutius*, a Man of Wealth, and powerful, was the Person whom she first met, and who became so desperately in love with her, that having died some Time after, he left her his immense Riches. She increased then still more by the infamous Trade she carried on for several Years; and when she saw herself at the Point of Death, she named the *Roman* Senate her Heir, who gratefully acknowledged her Favour. Her Name was inrolled in the Kalendar, and Feasts were instituted to her Honour.

Macrobius, in his *Saturnalia*, tells much the same Adventure, and says it happened under the Reign of

(1) *Advers. Gent.* L. 3. (2) L. 1. *De Const. Evang.* C. 35.
(3) L. 2. *De Civ. Dei*, C. 27.

of *Ancus Martius*. The antient Scholiast upon *Juvenal*, who lived not long after *Constantine*, speaking of the Floral Games, says they had been instituted by *Flora*, and that they were full of Obscenities (a). What Regard is now to be had to the Decisions of so bold a Critick as *M. Bayle*, tho' he has often no better Foundation to rely upon.

'Tis true, however, that *Varro* (1) says the Worship of *Flora* was instituted at *Rome* by *Tatius Romulus's* Collegue; and hence, 'tis certain, that she was honoured among the *Sabines* before the Foundation of *Rome*, and consequently some Ages before the Time which *Lactantius* speaks of. 'Tis further true, that *Pliny* (2) speaks of a Statue of this Goddess, by the Hand of *Praxiteles*, which proves that her Worship was famous in *Greece*, whence it was propagated to *Italy*, long before *Romulus*, who adopted it when he entred into an Association with *Tatius* and the *Sabines*. Lastly, we learn from *Justin* (3), that the *Phoceans*, who built *Marseilles*, worshipped the same Goddess.

To reconcile Opinions so contrary, may we not suppose that in Reality *Flora* was more antient than *Acca Laurentia*; but that the latter having nominated the *Roman* People her Heirs, was confounded with the Goddess *Flora*. Accordingly it was common to join with the more antient Gods modern Personages whom they deified, and to blend their Worship together. Thus it was, to use no other Examples, that *Romulus* was confounded with *Quirinus*, worshipped long before him by the *Sabines*.

But to proceed. As the Name of *Laurentia* still kept up the Remembrance of her infamous Character, it was changed to that of *Flora*; but this Change however did not abolish the Memory of her Debaucheries; great Care was even taken to renew the Floral

(a) Hi ludi a *Flora* meretrice instituti sunt, in honorem *Floræ* Deæ quæ floribus præest: Ludi sunt impudici. Ad *Satyr.* 6. v. 246.

(1) De Ling. La. L. 4. (2) L. 36. C. 4. (3) L. 43.

ral Games, where were committed a thousand Acts of Obscenity, suitable to the Goddess in whose Honour they were instituted.

We must not omit to take notice that some Authors confound this *Laurentia* with her who nursed *Romulus* and *Remus*; but they ought to be distinguished. 'Tis true both of them were honoured with a Festival, but those Festivals were celebrated at different Times. That of *Remus* and *Romulus's* Nurse happened in the Month of *December*; that of the Courtezan in the Month of *April*. In this last Games were joined with the Feast, and were called the Floral Games; no such Thing is said of the other; the Courtezan had the Name of *Tarentia*, or *Tarrulia*; the Nurse of the Princes had no other Name but that of *Acca Laurentia*.

The Floral Games, if we may credit *Pliny*, were instituted in the Year 513, or 514, according to the Correction of Father *Hardouin*; but we may presume that this Historian speaks of the Re-establishment of these Games, interrupted for several Years for Reasons which we know not, since 'tis agreed, as has been said at the Beginning of this Article, upon the Authority of *Varro*, that they had commenced in *Romulus's* Time. Those who are for understanding literally what *Pliny* says, are authorized by a Silver Medal of the Family *Servilia*, on which we read this Legend: *Floralia Primus*, as if the Sense was, *Servilius was the first who celebrated the Floral Games*; since, upon Supposition of the Interruption I have mentioned, the Sense of the Legend is natural, as if it actually set forth, that after a long Interruption, *Servilius* was the first who appointed the Celebration of the Floral Games in his Edileship.

We learn from the Antients that even before this Re-establishment they were not regularly celebrated every Year, but only when the bad State of the Air threatened or raised an Apprehension of Famine, or when the *Sibylline* Books so ordained; for they never
failed.

failed to consult them upon those Occasions. It was not till the Year of *Rome* 580 that they begun to be celebrated regularly, and still so continued till they were entirely laid aside. As to what remains, the Disorders committed at the Celebration of those Games were so shocking, that *Cato*, who thought to have been Witness to them, withdrew before they were exhibited to the People, who highly commended him for his Discretion. After this Manner is the Story told by *Valerius Maximus* and *Seneca* the Philosopher. *Cato* having gone to the Celebration of the Floral Games, the People full of Deference to a Person so grave and of so rigid Virtue, durst not ask the Women to prostitute themselves publickly, according to Custom. *Favonius* his Friend having informed him of the Regard they had to him, he thought fit to retire, that he might not interrupt the Feast, nor at the same Time stain his venerable Character by viewing the Disorders that were committed at this Spectacle. The People perceiving this Complaisance, gave *Cato* a thousand Applauses. But would not this wise *Roman* have done better, either not to have appeared at these Games, or to have staid there, since his Presence was a Restraint upon their Licentiousness? This is much what *Martial* thought. “Why, says he, making an Apostrophe to *Cato* “did you appear at the Games, since you knew “their Licentiousness? Came you to the Theatre “just to go away again (a)?

Pomona, if we may believe the *Latin Pomona* & Poet, was a beautiful Nymph, to whose *Vertumnus*. Conquest all the rural Gods put in their Claim. Her Skill in cultivating Gardens, especially Fruit Trees, as well as her Beauty and Charms, had inspired them with Love to her. *Vertumnus* especial-
ly

(a) Cur in Theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras ut Exires?

ly (1) sought to please her, and to have Opportunity of seeing her often, he assumed various Figures.

At last having one Day metamorphosed himself into an old Woman, he found a Way to enter into Conversation with her ; and after having bestowed a thousand Praises upon her Charms and her Talents for the Country Life, he told her so many fatal Adventures of those who like her were obstinately averse to Love, and shewed Disdain towards their Lovers, that at length he made an Impression upon her Heart, and became her Spouse.

'Tis probable enough, 1. That this Fiction, which *Ovid* relates so fully (2), is nothing but a mere Romance without any Foundation ; 2. That this Fable took its Rise in the *Latin* Country, there being no Traces of it to be found among the *Greeks* or other Nations. I must not however dissemble that there are Authors of Opinion, it has a Relation to some fair one who loved the Country Life, and especially applied herself to the Culture of Fruit-Trees, whence she acquired afterwards divine Honour ; for in those Ages of Darknes, no more was necessary to raise one to the Honour of Divinity than to have excelled in some useful human Art. She accordingly participated therein, and at *Rome* had her Temple and Altar. Her Priests had the Name of *Flamen Pomonalis*, and offered Sacrifices to her for the Preservation of the Fruits of the Earth, as we learn from *Festus*, who in this has only copied *Varro*.

As for *Vertumnus*, whose Name comes from *Vertere*, to change, to turn, he is thought to have been the Symbol of the Year and its Variations*. This is probably

(1) *Ovid*. Met. l. 14. (2) Loc. Cit.

* To illustrate what our Author here says of *Vertumnus*, the Symbol of the beautiful revolving Year, I shall subjoin a few inimitable Lines from *Tibullus*, who compares the graceful *Sulpitia* to that God.

probably what *Ovid* designs to intimate by all the *Metamorphoses* which he attributes to him, which are nothing at Bottom but the various Changes that happen in the different Seasons of the Year. Thus when that Poet tells us, that this God assumed successively the Figure of a Ploughman, that of a Reaper, of a Vine-dresser, and lastly that of an old Woman, 'tis to denote the Spring, the Summer, the Autumn, and the Winter. There are Authors, and a good many of them too, who take *Vertumnus* to be the same in the main with *Janus*; which amounts to what we have been now saying, since both *Janus* and *Vertumnus* figured the Year and its Revolutions. Others, in short, alledge that he was an antient King of *Etruria*, who by the Care he had taken in improving Fruits and Gardens, had acquired divine Honours; and in Proof of it they cite *Propertius* who makes this God say: *I am an Etrurian by Birth, nor do I repent that I have left a Country where War and Fightings reign. It is true I am not followed by the Crowd, nor have I a Temple of polished Ivory; but I am satisfied that I see the Roman Forum* (a).

Propertius, in this whole Elegy where he makes this God speak, brings him in relating his *Metamorphoses*, at least with as much Elegance and more Brevity than *Ovid* does: But from all that this God says of himself, we cannot conclude that he had reigned

Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movet,
Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.
Seu solvit crines; fufis decet esse capillis:
Seu comptis, comptis est veneranda comis.
Urit, seu Tyriâ voluit procedere pallâ:
Urit, seu niveâ candida veste venit.
Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo
Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.

Tib. l. 4. Eleg. 2. 13.

(a) Tuscus ego, Tuscis orior; nec pœnitet inter
Prælia, Volscinos deseruisse focos.
Nec me turba juvat, nec Templo lætor eburno,
Român timeris est posse videre forum.

Eleg. l. 4.

reigned over the *Tuscans*. It only follows from it that he had received divine Honours from that People, and that his Worship passed to *Rome* where he enjoyed the same Privilege.

We learn from *Varro* that the Feast of *Vertumnus*, named *Vertumnalia*, was celebrated in the Month of *October*.

Vertumnus was not only considered at *Rome* as a rural Divinity; but also as the God of Merchants, and he as well as *Mercury* (a) had a Temple and a Statue in the Forum. This is what *Horace* alludes to, where addressing his Book, he says, *Me-thinks, my Book! you often turn your Eye towards Vertumnus and Janus. That is, you are longing to be handsomely bound, and exposed to Sale.*

Vertumnum Janumque, Liber, spectare videris, &c.

Time has preserved to us some Representations of *Pomona*, which we meet with in *Patin*, *Beger*, and upon some Intaglios. There the Goddess appears under the Figure of a young Person, sometimes sitting on a great Basket full of Fruits, or having upon her Head Apples and Bunches of Apple-Trees; sometimes with a Bill in one Hand, and a Bough in the other; such in short as she is described by *Ovid*, who says that this Goddess, one of the most diligent and active Hamadryads, cultivated with a great deal of Care and Industry the Gardens and Fruit-Trees, especially the Apple-Trees, whence she had got the Name of *Pomona*.

We have also some Statues of *Vertumnus*: He is to be seen in *Beger* under the Figure of a young Man with a Crown of Herbs of different Kinds, and a Habit which only covers half his Body; holding in his left Hand Fruits, and in his Right a Cornu-

(a) The Scholiast upon *Horace* derives from thence the Name of *Vertumnus*, Deus est Præses Vertendarum rerum, hoc est vendendarum & emendarum.

Cornu-Copia. In another Image taken from a Manuscript of *M. de Peyresc*, which is at present in the Library of St. *Victor*, this God appears entirely cloathed, with a Beard, wearing over his Habit the Skin of some Animal, upon one of whose Folds are Fruits of several Sorts.

At *Rome*, in the Street called *Vicus Tuscus*, was a Statue of *Vertumnus*, whereof *Cicero* thus speaks (1), on Occasion of *Verres's* Avarice : *Who is there but has traced thy Avarice all along the Way that leads from Vertumnus's Statue to the great Circus ?*

Ovid and *Propertius*, I said, have described the various Transformations of this God, who sometimes assumed the Figure of a Reaper or Mower, sometimes of a Vine-dresser, or Ploughman ; sometimes that of a Fisher, or of a Soldier, &c. However he is never exhibited to us under these Disguises, at least Time has destroyed all the Monuments whereon he was so exhibited.

We may take Notice before we finish *Vulturna.* this Chapter, that the *Tuscans* owned another rural Divinity, under the Name of *Voltumna*, or *Vulturna*. Thus *Livy*, in more Places of his History than one, speaks of the Temple that she had near the Lake *Ciminius*, where the People debated their Affairs.

Priapus among the *Romans* was also the *Priapus.* God of the Gardens, and there was none of them whether Orchards or mere Parterres, but had one or more of his Statues. I have proved in the first Volume, that *Priapus* was the same with *Belphegor*, that Idol of Iniquity mentioned by *S. Jerom* ; that his Worship had been brought into *Lampsacus*, a Town in *Asia Minor*, upon the Coasts of the *Hellepont*, and that from thence it passed into *Greece* and *Italy*. It now remains to set forth the *Mythology* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in Relation to this God. But we are first to observe that in all Probability it was very late before he was known by either

(1) In Ver. 1.

either of these two People; since *Hesiod* and *Homer* say nothing of him.

Though Authors are not unanimous as to *Priapus's* Father and Mother, since some of the Antients assert that he was the Son of a Nymph named *Naias*, or according to others *Chione*, yet most Authors are pretty well agreed that he was the Son of *Bacchus* and of *Venus*. *Juno*, they add, being jealous of that Goddess, wrought so by her Enchantments that she made her Child quite monstrous and deformed. Thus *Venus* had no sooner brought him into the World, than she removed him out of her Sight, and gave him to be educated at *Lampsacus*, whence this God has ever since born the Name of *Lampsacenus*. Having afterwards become the Dread of Husbands, he was banished that Town; but the Inhabitants afflicted with a secret Distemper, recalled him, and from that Time he was made the Object of publick Veneration; a Temple was built to him, and Sacrifices instituted to his Honour.

'Tis easy to see, that under this Fiction is wrapped up the History of the Propagation of the Worship of this God from *Egypt* to *Lampsacus*; and that the Observation I have made from *Herodotus*, that the Birth of a God in a Country means only the Introduction of his Worship into that same Country, ought especially to take Place here. Accordingly, he was given out to be the Son of that *Bacchus* or *Dionysius* who made the Conquest of the *Indies*, who was the same with *Osiris*, and there is no Doubt but the *Venus* who is given him for his Mother, is the same with *Isis*. This *Egyptian* Queen, as has been said, had introduced after the Death of her Husband the infamous Ceremony of the *Phallus*. This is the whole Mystery of *Priapus*, who was represented in so obscene a Manner. I must be excused from enlarging farther upon the Obscenities that accompanied the Worship of this God, to whom they sacrificed an Ass. Saint *Augustin* had Reasons for revealing them which subsist no more; and I shall
only

only add that *Boissart* has given a Print of a Bas-Relief which represents the principal Feast of *Priapus*. 'Tis celebrated by Women, the Chief of whom, who is probably the Priestess, anoints the Statue of the God, while others are presenting to him Baskets full of Fruits, and Vases full of Wine, as to the God of the Gardens and of the Country. We see others of them in the Attitudes of Dancers, playing upon an Instrument not unlike a Hoop. There are two of them playing upon the Flute, another holds a Sistrum, a new Argument that it was an *Egyptian* Ceremony; another cloathed like a Bacchanal, carries a Child on her Shoulders. There are some others taken up in sacrificing the Afs which was offered to him. The Victim bound about the Middle with a large Fillet, has already got the Mortal Blow, and its Blood flows copiously into a Basen. In fine, you see by the Priestess who performs the Function of the Sacrifier, a Case with several Knives.

The Statues of *Priapus*, I said, were in every Garden; add to this that *Boissart* has given a Print of one of them with this Inscription:

*Hortorum custodi, vigili, conservatori propâginis villi-
corum (1).*

C H A P. VII.

Of Pales and some other rural Divinities.

PALES was properly the Divinity of Shepherds, the tutelar Deity and Protectress of the Flocks. The Feast that was celebrated to her on the 21st of *April*, was called *Palilia*, or *Parilia*. The whole Ceremony consisted in burning great Heaps of Straw, and leaping over them (a). No Animals were killed

Q q there,

(1) *Boissart.*

(a) *Moxque per ardentis stipulæ crepitantis acervos,
Trajicias celeri strenua membra pede.*

there, and the Purifications were performed with the Smoak of Horses Blood, and with the Ashes of a Calf that had been taken out of an immolated Cow, or with the Ashes of Beans. The Flocks were also purified with the Smoak of Sulphur, of the Olive, the Pine, the Laurel and Rosemary: Then after the Shepherd had leaped around the Bonfire of Straw now mentioned, they offered in Sacrifice Milk, Cheese, boiled Wine, and Cakes of Millet: A Festival truly pastoral and rustick, and such as was fuitable to the Goddesses of Shepherds and Flocks.

As *Romulus* laid the first Foundations of *Rome* on the 21st of *April*, which Day was thence consecrated to *Pales*, he made this Festival, which was celebrated in Honour of that Princess, to serve for Commemorating the founding of his new City: Thus they were always since that Time confounded one with another. 'Tis true, *Manilius* says (a), *Rome* was begun to be built in *Autumn*, under the Sign of the *Ballance*, and his Authority for a Fact of this Nature, ought to be the greater, that he was a skilful Astronomer; but as the Irregularity of the Months and Seasons was occasioned by the Deficiency of the antient Kalendar, after it came to be reformed, the Festival of the Foundation of *Rome*, with that of *Pales*, was restricted to the 21st of *April*.

Anna Pe-
renna. The *Latins* owned likewise another rural Divinity, whom they named *Anna Perenna*, reckoned by some Authors the same with the Sister of *Dido*, so celebrated in the fourth Book of the *Eneid*, and who retired into the Country of the *Laurentines*, where *Eneas* received her. But being afraid that *Levinia* would take away her Life, she threw herself into the River *Numicus*, whereof she became one of the Nymphs. Others think she was the Moon itself that had taken the Name of *Anna*, from the Year, *ab anno*, because the Year consisted

(a) Hesperiam sua libra tenet quâ condita Roma.

sisted then of Lunar Months. But the most common Opinion is that she was an honest Country Woman; that brought the *Romans* some Cakes when they had made the Secession to the *Aventine* Mount, who in Gratitude would have her Name to be perpetually honoured; and thus it is a *perennitate cultus*, that she got the Surname of *Perenna*. I reckon her among the rural Deities, upon the Authority of *Varro* who places her in the same Rank with *Pales*, *Ceres*, &c. (a). Her Feast was celebrated with Solemnity on the Ides * of *March*, upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, during which the People gave great Demonstrations of Joy, as we may see in the Verses quoted from *Ovid* (b): There they drank plentifully, there they danced, and the pretty Girls sung Verses wherein no great Regard was had to Modesty. But withal they alluded to a piece of Gallantry, which *Ovid* relates in the same Passage. *Anna*, says he, having been received to Heaven, *Mars*, who was in Love with *Minerva*, begged that the new Goddess would assist him in carrying on his Amours; she having a warm Heart to the God of War, promises to do as he desired, and came one Day to let him know that *Minerva* had at last consented to marry him; and putting on a Habit like that of the Goddess, kept the Assignment; but her

Q q 2

Disguise

(a) *Varro*, in his *Satyre Menippea*, had inserted those two Verses, which *Aulus Gellius* L. 13. c. 21. has preserved to us, and which *Louis Carrio* in his Commentary upon Antiquities, *Leſt. Prim.* says we ought to read thus.

Ted, Anna Perenna, Panda, te Lato, Pales;
Nerienes & Minerva, Fortuna ac Ceres.

* 15th of *March*.

(b) Idibus est Annæ festum geniale Perennæ
Non procul a ripis advena Tybri tuis:
Plebs venit ac virides passim disjecta per herbās
Potat, & accumbit cum pare quisque sua.
Sub Jove pars durat, pauci tentoria ponunt,
Sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta casa est.

Ov. Fast. L. 3. v. 423.

Disguise was detected ; and exposed her to the Laughter and Indignation of the God (a).

As *Pales* was the Goddess of the Flocks and their Shepherds, so *Bubona*, or *Burona*, was the Goddess of the Oxen and Cowherds (1). They sacrificed to her in a rural Manner, and invoked her for the Health of their Oxen.

Mellona. *Mellona*, another rural Deity took Care of the Bees, and Honey their Production (2).

For the same Purpose they used likewise to invoke *Aristæus*, the same who is the Subject of that fine *Episode* in the fourth *Georgick*, which *Virgil* has embellished with all the Ornaments of Poetry. 'Tis thought that this *Aristæus*, to whom *Virgil* gives for his Mother the Nymph *Cyrene*, was King of *Arcadia*, and that he applied himself to the Care of Bees, which he knew how to repair when lost. What the Poet now quoted says of him, upon Occasion of a Disease which had destroyed all his Swarms, that he had Recourse to his Mother, who dwelt in a profound Grotto at the Source of the *Peneus*, and that she sent him back to the wise *Proteus*; as also the Manner in which that God informs him how to repair his Loss, are only so many ingenious Fictions under which is couched the great Art which that Prince had in preserving and renewing his Bees. Be that as it will, *Aristæus* was ranked among the Demi-Gods, and received Honours peculiar to them.

Scia and *Segecia*, or *Segeſta*, were two other Divinities, who took Care of the Corns, and were honoured by the Labourers with a particular Worship ; with this Difference, that the former watched over the Grains

(a) *Ludit amatorem charæ nova Dea Minervæ,
Nec res hac Veneri gratior ulla fuit.
Inde joci veteres obscænaque dicta feruntur,
Et jurat hanc magno verba dedisse Deo.*

Idem *ibid.*

(1) *Augus. de Civ. Dei. l. 6. (2) Id. ib.*

Grains while they were yet lodged in the Earth, and the second in the Time of Harvest; as *Tutilina*, or *Tutelina*, had the Care of them when they were in the Granary (1). *Turnebus* thinks this was the Goddess, whose Name it was not lawful to utter, the same whom *Pliny* mentions (2). *Macrobius* tells us (3), that those who invoked this Divinity, abstained from all Work on the Day they sacrificed to her. She had a Chapel upon the *Aventine* Mount, and a Statue in the *Circus*. Some Authors give the same Goddess the Name of *Titulina*; and *Scaliger*, upon the Authority of *Varro*, says, an Altar was consecrated to her upon Mount *Aventine*, as to a Divinity the Protectress of the *Roman* People.

Robigus, whose Name is derived from the *Robigus.* Latin Word *Robigo*, or *Rubigo*, which signifies *Rust*, was another Divinity whom they invoked for the Preservation of the Corns, which he was believed to keep from blasting; there was a Feast in Honour of this God, which was called *Robigalia*. *Varro* speaks of it frequently in his fifth Book of the *Latin* Tongue, as also in that concerning *Agriculture*. Though all other Authors have looked upon him as a God, *St. Augustin* makes this Divinity a Goddess, whom he calls *Robigo* (4).

Bonus Eventus, Good Success, was also *Bonus Even-* honoured by Antiquity with a particular *tus.* Worship. *Pliny* (5) tells us, that the Statue of this God had been made by *Euphranor*, holding a Cup in his right Hand, and in the Left an Ear of Corn and a Poppy. The same Author says farther that *Praxiteles* had also made a Statue of the same God in the *Capitol*: And *Varro*, who makes Mention of this Divinity (6), reckons him among the great Gods of the Country People. Several Persons are of Opinion at this very Day, that some Ruins of a Temple, which is to be seen at *Rome* between the Church of

Q q 3. *Minerva*

(1) Id. ib. L. 4. (2) L. 18. c. 1. (3) Sat. L. 1. c. 16.
(4) De Civ. Dei. L. 4. c. 21. (5) L. 35. (6) L. 1. De re
Rust.

Minerva and that of *St. Eustachius*, are the Remains of the Temple that was consecrated to this God (1).

Populonia. *Populonia*, whose Name is derived from

Populatio, *Pillage*, *Plunder*, was also among the rural Divinities; Prayers and Sacrifices were offered to her, to hinder the Hail and Thunder from laying waste the Fields.

'Twas no doubt for the same Reason they Worshiped another Divinity under the Name of *Lightning* (2); and the Worship paid to him was that he might preserve the Blessings of the Field.

Pilumnus and *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*, according to *Picumnus*.

Servius, were two Brother-Gods, of whom the last had invented the Method of manuring the Land, whence he was surnamed *Sterquilinius*; and *Pilumnus* that of grinding the Corn, for which Reason he was particularly worshipped by the Millers. *Nonius Marcellus* says *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus* presided over Marriage-Auspices, and in Support of his Opinion he quotes a Passage from *Varro* (3), who says, if the Child who was taken into the Hands of the Midwife, was likely to be long-lived, she laid it upon the Ground to conjecture if it would be of an upright Stature; and that Beds were set up in the Temple for the Gods *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*, Divinities who presided over Marriage.

Sterculius. *Sterculius* was one of the Surnames given to *Saturn*, because he was the first that had laid Dung upon Lands to make them fertile (4).

Hippona. *Hippona* was the Goddess of Horses and Grooms (a).

Jugatinus. The God *Jugatinus* presided over Eminences and Mountains, and the Goddess *Collina* over Hills. *St. Augustin* names her *Collatina*; but perhaps he is mistaken in giving her this Name.

Vallonia,

(1) Lyſſo Giraldi. (2) Aug. de Civ. Dei. L. 6. c. 10. Senec. L. de Superſt. (3) L. 2. de vita Pop. Rom. (4) Macrobian. Sat. L. 1. c. 7.

(a) Plut. in Parall. Apul. 1. 3. de Aſin. aur. Tertull. in Apol. Fulgent de obſcur. vocibus, &c.

Vallonia, according to that Father, was the Goddess of the Valleys.

Rufina, who was so denominated from the Word *Rus*, *the Country*, presided over the Fields, according to the same Doctor *Lylio Giraldi* tells us, this Goddess was called by some Authors *Rutina*.

Some Passages taken from the fourth Book of Saint *Augustin de civitate Dei*, inform us of several other of those Country Divinities, and the bare naming of them will be sufficient to let us know the Offices to which they were destined. The *Romans*, says he, had a Goddess *Fruētuseia*, whom they invoked to obtain a good Harvest : A God *Spinofus*, to pluck up the Thorns from the Fields ; a Goddess *Niella*, to save the Corn from Mildew. They had *Proserpine* to preside over the budding of the Corns ; a God *Nodotus*, for the Knots of the Stalk : The Goddess *Volutina*, for the Coat that covers the Ear : *Patelena*, for the Ear which begins to open : *Hostilina*, when the Beard of the Ear and the Ear itself were of an equal Length (*a*). *Lacturtia*, when the Grain was in Milk : *Materna*, when it was ripe ; and *Runcina* when it was reaping.

We may observe, 1. That almost all the Gods had their stated Festivals, which were celebrated in the Seasons when their Aid was thought to be needed, and in the same Places over which they were believed to preside, as may be seen in *Ovid's* Fasts, and in the *Roman* Kalendar framed by *Rosinus* (1). 2. That almost all these Gods derived their Original from the *Latins*, as their Names sufficiently intimate, nor is any thing to be found relating to them in the Writings of the *Greeks*.

(a) The antient *Romans* said *lofure*, instead of *æquare* to equal.

(1) Ant. Rom. L. 4.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Satyrs, Fauns, Ægipans, &c.

AMONG the rural Deities, the Satyrs and others who are specified in this Title, were the most celebrated: They were so many Gods, or rather Demi-gods, whom the Pagans imagined to dwell in the Forests or Mountains, and whom they represented as little Men very hairy, with Horns in their Heads, Goats Feet, and a Tail dangling behind. They were named indifferently, either *Pans*, or *Ægipans*, or *Satyrs*, or *Sileni*; with this sole Difference, that the *Sileni* were *Satyrs* advanced in Years, if we may credit *Pausanias* (1) and *Servius* (2).

The Poet *Nonnus* says (3), the *Satyrs* were the Offspring of *Mercury* and the Nymph *Yphime*; and *Memnon* in *Photius* asserts that they derived their Original from *Bacchus* and the Naiad *Nicæa*, the Daughter of *Sangar*, whom he had intoxicated, by turning into Wine the Water of a Fountain where she usually drank; but these are but fabulous Births.

Some Authors have taken the *Satyrs* for real Men; and St. *Jerom* too was of this Opinion. *Albertus Magnus*, and *Picus* of *Mirandola*, who followed him, speak of two Kinds of Men, *Satyrs*, and not *Satyrs*: But 'tis more probable that the Introduction of *Satyrs* into the poetical World, was owing to large Monkeys being seen sometimes in the Woods, pretty much resembling Men; or perhaps to the Appearance of *Barbarians*, resembling Monkeys at a Distance: This is the Opinion of *Pliny* (a), who takes the *Satyrs*, as we do, for a Kind of Monkeys; and this Author asserts, that in a Mountain of the

(1) In Attic. (2) In 6. Æn. (3) Fourteenth of his *Dionys*.

(a) *Efferaior Cynocephalis natura, sicut mitissima Satyris, & Scingibus.* Hist. L. 9. c. 54.

the *Indies* are to be found four-footed *Satyrs*, whom you would take at a Distance for Men. These Sorts of Monkeys had frequently affrighted the Shepherds, and sometimes pursued the Shepherdesses; and this is possibly what gave Rise to so many Fables about their amorous Complexion. If we add to this, that Shepherds covered with Goats Skins, or some Priests of *Bacchus*, frequently counterfeited *Satyrs* to seduce the innocent Shepherdesses, I reckon we shall have the true Key to this Fable. Hence the Opinion spread that the Woods were full of these mischievous Divinities: The Shepherdesses trembled for their Honour, and the Shepherds for their Flocks; for which Reason they sought to appease them by Sacrifices, and by the Offerings of the First-fruits, or of the Firstlings of the Flocks. Some Songs were composed which the Shepherds sung in the Forests, where they endeavoured, by invoking them, to recommend themselves to their Favour. The Poets having got into their Hands the amusing Subject, invented a thousand Tales. The Painters too contributed to propagate those Fables, by painting *Pan* and the *Satyrs* like Men.

Such was the Origin of these rural Divinities, such was the Ground of their Worship, and of the Sacrifices that were offered to them. I am not ignorant, however, that great Men have been of the contrary Opinion, and that they have *humanized* the *Fauns* and *Satyrs*; but it must also be owned, that most Authors are not scrupulous enough to examine into the Subjects which they treat of, but are often Slaves to Prejudices: 'Tis enough that some very knowing Man of Reputation has advanced such an Opinion, to make them subject their Reason to the Yoke of his Authority. Besides, People choose rather to give themselves no Trouble about painful Researches, than by strict and serious Examination to shun being led into Error by Prejudices which they have blindly adopted.

But it will be said, how shall we answer St. *Jerom* when he tells us (1), that St. *Anthony* going to visit St. *Paul* the *Hermit*, met first a *Hippocentaur*, and then a *Satyr*, such as the Poets and Painters represent them; and that being interrogated, he replied, that this was one of those mortal Creatures who inhabit the Desarts, and whom the blind Pagan World called *Fauns* or *Satyrs*: He made him a Present too of Fruit, which is thought to be Dates. If Respect for St. *Jerom* will not allow us, with a modern Author (2), to treat this Account as a Fable, we may at least answer that it was some Devil had appeared to the good Saint. And indeed he was accustomed to see of them often under different Shapes, as we are told by the Writers of his Life: We may add farther what Cardinal *Baronius* alleges, that this pretended *Satyr*, as well as others, might have been a Monkey whom God permitted to speak, as formerly he did *Balaam's* Ass.

Should it be again objected what *Pausanias* says (3) of one *Euphemus*, who having been driven by Storm with his Ship upon the Coasts of a desert Island, saw a Sort of wild Men make up to him, all hairy, with Tails behind their Backs, almost as long as those of Horses, who attempted to seize upon their Wives with so much Fury, that they had much ado to rescue them; which made that Place be called the Isle of *Satyrs*. That *Ptolomy* (4) says there are three Isles in the *Indian* Sea beyond the *Ganges*, inhabited by *Satyrs*; and that *Pomponius Mela* adds (5), there are, beyond *Mauritania*, in the *Atlantick* Ocean, Isles where no Body is to be seen in the Day-time, but by Night great Fires are there observed, a confused Sound of Flutes and Drums heard, and that it is commonly thought these Isles are inhabited by *Satyrs*: That *Pomponius*, in short, only copied the Relation of the famous *Hanno* the *Cartha-*

(1) Life of St. *Paul* Hermit. (2) *Majus* Hist. of Animals.
 (3) In *Atticis*. (4) *Geogr.* l. 7. (5) *Geogr.* l. 7.

Carthaginian General, who had been in those Islands; what *Plutarch* (1) relates, that in the Time of *Sylla* was found in *Epirus* a *Satyr*, such as the Poets represent them, who framed some Voice resembling the bleating of a Goat, and which no Body could explain. That the Arch-duke *Philip*, according to *Albertus Magnus* (2), brought two of them to *Genoa* in the Year 1598, when he made his Entry thither; the same Author adding, that two of them were taken in the Forests of *Saxony*, the one a Male, and the other a Female; that the Female being dead, the Male was tamed, and was even taught to articulate some Words.

To all this I would answer, that admitting these several Facts, to which perhaps not a few Objections might be made, we may very well apply to them those Kinds of Monkeys which we have spoke of from *Pliny* (3). What *Pomponius Mela* says is not hard to be explained. When *Hanno* went to those Isles, which are thought to lie about the Island of *S. Thomas* on the the Coasts of *Guinea*, or rather near those of *Cape Verd*, the Inhabitants affrighted, hid themselves in the Day-time in Caverns, and lighted Fires by Night, and uttered a wild roaring Sound to terrify the Strangers, and force them to leave their Island; which Stratagem accordingly succeeded.

'Tis still easier to answer what may be urged against me from that *Satyr* which passed the *Rubicon* in Presence of *Cæsar* and his whole Army; it was nothing but a Stratagem of that famous General. *Cæsar* seeing the Scruples which his Soldiers had to pass that River, dressed up one of them secretly like a *Satyr*, to persuade the rest, that since a Divinity had shewed them the Way, they both might, and ought to pass it too. Just so, when *Diodorus* says (4) *Bacchus*, that is to say *Osiris*, for of him he speaks in this Passage, was accompanied in his Conquest of
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(1) De Sylla. (2) Treatise of Animals. (3) Loc. Cit.
(4) L. 1.

the *Indies* with a Number of *Satyrs* ; the Meaning is, that some of that Conqueror's Soldiers disguised themselves like *Satyrs*, to strike a Terror into the People whom they wanted to subdue ; or else, that he led with him those large Sort of Apes that are found in *Africa*, to divert himself, or to shew Tricks to the Soldiers in their own Drefs ; or, as some Authors have thought, he had some wild *Ethiopians* brought him, all hairy, as some are among those *Barbarians*, to divert and amuse him : For that good Prince was a great Lover of Mirth, if we may credit the forecited Author (a), and had no liking to fight ; having undertaken that Expedition only to teach the barbarous Nations Agriculture, and to perform such beneficent Services to Mankind as raised him to divine Honours. We may add, that never were such Discoveries made as within these two Ages past, and amongst all these nothing resembling *Satyrs* has been found, except the Monkeys we have been speaking of.

After all, if we may believe *Bochart* (1), the Original of *Satyrs* comes from the *Hebrew* Word *Sair*, which signifies a Devil under the Shape of a Goat ; and this is the Reason, according to him, of their being represented as a Sort of Goats, dancing and frisking in a lascivious Manner (b). We may confirm our Opinion as to the Nature of the *Satyrs*, by what is related in an Account of the *East Indies* (c) ; where we are told, that in the Island of *Ceylon* are to be found *Satyrs* or *Bavianes*, whom the *Indians* call *Orangs*, that is, *Wild Men*. They are much of the same

(a) Dum in Æthiopia versatur, gens Satyrorum ei adducitur, quos pilos in lumbis habere ferunt. Diod. l. 1.

(1) Chan. l. 1. c. 12.

(b) The Rabbins render the Word *Hircus* by that of *Satyr*, and *Sair* by that of Goat or Devil ; and by the Word *Heteb*, the Devil of the South, and by the Creatures overgrown with Hair, mentioned in *Ishiah*, they understand the *Satyrs* inhabiting the Deserts. *Bochart*. Loc. Cit.

(c) *Seuter's Voyage to the Indies*. Vol. 2.

same Figure with other Men, have the Back all covered with Hair, flat Noses, and a rough Aspect: They are robust, nimble, and fierce. The Way to take them is with Gins, and they tame so well, as to be taught to walk upon their Feet, or rather upon their Hind-legs. These *Satyrs*, adds the Author, are very serviceable to their Masters: They wash the Glasses, fill their Liquor, turn the Spit, and sweep the House. Another Traveller (1) says, while he was at *Angola*, one of those wild Men was slain at *Manicongo*, whose Body was all bristling with Hair, his Nose flat, wide Nostrils, and a Tail at his Back. He was taken in a Tree, where they found him with his Mate and his young one, which both saved themselves. *Daper*, in his Account of *Africa*, speaks of another Kind of Monkey which bears a yet greater Resemblance to Man. These Animals being dispersed through the Woods, with which the whole Earth was overgrown, had, doubtless, given occasion to take those Sort of Monkeys or Monsters for a Species of Men: I am not at all surpris'd at it, since they bear a much greater Resemblance to the *Caffres* and *Hottentots*, who inhabit the Extremities of *Africa*, than these do to other Men: And we should have had much less Reason to be surpris'd if the latter had been taken for real *Satyrs*, than that the Monkeys before mentioned have been accounted real Men. But so much for this Subject. Let us now say something of *Faunus* and *Sylvanus*, who have always been reckoned rural Deities, and the Fathers of the *Fauns* and *Satyrs*.

CHAP.

(1) Vandenbrouk Tome 4.

C H A P. IX.

Of Faunus and Sylvanus.

FAUNUS, as *Virgil* tells us (1), was the Son of *Picus*, of whom we shall speak afterwards, and the fourth King of *Italy*. He lived while *Pandion* reigned at *Athens*, about Thirteen hundred Years before the Christian Era, or about an hundred and twenty Years before the *Trojan War*, or a little later, if we may believe *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; that is, in the Time of *Evander* and *Hercules*. The same Author adds, that he was a Prince of very great Bravery as well as Wisdom; which probably made it be given out that he was the Son of *Mars* (2). *Lactantius* informs us that he was very religious. *Eusebius* is of the same Mind with those two Authors, when he places *Faunus* in the Catalogue of the *Latin Kings*. As he applied himself, during his Reign, to Agriculture, he was ranked after his Death among the rural Deities, and was represented with all the Equipage of the *Satyrs*. It was even asserted that he delivered Oracles; but this Fable is only founded upon the Etymology of his Name; for *Phonein* in *Greek*, and *Fari* in *Latin*, whereof it is compounded, signify *to speak*; and it was perhaps for the same Reason that they called his Wife *Fauna*, as you would say *Fatidica*, *Prophetess*. She was a Person of great Chastity, as we learn from *Varro* (3); and *Lactantius*, who copied him, says she carried Modesty and Reserve so far, that she never would see another Man but her own Husband. She was wont to make Predictions to the Women, as *Faunus* did to the Men. So many good Qualifications raised her after Death to Divine Honours, and she was called the *Good Goddess*. The Women offered Sacrifices to her in Places where no Access was permitted to the

(1) *Æn.* 7. (2) *Ovid* 2 *Fast.* (3) In *Lactan.* L. 1.

the Men. I know *Plutarch* (1) and *Arnobius* speak not so favourably of *Fauna*, as *Lactantius* and *Varro*, and that those Authors alledge she was a little given to Wine : But would ever Men have deified a Person who was addicted to a Vice so indecent in her Sex ? Those who are for reducing the Fables to Allegory, are not wanting to tell us here that *Faunus* and *Fatua* are but two feigned Personages, under whose Names the Pagans adored the Earth, and that they were known only in *Italy*, because *Evander* brought from *Arcadia* the Worship of these Divinities. But the express Testimonies of *Varro* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, of *Plutarch* and *Lactantius*, are to be more regarded than those Allegorists who have fallen into this Error, only for not knowing that one and the same Person in the Pagan Theology was a natural and an animated Deity (a) ; which, however, is the Key to most Fables.

Sylvanus, according to some Authors, was the Son of *Faunus*, or, according to *Plutarch*, of *Valerius* and *Valeria* his Daughter. *Eliau* and *Probus* give him a yet more scandalous Original ; but we must not shock modest Ears with the fabulous Stories which Antiquity has left upon this Subject. The Author of the Original of the *Romans*, such is the Uncertainty as to these Matters, says *Sylvanus*, instead of being the Son of *Faunus*, was the same God with him ; and others confound him with *Pan*, or *Egipan*, if we may believe *Plutarch* : Which agrees with what *Pliny* tell us, that the *Egipans* were the same with the *Sylvans*. The Monuments we have now remaining, represent him sometimes as a *Satyr*, and sometimes too with the half of the Body of a Goat ; sometimes with a Form quite human, almost always with a Branch of *Cypress*, and that for the Love of the young *Cyparissus* who was transformed into that Tree. The Pine-Apple, a pruning Knife, which he

(1) Q. Q. Rom.

(a) See what has been said upon this above, Vol. 2. B. 4.

he holds in his Hand, a Crown coarsely made, and a Dog, are the common Embellishments of the Figures of this rural Deity, where he sometimes appears naked, sometimes covered with a rustick Garb which reaches down to his Knees.

As *Sylvanus* was highly honoured, especially in *Italy*, we see frequently upon these same Images, Altars, Priests, Players upon the Flute, and the Victim that was most commonly offered to him, namely the Hog.

A Monument consecrated to this God, by one named *Laches*, gives him the Epithet of *Littoralis*; whence we learn that he was also worshipped upon the Sea Shores.

The Priests of this God constituted one of the principal Colleges of *Rome*, and were in great Reputation: Which was a sufficient Evidence of the Fame of his Worship. When the *Romans* were Masters of the *Gauls*, they had undoubtedly brought thither the Worship of this God, and founded a College of Priests like that at *Rome*, since there was found some Years ago at *St. Maur-les-Fossees*, near *Paris*, where their Foundation had been, a Stone whereon was an Inscription which *Montfaucon* communicated to the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, mentioning the College of Priests of the God *Sylvanus*.

Faunus, I said, was the Son of *Picus*, and I shall set before you the Succession of those antient *Abo-ri-gines* who reigned in *Italy* before the *Trojan War*, according to the Learned, especially *Ryckius* (1). The first of those Kings was called *Stercès*; *Fanus* who succeeded him, though a Foreigner, is the second, *Picus* the Son of *Stercès* the third, and *Faunus* the Son of *Picus* the fourth. I wave the rest, of whom I shall have Occasion to speak in the sixth Volume.

Picus

(1) Dissert. de primis Italiz Colonis. Can. Chro.

Picus was an accomplished Prince, of distinguished Talents. *Ovid* (1) gives a charming Description of this Prince, and of his lovely Wife *Canens*. Having died in the Chace before he came to an advanced Age, and his Body not being found, they fabled that he was transformed into a Wood-pecker, a Bird whose Name in *Latin* is the same with his; and, to give some Credibility to the Fable, it was added, that this Transformation was brought about by *Circe*. She met him, says the Poet now quoted, in a Wood whither she had come to gather Herbs for her magical Operations: In a Trice she was fired with Love to the Boy; and finding him insensible, she struck him with her Wand, and instantly his Body was overgrown with Feathers, and he disappeared, &c.

This Fable, *Servius* alledges (2), has no other Foundation, but that *Picus*, who valued himself upon his prophetick Gift, made use of a Wood-pecker which he had tamed: *Augur fuit Picus, & domui habuit Picum, per quem futura noscebat*. We may add, that the Identity of the Name of this Prince and that of the Wood-pecker, contributed not a little to the Fable of the Transformation. Be that as it will, *Picus* was worshipped after his Death, and taken into the Number of the Gods *Indigetes*.

Canens, forlorn for the Loss of a Husband whom she tenderly loved, retired into a Desert, where she did not long survive him; and, by reason of her Name, was given out to be transformed into a Voice.

Notwithstanding the Authority of *Servius*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and several other Antients, who all look upon *Picus* as a real Personage, and a King of the *Aborigines*, there are several Authors who contend that there never was a King of this Name in *Italy*; and *Gerard Vossius* (3) will have it that this

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whole

(1) Met. L. 14. (2) Upon the seventh Book of the *Æneid*.

(3) Orig. & Progres. Idol. L. 1. C. 12.

whole Fable has no other Foundation, but that antiently in the Country of the *Sabines* was an Oracle of *Mars*, for which a Wood-pecker was employed. *Bochart* (1), who always finds a Key to the Fables in the *Phenician* Language, says this is only founded upon the Word *Picca*, which imports a Soothfayer, and that from the Resemblance between this Name and that of *Picus*, they had feigned a King who had the Gift of Prediction. In fine, there are learned Men who maintain that *Picus* is the same with *Jupiter*, worshipped by the antient *Aborigines* under the Symbol of a Wood-pecker, a Bird of great Use in the Auguries. For my Part, I believe we may very well rely upon the Antients I have cited, especially upon *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, an Author well versed in the Antiquities of *Italy*, and assert, with them, that *Picus* reigned there after *Janus*, and had *Faunus* for his Successor.

C H A P. X.

Of Silenus and Midas.

THOUGH in general the old *Satyrs* were called *Sileni*, as we have said after *Pausanias* (2), there was one, however, to whom this Name was appropriated by way of Eminence, and who had no other. As this is one of the most celebrated Personages in Antiquity, a vast many Things have been said of him, some of them true, and others of them mere Fictions; but Fictions whose Sense is not always inexplicable.

Eliau (3) alledges that *Silenus* was born of a Nymph, and that tho' he was not of the Number of the Gods, he was however of a superior Nature to that of Man; 'tis probable that he had no other Argument for it but what he had taken from *Hesiod*, who says in general (4), that all the *Satyrs* had Nymphs

(1) Chan. L. 1. (2) In Att. (3) Var. Hist. L. 3. C. 12. (4) Theog.

Nymphs to their Mothers. *Silenus* was born at *Malea*, or at least he was brought up there, according to the Testimony of *Pindar*, who thus speaks ; *Silenus, that incomparable Dancer, whom a Citizen of Malea, the happy Spouse of fair Nais, had the good Fortune to educate.* The Inhabitants of *Pyrrica*, a Town of *Laconia* (1), gave out that *Silenus* having quitted *Malea*, had retired to them ; and they shewed a Well that they believed he had sunk, without which they would have been intirely destitute of Water.

Lucian (2) gives this Description of *Silenus* : He was of a middle Size, fat and plump ; thus he actually is represented upon Medals and other Monuments which we have remaining (3). A Servant, in one of *Plautus's* Comedies, gives a Picture of his Master very like this which we have now seen (4) ; and I am very much mistaken if the Author is not making a waggish Allusion to *Silenus*, whom the Master perhaps resembled a little, as well as *Socrates*, according to the Representation of him upon Intaglios. *Silenus* was also represented riding upon an Ass, almost always drunk, and hardly able to support himself ; *Titubantem annisque meroque* (5), as *Ovid* speaks. 'Twas in this Plight that he followed *Bacchus*, whose Foster-father and inseparable Companion he was, and to whom, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (6), he communicated a Part of his Knowledge. Upon all the Antiques that represent him, he has still the Air of a drunken Man dozing over his Wine ; and when *Virgil* in one of his Eclogues describes him, it is like a Man gorged with Wine as usual.

Inflatum besterno venas ut semper Iaccho.

Such was the common Idea they had of this Personage, such the Pictures were made of him. Antient

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(1) Paus. in Lacon. (2) In the Counsel of the Gods. (3) See Beger Treasure of Brandebourg, and Montfaucon Ant. V. 4.
(4) Plaut. in Rud. (5) Met. L. 5. (6) L. 3.

tient Authors, however, very worthy of Credit, had much more favourable Sentiments of him. *Silenus*, according to them, was a profound Philosopher, whose Wisdom was equal to his Knowledge; and this Drunkenness that has been so much talk'd of, was nothing but a mystical Drunkenness, which signified that he was profoundly immersed in Speculation. *Theopompus* of *Chios*, brings him in holding Conversation with *Midas*, which is related by *Elian* (1), about an Island situated beyond all the Seas, where were, among others, two Cities, the one called the *Peaceful City*, the other the *Warlike*. The Inhabitants of the former, free from all Care and Anxiety, led happy Days, and lived for several Ages; while those of the latter, always in Arms against their Neighbours, almost all died in War. 'Tis not known what Country *Silenus* had in his Eye: Was it the fortunate Islands, which are thought to be the *Canaries*, or that celebrated *Atlantick* Island, of which *Plato* has said so much; or, in fine, was it the *Hyperboreans*, who, according to the Antients, led a Life like that of the Inhabitants of this peaceful City? These are Questions I shall not stay to resolve (a).

Cicero, *Plutarch*, and many others, had formed the same Idea of *Silenus*, and always looked upon him as a very ingenious Man, and a great Philosopher. *Virgil*, in his second Eclogue, puts in his Mouth the Principles of the *Epicurean* Philosophy, about the Formation of the World, and the Beings that compose it: *Namque canebat uti, &c.*

To proceed: The Adventure which brought *Silenus* into the Hands of *Midas* is singular, and gave Rise to many Fables which I shall explain. That Prince, informed of the rare Talents of *Silenus*, had been long desirous of conversing with him. *Bacchus*, who had quitted *Thrace*, where the *Bacchantes* had

(1) Var Hist. L. 3. C. 13.

(a) See for the *Hyperboreans*, the Dissertation of *Abbé Gedoye*, and another of my own. *Mémoires de l'Académie des belles Lettres*, T. 7.

had torn in Pieces the unhappy *Pentheus*, had come to *Lydia* to the Confines of Mount *Tmolus*, where grew excellent Wine. *Silenus*, who was rambling thro' that Country, mounted upon his Ass, stop'd frequently near a Fountain to sleep out his Wine, and to repose himself after his Fatigue. This appeared a favourable Opportunity to *Midas*: He threw Wine into the Fountain, and placed some Peasants in ambuscade. *Silenus* drunk one Day of the Wine to Excess, and the Peasants seeing him drunk, fell upon him, bound him with Garlands of Flowers, and thus led him to the King. This Prince, who was himself initiated into the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, received *Silenus* with great Marks of Respect; and after having celebrated the *Orgies* with him ten Days and ten Nights successively, and heard him discourse upon several Subjects, returned him to *Bacchus*. The God, overjoyed to see again his Foster-father, whose Absence had given him a great Deal of Uneasiness, bid *Midas* demand of him any Thing he pleased. *Midas*, who was excessively covetous, ask'd the Power of turning into Gold whatever he should touch, which was accordingly granted him. But the Present soon became destructive to him who had so eagerly wished for it. At first he was charmed with the Experiments he made; he touched a Branch, Stones, Ears of Corn, all became Gold; but then, when he was preparing for Dinner, and was going to wash his Hands, the Water underwent the same Change: In fine, the Bread, the Wine, the Meat that was served up to him, became Gold as soon as he put forth his Hand and touched them; and he was ready to starve amidst all his Riches, when addressing himself to the same God to be delivered from so inconvenient a Power, *Bacchus* ordered him to wash his Hands in the *Pactolus*, which he did; and losing that fatal Virtue, he communicated it to the River, which, from that Time, rolls a golden Sand.

Thus the *Greeks* took Pleasure in perverting History into ingenious Fables ; I say History, for this is a true one ; and tho' I have already spoke at some Length of *Midas* in the History of *Apollo*, yet the Connection which it has with that of *Silenus*, obliges me to return to it, and the more willingly, that I had omitted to explain some Circumstances, at least shall explain them here in a Manner which to me appears more satisfactory. *Midas*, according to all the Antients, was King of that Part of *Lydia* and *Phrygia* where the *Pactolus* runs. *Herodotus* (1), who says he reigned after his Father *Gordius*, adds, that he sent large Presents to the Temple of *Delphos*, and among others a golden Chain of an inestimable Value. The same Author speaks elsewhere (2) of the Gardens of this Prince, where grew Roses exceeding beautiful without Culture, and these are the Gardens where *Silenus* was believed to have been taken. *Midas*, frugal to Avarice, reigned over a very rich Country, and made considerable Sums by the Sale of his Corns, his Wines, and his Cattle. This, no doubt, is what made them say that he turned into Gold whatever he touched, even the Bread, the Wine, and Meat that was served up to him. His Avarice changed its Object, and having learned that the *Pactolus* run Gold-dust, he abandoned the Care of the Country, and employed his Subjects in gathering the Gold of that River, which brought him in a new Store : This again is the Foundation of the Fiction of his having communicated to the *Pactolus* his aurifick Virtue.

Amidst so many different Objects of Care, *Midas* did not abandon the Affairs of Religion, and he made so many Innovations in that of the *Lydians*, that he was reckoned, according to *Justin* (3), a second *Numa*. We are even told, that in order to bring about these Revolutions, he made use of the Stratagem which was afterwards so serviceable to that King of *Rome* : For as he gave out that he
learned

(1) L. 1. C. 14. (2) L. 8. C. 138. (3) L. 2. C. 7.

learned from the Nymph *Egeria*, whatever he acted in Matters of Religion, so *Midas* said he was instructed by *Silenus* in the new Mysteries which he designed to establish, especially in those of the *Orgies*; for this Prince, who possessed excellent Vineyards, was very much devoted to *Bacchus*. Some Authors (a) are even of Opinion, that having found, near the Fountain before mentioned, some *Satyr*, that is, some Animal resembling an Ape, he had given this out to be *Silenus*, the Foster-father and Companion of *Bacchus*, whom he interrogated about all his Projects, much the same Way as they say *Sertorius* interrogated his tame Hind; but to speak more accurately, it was really *Silenus* himself who communicated to him a Part of his Knowledge, since he lived at the same Time with him, and was his Neighbour, as shall be said in the Sequel.

As *Midas* had his Spies every where, whom he questioned and listened to with Attention; hence it was said, that he heard, at a great Distance, that he had long Ears, as we say of a powerful King, that he has long Arms; and this again is the Origin of the Fable that gave him Asses Ears; a more natural Explication than what we have already given of the same Fiction (1).

We may conclude from all that has been said, that *Midas* was a powerful Prince, and that *Silenus*, whom he made so good use of, was a profound Philosopher, who assisted him with his Counsels, in founding his Laws and religious Ceremonies. Perhaps too he was said to be somewhat addicted to drinking, and consequently reckoned *Bacchus's* Foster-father and inseparable Companion, only because he had introduced into *Lydia* the *Orgies* and the other Festivals of that God. Since I am now upon the Explanation of the Fables that have been broached in re-

R r 4

lation.

(a) See the Notes of *Abraham Gronovius* upon the eighteenth Chapter of the third Book of *Eliau*.

(1) History of *Apello*.

lation to him, I think I have found out a Key to that which represented him always riding upon an Afs, from a Passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, who, in comparing *Aristotle* to *Silenus*, says the first was always on Horseback, and the second had only an Afs to ride upon: The Meaning of which undoubtedly is, that he made only slow, but sure Advances in Philosophy; whereas the other moved at a quick Pace, and made a Trip now and then. That of the Afs's Ears, according to *Tertullian* (1), informs us that he was endued with great Intelligence. In fine, *Ieffus* (2) explains that of the Fountain of Wine, which we mentioned, by saying it signifies only the Desire that *Midas* had to get *Silenus* into his Possession, who, according to him, was King of *Caria*, and actually became a great Friend to *Midas*.

Some Authors again, confound *Silenus* with *Marsyas*, that celebrated Player upon the Flute, whom we have spoken of in the History of *Apollo*, who flcad him alive. What may give some Probability to this Opinion, is, that *Marsyas* is represented as a Satyr, as may be seen in the Figures of him (3): Now the *Sileni* were old Satyrs, as has been said; but what fully determines in Favour of this Opinion, is, that *Herodotus* speaking of *Marsyas*, calls him *Silenus* (4). Hence the Chronology perfectly agrees, and it will be no longer any Wonder that *Midas* had such a high Esteem for *Silenus*, since it was for having decided in his Favour against *Apollo*, that he had Afses Ears given him by that God.

After this I shall only relate what *Bochart* says with respect to *Silenus*, as one of those learned Conjectures wherewith they who are Masters of the Languages, are upon all Occasions making a Parade. The Antients, says he, by the Fable of *Silenus*, give us to understand that they had some Knowledge of the *Messiah*, since the Name of this Satyr comes

(1) L. 2. De Anima. (2) Le Idol, L. 2. (3) Moitfauc. Ast. v. 1. (4) L. 7. c. 26.

comes from *Silo*, which almost all the Interpreters understand of *Jesus Christ* (1).

Silenus was worshipped after his Death as a Demi-God, and received the Honours due to Heroes, independently even of *Bacchus*. This is the Remark of *Pausanias* (2), who, speaking of the Temple which *Silenus* had in *Elis*, expresses himself thus, *There you will see likewise a Temple of Silenus, but a Temple which is appropriated and peculiar to himself, while Bacchus has no Share in the Honour of it.*

C H A P. XI.

Of the Gods Lares.

I Shall finish the History of the terrestrial Gods with that of the *Lares* and *Penates*, who were the Guardians and Protectors of Families, and of the Goods of the Country.

We have seen in the second Volume (3) that every Man and Woman had their particular Genius: There was one also for every House, for every City, and in general for the whole Country, and while those of Men and Women retained the Name of *Genii*, those of Houses were called *Lares*, and those of Cities and particular Places *Penates*, though 'tis true however, that the two last were often confounded with one another.

As the Gods of Paganism, whatever Order they were of, never wanted a Genealogy, the *Lares*, according to *Ovid* (4), were the Sons of *Mercury* and *Lara* the Daughter of *Almon*. The indiscreet *Lara* having let *Juno* into the Secret of *Jupiter's* Gallantries, that God cut out her Tongue, and ordered *Mercury* to carry her to Hell. The dismal State she was in had not quite effaced all her Charms; her Conductor fell in Love with her, and had by her

(1) Chan. L. 2. c. 18. (2) In Eliacis. (3) L. 5. (4) Fast. I. 2.

her Twins who were called *Lares*(*a*), who, in process of Time became the Guardians of the Streets and Ways.

Inscriptions favour the Opinion of Ovid, since we find some of them with these Words : *Lar vialis, the Lar of the Highway*.

In the mean Time as nothing is worse vouched than the Genealogies of the Pagan Gods, there are Authors who give *Laronda* for the Mother of the *Lares*; but may not they be the same Person under two Names like to one another? I shall not say so of another Mother of those Gods, who is named *Mania*: Confounding the *Lares* with the *Manes*. The *Lares*, according to *Varro* (1) were the same with the *Manes*; accordingly we are told that they were the Sons of *Mania*. *Festus* agrees in this with that learned *Roman*. At the Feasts, says he, called *Compitalia*, were placed in the Cross-streets upon Posts, Figures of Men and Women, because this Feast was thought to be celebrated in Honour of the Gods, called *Lares*. But another Proof that these Gods were the same with the *Manes*, is that these were also named *Larvæ*, whence the Masks of the Antients had taken their Names.

Servius also comes in to support this Opinion, when upon the fifth *Eneid* he refers the Original of the *Lares* to the antient Custom of burying the Dead in Houses, who were afterwards their Domestick Gods, for the *Lares* in that Case were evidently the same with the *Manes*.

But the *Lares* were not only Guardians of the Streets and Ways; they extended their Care likewise to the Fields, for which I am warranted by *Tibullus*:

Vos

(*a*) Fitque gravis, geminosque parit, qui compita Servant;
Et vigilant nostrâ semper in Æde Lares.

Fast. l. 2.

(1) De Ling. Lat.

*Vos quoque felicitis quondam, nunc pauperis agri
Custodes, fertis munera vestra Lares* (1).

As Dogs are usually the Guardians of Houses and even of Fields, we need not be surprized at *Plautus's* saying the *Lares* were represented under the Figure of those Animals (2); at least it is certain that they were clad in their Skins. We may remark here that when Children came to the Age when they laid aside the *Bulla*, they hung it at the Neck of the *Lares*, and the Slaves who received their Liberty, did the same with their Chains. *Petronius*, who always makes so agreeable an Use of antient Fiction, says, the Youth having entered into *Trimalcion's* Banqueting-Hall, clad in white Tunicks, placed the Gods *Lares* upon the Table, adorned with *Bullæ*.

As antient Paganism had provided Gods for all, so there were *Lares* also appointed for Ships, which to be sure had as much Need of them as Houses, and these were called *Lares of the Sea*, *Lares Marini*. The Question is whether these were different from the Gods *Pataici* mentioned in the third Volume, which were set upon the Prows of Ships to be their Patrons and Guardians? I am of Opinion they were not, since there are Authors who take these *Lares* to have been *Neptune*, *Tethys*, and *Glaukus*: And what more powerful and faithful Guardians could they have given to their Ships?

The most common Place of the Household-Gods, as we have it in *St. Jerom*, was behind the Door; and it was believed that they banished from thence every thing pernicious, especially the *Lemures*, *Genii* who were only capable of doing Mischief.

The Obligations which every one thought he owed to the *Lares*, induced their Votaries to make frequent Libations to them, and they even went the Length of Sacrifices: This at least is what may be

(1) *Eleg.* 25. (2) In *Aul.*

be gathered from an antient Marble, published by *Boissard*, and dedicated by *C. Sempronius Piso*, to the Gods *Lares* of the Emperors (1), since besides the two Figures, the one of a young Man, the other of a Man more in Years, you see there a flaming Altar, with the *Prefericula*, a Vase, and a *Patera*, &c. Besides all this, the Statues of the *Lares* were adorned with Flowers and Garlands; Fruits were offered to them, they were kept clean and neat, and in short, a very particular Care was taken of them. There was also, at least in great Houses, one of the Domesticks set apart for the Service of those Gods; and *Suetonius* (2) informs us, that *Domitian* had a *Valet de Chambre* of this Kind. 'Tis proper however to observe that sometimes they lost all due Respect for these Gods, as upon certain Occasions when Grief for the Death of some beloved Object prevails over every other Consideration, and in that Case they even threw them out at the Window, as *Suetonius* tells us in the History of *Caligula's* Life*.

The Name of *Grondiles*, which was sometimes given to the *Lares*, owed its Rise to *Romulus*, who called them so, in Honour of the Sow that had brought forth at one Litter thirty Pigs; and from the Squeaking of these little Animals was this Name derived.

Besides the Names now mentioned, they had likewise others. Thus those were called *Lares publici*, who had Care of the publick Buildings; *Familiares*, those of private Houses; *Viales*, those of the Highways; *Compitales*, those of the Cross-ways, &c.

As we ought not to rely a great deal upon the *Romans* as to the Original of their Gods, I shall close this Article by observing that the Word *Lar* comes from the *Tuscan* Word *Lars*, or *Larte*, which signifies, *Leader*, or *Conductor*.

C H A P.

(1) Laribus Augg. C. Sempronius Piso. (2) In Domit.

* Upon the Death of *Germanicus*.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Gods Penates.

THOUGH 'tis true that the *Penates* were sometimes confounded with the *Lares* and *Genii*, 'tis certain however that they were oftner distinguished from one another; and their Distinction is very well observed in *Coriolanus's* Farewel to his Mother, to whom, according to *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* (1), he says, *Adieu, ye Penates, ye paternal Lares, and ye Genii of this Place.*

First we must not imagine, that the *Penates* formed a different Class of Divinities, since on the contrary they were chosen from each of them. Sometimes it was *Jupiter*, oftner *Vesta*, and so others, according to the Devotion of the Persons who made Choice of them. *Nigidius*, an antient Author cited by *Arnobius* (2), distinguishes four Sorts of *Penates*. The first are of the Class of *Jupiter*, that is, chosen from among the celestial Gods. The second from that of *Neptune*, or from the Sea-Gods. The third from those of *Pluto's* Class, or from among the infernal Gods. The last, might be taken indifferently from the Class of all the deified Men. It must be owned however that by the *Penates* were usually understood those of the *Samothracians*; though we grant at the same Time that it was optional to every one to choose those whom he had a mind: Accordingly we have antient Inscriptions that make mention of the *Penates* and *Lares* of all Sorts, even of the living Emperors. It was likewise permitted to place their Ancestors among those Gods; and this is what most frequently happened.

The *Romans*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* (3) gave the Name of *Penates* promiscuously to all their Gods; “ But those who have translated this
Greek

(1) Ant. L. 8. (2) Advers. Gent. (3) L. 10.

“ *Greek Word*, have called them, some *Paternal*
 “ *Gods*, others *Original Gods* : Others again *the Gods*
 “ *of Possession* : Some, the *secret Gods or concealed*
 “ *Gods* ; lastly, *the tutelar Gods*, whereby it would
 “ seem that each designed to express some parti-
 “ cular Property of these Gods, though at Bottom
 “ they all mean the same thing.”

Antiently it was not allowable to have those private Gods, nor to address any Worship to them ; but at last, not only was the Introduction of them tolerated, but it was even authorized by the secular Powers.

There was even one of the Laws of the twelve Tables, ordering the religious Celebration of Sacrifices to the *Penates*, and the uninterrupted Continuation of them in Families, in the same Manner they had been established by the Heads of those Families. 'Tis farther known, that when any one passed into another Family, the Magistrate took Care to provide for the Worship of the Gods whom the adopted Person had relinquished.

If we would now trace the Original of the *Penates*, I take it to have arisen from a vulgar Opinion, that the *Manes* of their Ancestors took Pleasure after Death to dwell in their Houses, where they were even frequently interred, if we may believe *Servius* (a), and where their Pictures used to be preserved in the Places of greatest Respect. For after having considered them under the Notion of illustrious Persons, they came by Degrees to pay them Respect and Homage ; then they implored their Assistance, and lastly founded to them a worship and religious Ceremonies. The Passage of the Book of Wisdom already cited, Vol. I. which speaks of the Death of a Child, beloved by his Parents, whose Worship was at last established in the Family, is a convincing Proof of this. Thus I am of Opinion that of
old

(a) Upon these Words of the *Eneid*, l. 6.

old the *Penates* were only the *Manes* of their Ancestors, as St. *Augustin* proves (1) from the Authority of *Apuleius* and *Photinus*; but that in after times they associated with them all the other Gods without Distinction.

The Statues of the Gods *Penates* were made not of Wax only, as some Authors pretend, but indifferently of all Sorts of Materials, even Silver itself. They were consecrated in the most secret Place, which was called the *Lararium, Penetralia*. There Altars were erected to them, Lamps kept burning, and Symbols added, all of them expressive of Vigilance, among others the Dog, whose Skin these Statues wore upon their Shoulders, as well as the *Lares*, or had the Figure of them under their Feet (a). *Apuleius* comprehends all the Sacrifices of the *Lares* and *Penates* in three Words, *Thure, mero, & aliquando victimis*; Incense, Wine, and sometimes Victims. There were for that Purpose Altars, such as may be seen in M. *Baudelot's* Work, intitled, *the Utility of Voyages* (2). On the Evening before their Feasts great Pains were taken to rub the Statues with Balm and Wax to make them fine and glistering, and capable of receiving the Impression of the Vows that were made to them. This Wax formed a Crust all over, which covered the Matter whereof the Statues were made; and this no doubt is what had deceived the Authors, I mentioned, who took them to be only made of Wax.

Antiently Children were offered to them in Sacrifice, but *Brutus*, he who expelled the *Tarquins*, changed this barbarous Sacrifice, into one more natural, and from that Time nothing was offered to them but Wine, Incense, Fruits, and sometimes bloody Victims, Lambs, Sheep, &c: as we see in *Horace*,
who

(1) De Civ. Dei, L. 9. c. 11.

(a) See the *Harpocrates* of Couper, and the *Utility of Voyages* by M. *Baudelot*.

(2) P. 262.

who inviting his Mistress to come and assist at the Sacrifice, which he was preparing in his Family in Honour of the Genius, takes Notice to her of the Preparation he had made for it (*a*). *Tibullus* in like Manner speaks of the Sacrifice of a Sheep which he offered up to the rural Gods the *Lares*. Their Statues were likewise crowned with Festoons, Garlick, and Poppy, and several little Ceremonies were added thereto which it is needless to recite. 'Tis proper only to remark that in the publick Sacrifices offered to the *Penates*, they sacrificed to them a Sow, as has been said in the Article of the *Lares*, from *Varro* and *Propertius* (*b*), and this Custom is thought to have been introduced by *Enneas*. It was in Time of the *Saturnalia*, that they celebrated the Festival of the *Lares* and *Penates*, and there was a Day besides in each Month set apart for worshipping these domestick Gods. Zeal went even sometimes so far as to worship some of them every Day, and even several Times in the same Day, as *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* prove from the Example of *Nero*, who neglected all the other Gods for the Sake of a favourite *Penate*.

As not only private Persons had each his Gods-*Manes* or *Penates*, but every People chose of them for the Preservation of the State, there was at *Rome* a Temple consecrated to the Domestick Gods, and there was set apart for them a Holyday which was celebrated

(*a*) Ridet argento Domus ; ara castis
Vincta verbenis, avet immolato
Spargier agno.

(*b*) Lib. 4. El. 1. *Martial*. 14. says also :

Iste tibi faciet bona Saturnalia porcus,
Inter spumantes ilice partus apros.

Or as *Horace* has it, Sat. L. 1. Sat. 3.

- - - - - Immolet aquis
Illic porcum Laribus.

celebrated with a great deal of Solemnity, the second * of the Kalends of *January*. To this were added the Games called *Compitales*, as much as to of the Cross-streets; because the *Penates* presided over them.

In fine, so great Respect was paid to the *Penates*, that no important Enterprize was undertaken without consulting them: Their Figures were even sometimes carried about in Journeys, as we learn from *Apuleius*: *Wherever I go*, says he, *I always carry with me in my Journey the Figure of some God*. And *Cicero*, it seems, was afraid of fatiguing his favourite *Minerva*, when upon setting out for his Exile; he went in a solemn Manner and consecrated her in the Capitol.

The Figure of the Gods *Penates* was sometimes the single Representation of some God; Genius; Heroe, or Demi-god, or lastly of some famous Ancestor: Frequently they were *Pantheons*; that is, such as were charged with the Symbols of several Divinities. Of these we find several in *Spon*, *Couper*, and particularly in *Baudelot's Utility of Voyages*.

As Man is naturally curious, and anxious about Futurity, 'tis probable that among the *Penates* there were some who delivered Oracles. We know that no important Business was done without consulting the Oracle, but as the Places to which they had to repair for that Purpose were sometimes remote; as great Apparatus and Expences was necessary in order to consult them, it was more convenient for every Man to have one in his own House, which he consulted at least for all domestic Affairs. 'Tis true, I have not found any positive Authority, to inform us of this Fact; but frequently a Medal, and Intaglio, lets us know many Things which we should otherwise have been ignorant of. *Cupponi*, the honourary Correspondent

S f

* Last Day of *December*.

ſpondent of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, ſent in 1733. to *M. de Boze* the Print of an antique Intaglio, a *Cornelian*, which repreſents an Altar whercon is a Head, or rather, a Mask ; by the Side, and almoſt behind, is the Figure of a Man ſtooping down, with his Head inclined, as it were to liſten. Upon the fore-part is a Woman ſtanding, and at the Foot of the Altar, a little Animal. The Explication given of it in the ninth Volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy, perfectly agrees to one of the Gods *Penates*, who delivered Oracles. The Mask repreſents either the God *Pan* or *Sylvanus*, or ſome other of that Claſs : The Man who is in a liſtning Poſture, is expecting his Reſponſe : The Woman who is ſtanding, ſeems to come for Inſight either into ſome Dream, or ſome other Affair which diſturbs her : The little Animal, which may be taken for a Dog, or for a young Kid, is the Victim deſtined for the Sacrifice. All this may be ſeen at more Length in the Place which I have mentioned.

'Tis agreed that there was no idolatrous Nation, where Superſtition for the Gods *Penates* was carried farther than among the *Romans*, though almoſt all Nations held them in great Veneration (*a*), as the *Greeks*, the *Egyptians*, the *Phœnicians*, and *Chaldeans*. 'Tis probable that this *Worſhip* had been brought to *Rome* by the *Phrygians*. *Virgil* informs us that *Æneas* took great Care to bring with him the *Penates* (*b*) ; according to the Order he had received from the Fates by the Mouth of *Heſter*. (*c*).

Theſe *Phrygian* Gods, adopted with great Reverence by the *Romans*, who were fond of nothing ſo much as of being thought to be deſcended from *Æneas* and

(*a*) Et toto quippe mundo, & locis omnibus, omnium vocibus, fortuna ſola invocatur. *Plin.* l. 1.

(*b*) Ilum in Italiam portans, victosque Penates. *Æn.* l. 1.

(*c*) Sacra, ſuosque tibi commendat Troja Penates :

Hos cape fatorum Comites, his mœnia quære. *Ibid.*

and his Mother *Venus*, were placed in a Temple near the Forum. Here is the Description given of them by *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (1). “ They, “ were, says he, two Men sitting, each of them “ armed with a Pike, and the Sculpture of them “ was very antient. We have also, adds this Au- “ thor, several other Statues of these Gods in old “ Temples, which are all in a military Garb.”

The sacred Fire or *Vesta*, which *Eneas* likewise brought with him, was undoubtedly the most distinguished of the Gods *Penates* (a), since after that *Hector* had recommended these Gods to him, he himself approaches the sacred Hearth, and removed from thence the Fillets of *Vesta*, and the Fire that was there burning. If we may believe *Varro* cited by *Macrobius* (2), *Dardanus* had first brought these *Phrygian Penates* into the Island *Samothrace*, and *Eneas* transferred them thereafter from *Troy* into *Latium*.

I shall only add farther that the Idols which *Jacob* brought from the House of *Laban* his Father-in-Law, and which the Scripture calls by the Name of *Theraphim*, were Gods *Penates*, whose Worship was propagated afterwards into *Phrygia*, thence into *Greece* and *Italy*; this, without all Controversy, is their true Original.

We may add in the last Place, that it was probably believed in the Pagan World, that Houses were not sufficiently guarded by the *Lares* and *Penates*, since they had also other Gods to take Care of the Gates, the Keys and Hinges, for which I refer to what hath been said of them, when we were upon the Progress of Idolatry (3).

(1) L. 1.

(a) Sic ait, & manibus vittas, Vestamque potentem
Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.

Æn. L. 2.

(2) Sat. L. 3. c. 4. (3) Vol. I. B. 3.

THE
MYTHOLOGY
AND
FABLES
OF THE
ANCIENTS,

Explained from
HISTORY.

By the Abbé BANIER,
Member of the ROYAL ACADEMY of
INSCRIPTIONS and BELLES-LETTRES.

V O L. III.

Translated from the Original FRENCH.

Containing; among other Curious Things,

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|--|--|
| I. The Notions of the <i>Egyptians</i> ,
and of the <i>Greek</i> Poets and
Philosophers, concerning a Fu-
ture State. | IV. Of the <i>Virtues</i> , <i>Vices</i> , and
<i>Passions</i> that were deified. |
| II. A particular Description of
the Poetical Hell and <i>Elysian</i>
<i>Fields</i> . | V. Of the <i>German</i> and <i>Gallic</i>
Divinities, and those of <i>Great</i>
<i>Britain</i> . |
| III. The History of the Judges of
Hell, and of the Infernal Gods. | VI. The History of the Heroic
Age, and of the celebrated
Heroes of Antiquity. |
-

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CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK IV.

Of the Infernal Gods.

CHAP. I. <i>What Sentiments the Egyptians had about the State of the Soul after Death,</i>	Pag. 2
Chap. II. <i>The Sentiments of the Greek Philosophers upon the same Subject,</i>	6
CHAP. III. <i>The Sentiments of the Poets,</i>	8
CHAP. IV. <i>A particular Description of Hell according to the Poets,</i>	16
CHAP. V. <i>That what the Greeks delivered on the Subject of the infernal Regions and Elysian Fields, was borrowed from the Egyptian Usages already mentioned,</i>	26
CHAP. VI. <i>Of Charon and Cerberus,</i>	28
CHAP. VII. <i>Of the Infernal Rivers,</i>	34
CHAP. VIII. <i>Other Particularities of the System of the Poetical Hell,</i>	38
CHAP. IX. <i>Of the Judges of Hell,</i>	41
CHAP. X. <i>Of the Infernal Gods, Pluto, Ceres, Proserpine, and Cottytto,</i>	42
CHAP. XI. <i>Of the Eleusinian Mysteries and other Feasts of Ceres,</i>	61
CHAP. XII. <i>Plutus, the God of Riches,</i>	70
CHAP. XIII. <i>The Furies,</i>	73
CHAP. XIV. <i>The Parcæ, Fate, and the Destinies,</i>	82
CHAP.	

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. XV. Nemesis, or the Nemeses, and Adraſtea,	92
CHAP. XVI. Of the Dii Manes,	94
CHAP. XVII. Of the Divinities of the Night, Sleep, and Death,	96
CHAP. XVIII. Of the Worſhip paid to the In- fernal Gods,	102
CHAP. XIX. The Hiſtory of thoſe whom the Poets have placed in Tartarus,	103
The Giants and the Titans,	ibid.
Sifyphus,	104
Tityus,	107
Phlegyas,	109
Tantalus,	111
The Danaids,	115
The two Aloides,	116

B O O K V.

*Of ſome other Gods adored by the Greeks
and Romans.*

CHAP. I. Of ſome Beings, and particularly of the Virtues that were raiſed to Divini- ties	121
CHAP. II. Of Evil Beings, of Paſſions, and Vices that were advanced to Divinities,	139
CHAP. III. Of Good and Bad Fortune,	147
CHAP. IV. Of the Gods of Feaſts and Revels, Momus and Comus,	152
CHAP. V. Of the Gods of Medicine and Health, Eſculapius, Hygieia, Theleſphorus, Jaſo, Pa- nacæa, &c.	154
CHAP. VI. Of certain Gods peculiar to the Greeks, and ſome People in Aſia Minor and the Iſles,	168

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. VII. <i>Of some Gods peculiar to the Ro-</i>	182
mans,	
CHAP. VIII. <i>The Continuation of the same Sub-</i>	
ject,	192
CHAP. IX. <i>Of some Gods peculiar to Italy,</i>	206

P A R T S E C O N D.

*Of the Gods of other European Nations,
those especially of the Gauls and
Germans.*

B O O K VI.

Of the Gods of the Gauls.

CHAP. I. <i>Of the Religion of the Gauls,</i>	212
CHAP. II. <i>Of the Temples of the Gauls,</i>	221
CHAP. III. <i>Of the Ministers of Religion among</i>	
<i>the Gauls, and especially of the Druids,</i>	225
<i>The Maxims of the Druids,</i>	242
CHAP. IV. <i>Of the Druidesses,</i>	243
CHAP. V. <i>Of some Gallic Superstitions,</i>	246
CHAP. VI. <i>Of the Bas-reliefs dug up in the</i>	
<i>Choir of the Cathedral at Paris,</i>	250
CHAP. VII. <i>Of the Gods of the Gauls whom</i>	
<i>Cæsar names,</i>	268
CHAP. VIII. <i>Of some other Gallic Gods: Of</i>	
<i>Pennius, Abellio, Dolichenus, and Mithras,</i>	274
CHAP. IX. <i>Of other Gods worshipped in the</i>	
<i>Gauls: Berecinthia, Saturn, Pluto, Proserpine,</i>	
<i>and Bacchus,</i>	276
CHAP. X. <i>Ceres, Proserpine, Diana, and the</i>	
<i>Moon, Isis and Telephorus,</i>	281
CHAP. XI. <i>Other Gallic Divinities, deified Ci-</i>	
<i>ties, &c.</i>	285
CHAP,	

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. XII.	<i>Of the Mother-Goddeses,</i>	291
CHAP. XIII.	<i>Of the Religion of the Inhabitants of Great-Britain,</i>	301
CHAP. XIV.	<i>Of the Religion of the antient Iberians and Spaniards,</i>	302

B O O K VII.

*Of the Religion of the antient Germans,
and some other Northern Nations.*

CHAP. I.	<i>Superstitions of the antient People of Germany,</i>	315
CHAP. II.	<i>Of Irminful, the God of the Saxons,</i>	320
CHAP. III.	<i>Of the Goddess Nehalennia,</i>	323
CHAP. IV.	<i>Isis, worshipped by the Suevi,</i>	325
CHAP. V.	<i>Tuiston,</i>	328
CHAP. VI.	<i>Of some other Divinities of the Germans, and neighbouring Nations,</i>	330
CHAP. VII.	<i>Of some Heroes of the antient Germans, and of Cities consecrated to the Gods,</i>	332

V O L U M E VI.*

<i>A Preliminary,</i>	336
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P A R T F I R S T.

Containing the History of the fabulous Age.

B O O K I.

Preliminaries to the History of Greece.

CHAP. I.	<i>Of the Chronology of the antient Greeks,</i>	341
----------	---	-----

* Of the Original in 12:ro.

CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. II.	<i>The Duration of the Heroic Age,</i>	345
CHAP. III.	<i>The State of antient Greece,</i>	347
CHAP. IV.	<i>Of the first Inhabitants of Greece,</i>	348
CHAP. V.	<i>The History of the first Kingdoms founded in Greece, by the Colonies that arrived there,</i>	356
ART. I.	<i>The Kingdom of Argos founded by Inachus,</i>	357
ART. II.	<i>The Kingdom of Sicyon, founded by Egialeus,</i>	358
ART. III.	<i>The Arrival of Danaus in Greece,</i>	363
ART. IV.	<i>The Deluge of Ogyges,</i>	368
ART. V.	<i>The Kingdom of Athens founded by Cecrops,</i>	372
ART. VI.	<i>The Arrival of Deucalion in Greece,</i>	378
ART. VII.	<i>The Deluge of Deucalion,</i>	379
ART. VIII.	<i>The Posterity of Deucalion,</i>	388
CHAP. VI.	<i>The Arrival of Lelex in Greece,</i>	398
CHAP. VII.	<i>The Colony of Cadmus settled in Greece,</i>	391
CHAP. VIII.	<i>The Arrival of Pelops in Greece,</i>	422

B O O K II.

Of the H E R O E S.

CHAP. I.	<i>The Original of the Name of Heroe, and what kind of Worship was paid to them who acquired it,</i>	424
CHAP. II.	<i>At what Time and in what Manner the Practise of worshipping Heroes was intro- duced into Greece, &c.</i>	428
		CHAP.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. III.	<i>The Names of the Heroes and Heroins worshipped in Greece,</i>	429
CHAP. IV.	<i>The History of Perseus, Andromeda, the Gorgons, &c.</i>	435
CHAP. V.	<i>The Explanation of the Fable of Medusa and the Gorgons,</i>	437
CHAP. VI.	<i>The History of Bellerophon,</i>	467
CHAP. VII.	<i>An Examination into the Time when Bellerophon and Perseus lived,</i>	477
CHAP. VIII.	<i>The History of the two Minos's, and of the War of the Second against the Athenians, with the Adventures of the Minotaur, of Dedalus, Theseus, &c.</i>	482
CHAP. IX.	<i>The History of Phedra and Hippolitus,</i>	516
CHAP. X.	<i>The History of Dedalus, and of the Labyrinth of Crete,</i>	519
CHAP. XI.	<i>The War of the Centaurs and Lapithæ: Ixion and Pirithous,</i>	525
CHAP. XII.	<i>Wherein we examine, if Chiron made a Kalendar for the Argonauts,</i>	541
CHAP. XIII.	<i>The Continuation of the History of Pirithous,</i>	544

MYTHO-



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK IV.*

Of the Infernal Gods.

IN order to give some tolerable Account of Hell and the Elysian Fields, such as the *Greeks* conceived of them, I shall examine, 1. What Sentiments the *Egyptians* had of the human Soul, and of the State it was in after its Separation from the Body. 2. Shew that the *Greeks* had derived from the Ceremonies performed by that People at Funerals, all their Notions about the State of Souls after Death; and particularly their Ideas of the Infernal Regions and Elysian Fields. 3. Give an exact Description of these two Mansions, founded upon the Works of the Antients, especially upon *Homer* and *Virgil*. 4. Speak of the Gods who presided over the Infernal Regions. *Lastly*, Of Persons of greater Distinction who were said to have been doomed to *Tartarus* for the Expiation of their Crimes.

VOL. III.

B

CHAP.

* Here begins Vol. 5 of the Original.

C H A P. I.

What Sentiments the Egyptians had about the State of the Soul after Death.

IF there is any Point wherein the Pagan Theology deviates less than another from the Light of Nature, it is this which relates to the State of Souls after Death, and to the Sentence pronounced upon them in the other World, since it supposes the Knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul.

This Article, 'tis true, had been so distorted by Fables ridiculous and absurd, that even Children did not believe them, as *Juvenal* has it; but then it is as true, that the Ground-work thereof was good, and served for a Curb to Lust and Licentiousness.

'Tis certain, in the first Place, that this Part of the Creed of the *Greeks* was derived to them from *Egypt*; and, for Proof of it, I shall quote what *Diodorus Siculus* tells us of the *Egyptian* Customs on this Head, and then compare it with what we find in the most antient Poets, and the Ceremonies observed by the *Greeks*.

The Author now named, after he has told us (1) that according to the *Egyptians* themselves, *Orpheus* had introduced into *Greece* the whole Fable of the Infernal Regions, adds; “ The Punishments of the
 “ Wicked in *Tartarus*, the Mansions of the Blessed in
 “ the *Elysian* Fields, and some other such Notions,
 “ are evidently borrowed from the Funeral Rites of
 “ the *Egyptians*. *Mercury*, the Conductor of Souls
 “ among the *Greeks*, was formed on the Model of a
 “ Man, to whom the antient *Egyptians* used to com-
 “ mit the Care of *Apis*'s dead Body to carry it to
 “ another, who received it under a Mask with three
 “ Heads like those of *Cerberus*. *Orpheus* having com-
 “ municated the Knowledge of this Ceremony to
 “ *Greece*, *Homer* applies it in these Verses of the
 “ *Odysssey*:

Cyl-

(1) L. i. c. 36.

*Cyllenius now to Pluto's dreary Reign
Conveys the Dead, a lamentable Train !
The golden Wand that causes Sleep to fly,
Or in soft Slumbers seals the wakeful Eye ;
That drives the Ghosts to Realms of Night or Day,
Points out the long, uncomfortable Way.*

The Poet subjoins a little after :

*And now they reach'd the Earth's remotest Ends,
And now the Gates where Evening Sol descends,
And Leuca's Rock, and Ocean's utmost Streams,
And now pervade the dusky Land of Dreams,
And rest at last, where Souls unbodied dwell
In ever flowering Meads of Asphodel.
The empty Forms of Men inhabit there,
Impassive Semblance, Images of Air !*

Pope's Odyss. 24. v. 1. & 15.

“ Now the Ocean is the *Nile* itself, to which the
“ *Egyptians*, in their Language, give a Name of the
“ same Import with that of the Ocean. The Gates
“ of the Sun are the City of *Heliopolis* ; and those
“ happy Plains, said to be the Mansion of the just
“ Dead, are literally nothing else but the delightful
“ Fields that are on the Confines of the Lake *Acheru-*
“ *sia* near *Memphis*, which are diversified with Fields
“ and Ponds, covered with Corn or Lotus. 'Tis
“ not without Foundation that the Dead are said to
“ dwell there ; for there it is that most of the *Egyp-*
“ *tian* Funerals end, when having transported their
“ Bodies over the *Nile* and the Lake *Acherusia*, they
“ are at last deposited in Tombs which are ranged un-
“ der Ground in this Plain.

“ The Ceremonies used in *Egypt* at this very Day,
“ are conformable to all that the *Greeks* say of the In-
“ fernal Regions ; such as the Boat which transports
“ the Bodies, the Piece of Money that must be given
“ the Ferry-man, whose Name is *Charon* in the *Egyp-*
“ *tian* Language ; the Temple of the gloomy *Hecate*
“ placed at the Entrance of Hell ; the Gates of Co-

“ *Cytus* and *Lethe* set upon brazen Hinges ; the other
 “ Gates, which are those of Truth ; the Image or
 “ Justice without the Head. Thus it is as to all the
 “ rest, which appear to be nothing but an exact Co-
 “ py of those Funeral Obsequies, such as they are ac-
 “ tually performed. In the City *Acanthus*, which is
 “ beyond the *Nile*, on the Side of *Libya*, about six
 “ Score Stadia from *Memphis*, there is a Cask full of
 “ Holes, into which three hundred and sixty Priests
 “ daily pour Water from the *Nile*. Not far from
 “ thence, the Fable of the Ass (1) is really executed
 “ in a publick Assembly, where a Man twists a long
 “ Cord of Rushes, which is untwisted at the same
 “ Time by People that are behind him.”

The same Author, after having described the *Egyptian*
 Manner of embalming their Dead, thus goes on ;
 “ When the Body is to be interred, the Day is first
 “ intimated to the Judges, then to the Family and
 “ Friends of the deceased. This Intimation is given
 “ by mentioning the Person’s Name, and by say-
 “ ing, He is going to pass the Lake. Immediate-
 “ ly forty Judges assemble, and seat themselves in a
 “ Tribunal in form of a Semi-circle, placed on the
 “ other Side of the Lake. Artificers, appointed for
 “ this Purpose, place upon the Lake a Boat which
 “ they have built, which is guided by a Pilot, whom
 “ the *Egyptians* name *Charon* in their Language. We
 “ are told, that *Orpheus* being in *Egypt*, and having
 “ seen this Ceremony, founded upon it the Fable of
 “ the Infernal Regions, adding some Circumstances
 “ to what he had there seen practised ; we shall
 “ speak of them very soon at more Length. Before
 “ the Coffin is put into this Boat, the Law permits all
 “ to come and table their Complaints against the
 “ Dead. If any one convicts him of having led a
 “ bad Life, the Judges pass Sentence, and deprive
 “ the Dead of his destined Burial. But if he who
 “ enters the Accusation fails in the Proof, he incurs
 “ severe Penalties. When no Accuser happens, or
 “ when

(1) See *Erasm. Adag. Chil.* 1. Cent. 3. 83.

“ when those who have appeared are themselves con-
 “ victed of Calumny, all the Relations lay aside their
 “ Mourning, praise the Deceased, without mention-
 “ ing however his Pedigree like the *Greeks*, because
 “ all the *Egyptians* think themselves equally noble.
 “ They begin his Encomium from his Education ;
 “ then, running over the several Periods of his Life,
 “ they extol his Piety, his Justice, his Courage, and
 “ pray the Infernal Gods to receive him into the
 “ Mansions of the Blessed. The whole Audience ap-
 “ plauds the Funeral Oration ; join new Encomiums
 “ with it, and congratulate the Dead in being entered
 “ upon a peaceful and glorious Immortality.”

The same *Diodorus*, after having told us that their Ancestors were sometimes kept in their Houses all embalmed, that by seeing them they might preserve the Memory of their good Actions, adds, that they also preserved there the dead Bodies of those who had been denied Burial for Crimes or Debt ; and that sometimes their Descendants, grown rich or powerful, discharged their Debts, or insisted on their Justification, and procured for them an honourable Burial. For the *Egyptians*, continues he, have always been religiously observant of putting particular Honour upon their Dead. They frequently pledge their Bodies for their Debts ; and those who don't relieve them are infamous while they live, and deprived of Burial after their Decease.

Porphyry (1) has preserved to us the Prayer, or rather the Absolution, which the *Egyptian* Priests gave the Kinsmen of the Deceased, and he had taken it from *Euphantus* an Author now lost.

“ O Sun, thou first Divinity ! and ye celestial
 “ Gods ! from whom Men have derived Life, vouch-
 “ safe to receive me this Day into your holy Taber-
 “ nacles. I have endeavoured to the best of my
 “ Power to render my Life acceptable to you. I
 “ have demeaned myself with the highest Veneration
 “ towards the Gods whom I was acquainted with in
 “ my Infancy ; I never failed in my Duty to those
 “ who

“ who gave me being, nor in natural Affection to the
 “ Womb that bore me. My Hands are pure from
 “ my Neighbour’s Blood ; I maintained an inviolable
 “ Regard to Truth and Fidelity ; and may I not ap-
 “ peal to the Silence of Men, who have nothing to
 “ lay to my Charge, as a sure Testimony of my In-
 “ tegrity ? If however any personal and secret Fault
 “ have escaped me, whether in eating or drinking,
 “ these Entrails bear the Blame.” Then the Relations
 produced the Entrails of the Deceased, and they were
 forthwith thrown into the Lake.

“ The *Greeks*, remarks the same *Diodorus*, by their
 “ Fables and Fictions, have corrupted the true Notions
 “ of the Recompense of the Good and the Punish-
 “ ment of the Wicked ; and thereby have exposed
 “ to the Ridicule of Libertines one of the most power-
 “ ful Motives to induce Men to live well.”

C H A P. II.

*The Sentiments of the Greek Philosophers upon
 the same Subject.*

PLATO is he of the Philosophers who has rea-
 soned most upon the Soul, and the State of de-
 parted Spirits ; but it must be owned that his System,
 as well as that of all the rest, is ill supported and full
 of Inconsistencies : When once we are out of the
 right Way, every Advance we make but leads us the
 farther astray. When a Man dies, according to this
 Philosopher, his Soul goes into a Place which he calls
 Divine, and is there judged. If the Person’s Life was
 conformable to the light of Reason, he is ushered in
 to a higher Apartment, where he enjoys Pleasure and
 Prosperity of all Kinds in the Society of the Gods :
 The Souls of bad Men sink into a noisome Abyss,
 there to dwell with thick Darkness, and to suffer all
 Sorts of Misery. Then this Philosopher gives a De-
 scription of Hell, of the Elysian Fields, and speaks of
 the Rivers in those Places, the Judges, the Furies, &c.
 much like *Homer*, whose Notions he copied.

Socrates

Socrates his Master was of the same way of thinking with himself. That Philosopher distinguished a threefold State of Souls departed. Those who had neither distinguished Merit nor enormous Vices, inhabited on the Confines of *Acherusia*, where being purified by the Waters of the Lake, they received the Reward of the few Virtues they had practised. The Souls of the Wicked wandered about their Tombs, where they were tormented in different Ways. After which having drunk of the Water of *Lethe*, they entered into new Bodies, more or less honourable, according to their Merit. Lastly the Souls of the Good went immediately into the Elysian Fields.

Pythagoras believed that the Soul, upon its immediate Separation from the Body, was conducted by *Mercury* into a Place of the purest Air, where were the Elysian Fields, called by *Virgil* the *Aerial Regions*, *Aerios campos*. There it was, said *Pythagoras*, that the Souls of Philosophers, of all others the best, became like unto the Gods, while those of the Wicked were tormented by the Furies without Intermission: But both the one and the other, after a certain Space of Time, which he calls the Time of Purifications, returned to the Earth to animate new Bodies. He was the first in *Europe*, to mention it by the by, that taught, at least publickly, the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or of the Transmigration of Souls into new Bodies, which Doctrine he had learned from the *Egyptians*, among whom he had travelled. I say, he taught this Doctrine; for indeed long before him, *Orpheus* and *Homer*, who had also borrowed it from the same People, had spoke of it in their Works.

The *Egyptians* then are to be reckoned the Founders of this Opinion, which afterwards was diffused on one Hand thro' *Europe*, whither *Melampus*, *Orpheus*, *Homer* and others introduced it; and which in like manner penetrated into the Center of *India*, where it made such wonderful Progress that it prevails there at this Day. What I have advanced with Relation to this Opinion is expressly

asserted by *Herodotus* (1). The *Egyptians*, says he, are the first who believed the Immortality of the Soul; and the same People are to be reckoned the first Inventors of the Transmigration of Souls. Their Priests, says he, teach that the Soul does not die with the Body, but is received by *Amenthes*. This *Amenthes* was a Place under Ground, much like the Hell of the *Greek* Poets. *Plutarch* (2), who says this Word imports, *that which gives, and that which receives*, adds that it was a Place in the Center of the Earth, the common Receptacle of departed Souls. As this Gulf received them, so it gave them back in like Manner; and when they came out of it, they were united to new Bodies; first to those of terrestrial Animals, then to those of Fishes and Sea-Monsters, then to those of Birds, and after a Circulation of three thousand Years from one of those Bodies into another (3), they returned to re-animate human Bodies whence they departed, again to begin the same Revolution: And thus they were immortal. To this Opinion, says *Herodotus*, was owing the Care which the *Egyptians* took to embalm their dead Bodies at an infinite Expence, as well as those stately Tombs whereon they bestowed such vast Sums; while they neglected their Houses, which they looked upon as no better than Inns, or Tabernacles not worthy their Regard: Which makes *Diodorus Siculus* say; that the *Egyptians* were less curious to build Houses for the Living, than Tombs for the Dead.

C H A P. III.

The Sentiments of the Poets.

THE Poets, though usually transported with an Enthusiastick Warmth which is not always guided by Reason, have however delivered much the same Sentiments with the Philosophers about the State of Souls after Death; but each of them having followed his own Caprice, 'tis no Wonder that we find in their Works so many peculiar Notions. And indeed, though they

(1) L. 2. (2) De Is. & Osir. (3) Herod. loc. cit.

they agree in general, that the Soul goes either to *Elysium* or *Tartarus*, yet they are far from being unanimous as to the Situation of those two Mansions.

Some place the Elysian Fields in the middle Region of the Air; some in the Moon, others in the Sun; others, in fine, in the Centre of the Earth adjoining to *Tartarus* itself. The most common Opinion is that they lay in one of the Isles of the Ocean, called the *Fortunate Islands*, which are reckoned to be the *Canaries*. But it is a Question whether in those antient Times they had any Knowledge of Islands so remote from the Continent. And therefore 'tis better to say, that according to them the Mansion of the Blessed was in the charming Country of *Betica* (a); whether the *Phœnicians* had travelled from the earliest Times. This Country was delicious, watered with Rivers, Streams, and Fountains. There were charming Plains, Woods, and enchanted Groves, Mountains containing Mines of Gold and Silver, and a fertile Soil yielding all the Necessaries of Life in Abundance: This is the Representation given of it by all the Antients; and consequently no Place more proper to furnish the Poets with their charming Descriptions of the Regions of the Blessed.

Farther the *Tartessus*, which was in this Province, is undoubtedly the *Tartarus* of the Poets; this at least is the Sentiment of the learned *Bochart*. And if we add that this Country is at the Extremity of the old World, since the Antients knew nothing beyond it, but believed that the Sun went every Evening to Bed in the Ocean, and gave no more Light to the World till the next Day, 'tis evident they would be ready to think it a Region covered with eternal Darkness.

The same Poets differ no less among themselves with respect to the infernal Regions. All that we can gather from the Theogony of *Hesiod* is, that this Place which he always calls *Tartarus*, was a Prison where the *Titans* were lodged with *Saturn* himself; that this Prison was kept by I know not what Sort of

(a) The present *Andalusia* in the Extremity of *Spain* towards *Cadix*.

of Being, called *Campe*, whom *Jupiter*, become Lord of the World, placed under the Custody of Giants with an hundred Hands.

Homer (1) had more distinct Notions as to this Region of the Dead ; and according to him all the Souls were conducted thither by *Mercury* : He even settles the Place where it was, namely in the Country of the *Cimmerians*, People buried in eternal Darkness, at the Extremity of the Ocean, where *Styx*, *Phlegeton*, and the other Rivers of Hell rolled their Waves. The Antients were very much puzzled to determine what Country the Poet had in his Eye. Some will have him to mean the Confines of *Cadiz*, or *Betice*, that Country being at the Extremity of the Ocean, where the Sun dips in his Waves, and where consequently must be that Darkness he speaks of. Some think the Poet, who has always been reckoned an excellent Geographer, designed thereby the Inhabitants of the Northern Regions, even those who for whole Months are deprived of the Light of the Sun. Others are of Opinion he must be understood to mean the People who dwell at the Extremity of the *Euxine* Sea, where was the Country of the *Cimmerians*, and *Strabo* favours this Opinion, when, speaking of *Homer*, he says : “ That
“ Poet knew the *Cimmerians* of the *Bosphorus*, who in-
“ habit towards the North, in Regions always over-
“ spread with thick Clouds ; and he could not be
“ a Stranger to them, for it was about the Time of
“ his Birth, or not many Years before, that these
“ *Cimmerians* made Inroads as far as *Ionia*.” This Poet therefore had some Knowledge of the *Cimmerians* of the *Bosphorus*, and by a poetical License, he has transplanted them to the Coasts of *Italy*, as he has done the *Cyaneæ* or *Symplegades*, which are Rocks at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea.

M. le Clerc (2) thinks *Homer* had an Eye to the *The-ssprotians* and those of *Epirus*, who being continually at work in the Mines, were really buried in Darkness. Farther 'tis in *Epirus*, that those Rivers were which
that

(1) *Odyss.* l. 10, & 11.

(2) *Biblio. Univ.*

that Poet describes, as shall be said hereafter. But 'tis evident we are not to go so far in Search of the *Cimmerians* whom *Homer* speaks of; they were really upon the Western Coasts of *Italy*, near *Baïæ* and *Puteoli*; and my Reason for it is, that *Ulysses* arrives there the same Day that he takes his Leave of *Circe*. The Description which he gives of this Country is, according to *Strabo*, very conformable to Geography; and if the Poet adds that this Region was at the Extremities of the Ocean, it is by a Licence which Poetry justifies.

Here is what *Circe* says to *Ulysses* affrighted at the Proposal she had made him of going down to Hell, to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost:

*Thy fated Road (the magick Pow'r reply'd)
Divine Ulysses! Asks no mortal Guide.
Rear but the Mast, the spacious Sail display,
The northern Winds shall wing thee on thy Way.
Soon shalt thou reach old Ocean's utmost Ends,
Where to the Main the shelving Shore descends;
The barren Trees of Proserpine's black Woods,
Poplars and Willows trembling o'er the Floods:
There fix thy Vessel in the lonely Bay,
And enter there the Kingdom void of Day:
Where Phlegeton's loud Torrents rushing down,
Hiss in the flaming Gulf of Acheron;
And where slow rolling from the Stygian Bed,
Cocytus' lamentable Waters spread, &c.*

Pope's *Odyss.* B. 10. v. 598.

Ulysses encouraged by this Account of the Voyage, sets Sail in the Morning, and in the Evening of the same Day arrives in the Place which the Goddess had described to him. 'Tis therefore evident that the Ocean is put there only to give a greater Air of the Marvellous to that Heroe's Voyage. Accordingly *Strabo* positively says: *That the Cimmerians of Homer are upon the Coasts of Italy is a certain Fact; the Antients, adds he, placed Homer's Necromancy near the*
Lake

Lake Avernus (a). There the Rivers were which he speaks of in the Passage now quoted. *Servius* who agrees with him (1), at the same Time accounts for what may have given the Poet a Handle to say that Country was covered with Darkness. “Near to *Baiæ*, “says that learned Commentator, is a low and gloomy “Vale, surrounded on all Sides with high Mountains, “which shut out the Light of the Sun either rising “or setting.” And if we add that here is the Lake *Avernus*, whose exhalations were formerly mortal, that the Country was full of Sulphur and Bitumen, it will justify *Homer* in having there placed the Entry to *Pluto’s* Kingdom.

Pliny adds further, that besides the *Acherusian* Lake, the *Avernus* and the parched plains of the *Phlegræans*, there was of old in that Place a City called *Cimmerium* (b).

Bochart (2), to mention it by the by, is then very probably in the right in saying, that the Word *Cimmerian* comes from the *Phœnician* Word *Cimmir*, dark, or rather *the Blackness of Darkness*; but I reckon he is mistaken in placing the *Cimmerians* in *Homer* upon the Coast of *Provence*; for how could *Ulysses* have arrived there the same Day that he set out from the *Circean* Promontory?

Be that as it will, *Virgil* (3) has followed *Homer’s* Notion, in placing with him, though without any Disguise, the Mouth of Hell upon the same Coast, and near the Lake *Avernus*, as we shall see by and by. But the other Poets don’t agree with the two whose Authorities we have now quoted, since some of them place the Entrance of Hell at the Promontory of *Tenarus*, where was the Cave whence, according to the Fable,

(a) They gave the Name of *Homer’s* Necromancy to the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, because the Subject of it is the calling up of *Tiresias’s* Ghost.

(1) Upon the 6th *Æn*.

(b) *Avernus lacus, juxta quem Cimmerium oppidum quondam: Dein Puteoli, postque Phlegræi campi, Acherusia palus, &c. Pliny, L. 3. c. 6.*

(2) Chap. L. 1. c. 33.

(3) *En*, L. 6.

Fable, *Hercules* had dragged *Cerberus* when he went down to Hell. Others reckon that this Place was in *Thesprotia*, and *Lucan* (1) is the only one as I know, who has removed the Entrance of Hell to the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

We are further to remark that the Poets distinguish three Sorts of things in Man, his Body, his Soul, his Ghost or Phantom (2). *Virgil* making *Æneas* invoke the *Manes* of his Father *Anchises* before he celebrates his Anniversary, says :

*Salvete recepti
Nequicquam cineres, animæque umbræque paternæ* (3).

And *Dido* dying makes this Reflection :

Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago (4).

Lucretius is yet more exprefs as to this Article :

*Esse Acherusia templa,
Quo neque permaneant animæ, neque corpora nostra,
Sed quædam simulacra, modis pallentia miris* (5).

The *Latin* Poets now quoted have only copied *Homer* upon the Article in Question. That Poet speaking of Hell in the eleventh Book of the *Odyſſey* ſays, *Proſerpine* had granted *Tireſias* the Priviledge of retaining all his Underſtanding after Death ; that even in that diſmal State he had Eyes ſo penetrating, as to ſee into the Secrets of Futurity, while the other Dead were in Compariſon of him but Shades and vain Phantoms. But the ſame *Tireſias* addreſſing *Ulyſſes*, fully unfolds this Piece of *Mythology* : “ Such, ſays “ he, is the Condition of all Mortals when Life quits “ the Body ; no more are they fenced with Sinews, “ or cloathed with Fleſh and Bones ; the groſs corpo- “ real Frame becomes Fuel for the Flames when it “ is relinquished by the Spirit ; and as for the Soul “ that ſubtil aerial Vehicle it flies away like a Dream.” Here very plainly are the three Things I am ſpeaking of.

(1) De Bel. Civ. (2) See what has been ſaid upon this be-
fore. (3) En. l. 5. (4) En. l. 4. (5) Lucr. l. 1.

of. The material and terrestrial Body, which is reduced to Ashes upon the Funeral-Pile: The Spirit, that is, the spiritual Part of the Soul which returns to Heaven, the Place of its Original; and the Soul, that is, the subtil aerial Substance which cloaths the Body, flies away like a Dream. 'Tis this last that goes down to the infernal Regions, and is called the Phantom or Image.

If we would trace this Opinion to its Source, we shall find it also to be derived from the *Egyptians*, who believed the Souls to be composed of a subtil and luminous Body, and of what we call *Spirit*: The subtil Body is the material part of the Soul; and the Understanding, *φρόνησις*, is the spiritual part. After Death, that is, after the Separation of the terrestrial Body from the Soul, there is another Separation of the two parts of this Soul. The subtil Body, which is the *Phantom*, the Image of the terrestrial Body, goes to the infernal Regions; and the Understanding, the *Spirit*, which is the spiritual Part, ascends to Heaven. Thus, according to this Theology, the Souls of Men, or rather their Shades, *quædam simulachra*, were in the infernal Regions separate from their Intellect; and these were mere Phantoms, Images, that bore even the Marks of the terrestrial Body; unless they had received the Privilege of preserving with them their intellectual Part, as *Homer* says of the Soothsayer *Tiresias*.

It was therefore a settled Doctrine of Theology in those Times of Darkness, that after Death the material Body was resolved into Ashes; that the Spirit *θυμός* and *φρόνησις*, the spiritual part of the Soul, returned to Heaven; and the Soul, that is, the subtil Substance which was as it were a Covering to the Body, its Phantom, its Image, went down to the infernal Regions.

The Poets are not unanimous as to the Time that Souls were to dwell in Hell, or in the Elysian Fields: *Anchises* seems to insinuate to his Son *Eneas*, that the latter after a Revolution of a thousand Years, drank
of

of the Water of *Lethe*, and then went into other Bodies, following in some Measure the Opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, as has been said :

*Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvère per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno ;
Scilicet immemores, supera ut convexa revisant
Rursus, & incipiant in corpora velle reverti. (1)*

The Case was otherwise with those who were condemned to *Tartarus*, they being doomed to dwell there for ever. *Virgil* says of the unhappy *Theseus*, “ there he is fixed eternally to remain :”

————— *Sedet æterumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus.*

And the other Poets assert the same of *Ixion*, *Tantalus*, the *Titans*, and all the other Criminals, though their Systems are hardly consistent as to this Article. But 'tis proper to remark that *Pythagoras* and his Disciples seem to have limited the Time of those Pains to a thousand Years ; this at least is the Term fixed to the Expiations mentioned by *Plato* in his Republic ; and in this he seems to have followed the Opinion of those Philosophers, as well as *Virgil*, not to mention others, when he says : *Mille rotam volvère per annos.*

As to those who were neither in *Tartarus* nor in the Elysian Fields, but in the vast Forests that lay before these two Places, such as *Dido*, *Deiphobus*, and the rest whom *Æneas* met, after a certain Time of Purgation and Suffering, they were sent into the Elysian Fields :

*Quisque suos patimur manes, exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium, & pauci læta arva tenemus, (2)*

And this again is what makes *Deiphobus* say to the Sibyl :

————— *Ne sævi, magna sacerdos,
Discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris. Id. Ib.*

CHAP.

(1) *Virgil*, *Æn.* 1. 6.

(2) *Virgil*, *ibid.*

C H A P: IV.

A particular Description of Hell according to the Poets.

OF all the Poets who have mentioned Hell, and the Pains that are there endured; I shall cite only *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Pindar*, because they have drawn together all that profane Antiquity taught on this Subject; but before I come to Particulars, I shall observe that if *Virgil*, the faithful Copier of *Homer*, is often inferior to him in other Things, yet in this to me he appears far to surpass him, and much more *Claudian*, *Silius Italicus*, and the rest.

Circè, after having taught *Ulysses* the Way to Hell, as we have said in the former Chapter, thus continues to address him ;

*First draw thy Faulchion, and on ev'ry Side
Trench the black Earth a Cubit long and wide :
To all the Shades around Libations pour,
And o'er th' ingredients strow the hallow'd Flour.
New Wine and Milk, with Honey temper'd, bring;
And living Water from the crystal Spring.
Then the wan Shades and feeble Ghosts implore;
With promis'd Off'rings on thy native Shore ;
A barren Cow, the stateliest of the Isle;
And, heap'd with various Wealth, a blazing Pile :
These to the rest ; but to the Seer must bleed
A sable Ram, the Pride of all thy Breed.
These solemn Vows and holy Off'rings paid
To all the phantom Nations of the Dead ;
Be next thy Care the sable Sheep to place
Full o'er the Pit, and bell-ward turn their Face :
But from th' infernal Rite thine Eye withdraw,
And back to Ocean glance with rev'rend Awe.
Sudden shall skim along the dusky Glades
Thine airy Shoals and visionary Shades.
Then give Command the sacrifice to haste,
Let the flec'd Victims in the Flames be cast,*

And

*And sacred Vows and mystic Songs apply'd
To gristy Pluto, and his gloomy Bride.
Wide o'er the Pool thy Faulchion wav'd around,
Shall drive the Spectres from forbidden Ground:
The sacred Draught shall all the Dead forbear,
Till awful from the Shades arise the Seer.
Let him oraculous, the End, the Way,
The Turns of all thy future Fate display,
Thy Pilgrimage to come, and Remnant of the Day.* }
Pope's Odyss. B. XI. V. 14.

Ulysses literally obeys what *Circe* had prescribed to him: The Shades thirsting after the Blood of the Victims, come and suck it up; *Ulysses* repels them with his Sword, and after having learned from *Tiresias* what was to be his Fate, he retires. Such is the Description *Homer* gives of Hell. 'Tis true; in order to make something of so slender a Fiction, which, after all, is but a mere Piece of Conjurat[i]on, he makes the Ghosts recite their Adventures, which are often very interesting.

Tho' *Pindar* seems to have taken *Homer* for his Model, yet he departs from his Original, and pursues other Notions than those of that antient Poet. First, he makes two different Kingdoms of that subterranean Region, and sets over each of them a particular Monarch. *Pluto*, according to him, is the Governor of Hell, and *Saturn* the Sovereign of the Elysian Fields, where he reigns with his Wife *Rhea*, and has *Rhadamanthus* for his Assessor, whom all the other Poets place in the Empire of *Pluto*. Herein this Poet conforms to *Hesiod* (1), who says, that the Souls of Heroes went to dwell in happy Regions near the Ocean, at the Extremities of the Earth, where *Saturn* reigned. Then, following the Ideas of the *Pythagoreans*, *Pindar* lays down three Sorts of Transmigrations of Souls, partly in this World, partly in the other, telling us, that such as in those three States preserved their Souls always pure, arrived at last at the august Palace of *Saturn*. The three Revolutions which *Socra-*

tes makes the Souls of Philosophers perform before their Return to the Place of their Original, have a great Affinity with the three Lives this Poet assigns for his Heroes before they are placed in the Elysian Fields, upon which it is proper to make two Remarks.

First, that *Pindar* supposes it was equally possible to practise Virtue, and perform meritorious Actions in Hell, as in this World. *Secondly*, that he seems to fix the Residence of the Blessed in the Elysian Fields for ever; whence, however, according to *Virgil*, and the other Poets, they were to depart after a certain Period of Time, having drunk the Water of Oblivion; and this Period was usually limited to a thousand Years.

But in order to set this whole Doctrine in one and the same Point of View, 'tis necessary to quote the whole Passage from this Poet, which is as follows.

“ After Death, the incorrigible Souls of the Wicked are delivered over to dreadful Punishments;
 “ and in the Kingdom of *Pluto*, there is a Judge who
 “ examines Crimes committed in this earthly Empire
 “ of *Jupiter*, and pronounces a final Sentence with
 “ inflexible Severity.

“ There the Just lead a Life exempt from all Sorts
 “ of Pain. They enjoy one eternal Day without
 “ Night; a pure Sun enlightens them continually.
 “ They are not obliged to employ the Labour of
 “ their Hands in ransacking Sea and Land to relieve
 “ the pitiful Necessities of Life. Those who were
 “ strictly conscientious in keeping their Oaths, converse with the venerable Divinities of those subterraneous Mansions, and taste Pleasures without Alloy,
 “ while those who loved Perjury, suffer Torments,
 “ the very Sight whereof is horrid and dreadful.

“ But those who after spending three Lives upon
 “ Earth, and in the Infernal Regions, have been so
 “ happy as to preserve their Souls always pure in those
 “ several States, as they have trod in the Paths which
 “ *Jupiter* had marked out to them, so they arrive at
 “ the

“ the majestick Palace of *Saturn*. Gentle Zephyrs,
 “ which rise from the Sea, fan this charming Island,
 “ the eternal Mansion of the Blessed. There are to
 “ be seen gaudy Flowers shining all around, whose
 “ Brightness vies with the burnished Gold. Some
 “ spring out of the Ground, others hang in Clusters
 “ on the Trees, while others bestrow the Waters.
 “ With these they make Crowns and Garlands to deck
 “ their Arms and Heads. The whole Kingdom is
 “ governed by the just Decrees of *Rhadamanthus*, who
 “ sits for ever upon a Tribunal with *Saturn*, *Rhea's*
 “ Spouse, and Father of the Gods. The Throne of
 “ the Goddess is elevated above all the rest.”

I said *Pindar* had taken *Homer* for his Model; here is the Passage in that Poet which he had in his Eye. It is in the fourth Book of the *Odysssey*, where *Proteus* thus bespeaks *Menelaus*;

*Elysium shall be thine; the blissful Plains
 Of utmost Earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns,
 Joys ever young, unmix'd with Pain or Fear,
 Fill the wide Circle of th' eternal Year:
 Stern Winter smiles on that auspicious Clime:
 The Fields are florid with unfading Prime:
 From the bleak Pole no Winds inclement blow,
 Mold the round Hail, or flake the fleecy Snow;
 But from the breezy Deep, the Blest inhale
 The fragrant Murmurs of the western Gale.*

Pope's *Odyss.* B. IV. V. 765.

We may remark, before we are done with the Doctrine of *Pindar* concerning the State of Souls after Death, that what he says of *Saturn* reigning in the Elysian Fields, is a Notion taken from *Hesiod*; tho' the other Poets, in the celebrated Division of the World among the three Brothers, had no Regard to this God whom his Son *Jupiter* had dethroned, and plunged headlong into the Depth of *Tartarus*, whose Empire fell to *Pluto* by an Article of that Partition. 'Tis true the Fable also supposes that Prince, after his Expulsion, to have retired into *Italy*, where he reigned

with *Janus*, and that the Time of his Reign was reckoned the golden Age. 'Tis probably this Circumstance that *Pindar* had in his View, when he represents the Continuation of a Reign which was too short upon Earth for the Happiness of Men, and makes it eternal with respect to those who had practised Virtue, while they sojourned in this World.

Virgil, after having made *Æneas* offer Sacrifices to the *Manes*, and fortified him with the golden Bough, a sure Pass-port for Admission into the Kingdom of *Pluto*, gives him a *Sibyl* for his Guide, after which he thus begins the Description of the Mansions of the Dead;

*Deep, deep, a Cavern lies, devoid of Light,
All rough with Rocks, and horrible to Sight;
The gaping Gulph inclos'd with sable Floods,
And the brown Horrors of surrounding Woods.
From her black Jaws such baleful Vapours rise,
Blot the bright day, and blast the golden Skies,
That not a Bird can stretch her Pinions there
Through the thick Poisons and incumber'd Air:
O'ertook by Death her flagging Pinions cease,
And hence Aornus was it call'd by Greece.
Hither the Priestess four black Heifers led,
Between their Horns the hallow'd Wine she shed;
From their high Front the top-most Hairs she drew,
And in the Flames the first Oblations threw. &c.*

Pit's Æneid. VI. 332.

After the Sacrifice she plunged herself first into the Gulf which leads to the Kingdom of *Pluto*, and *Æneas* follows her with firm and resolute Steps through a dark and solitary Grove.

*At Hell's dread Mouth a thousand Monsters wait;
Grief weeps, and Vengeance bellows in the Gate:
Beside Want, low Fear, and Famine's lawless Rage,
And pale Disease, and slow repining Age;
Fierce, formidable Fiends! the Portal keep;
With Pain, Toil, Death, and Death's Half-brother
Sleep.*

There

*There Joys embitter'd with Remorse appear;
 Daughters of Guilt! here Storms destructive War.
 Mad Discord there her snaky Tresses tore;
 Here, stretch'd on Iron Beds, the Furies roar.
 Full in the Midst a spreading Elm display'd
 His aged Arms, and cast a mighty Shade.
 Each trembling Leaf with some light Vision teems,
 And heaves impregnated with airy Dreams.
 With double Forms each Scylla took her Place
 In Hell's dark Entrance, with the Centaur's Race;
 And close by Lerna's hissing Monster, stands
 BRIAREUS dreadful with a hundred Hands.
 There stern GERYON raged; and, all around,
 Fierce Harpies scream'd, and direful GORGONS frown'd.
 Ibid. 385.*

Upon their Exit from the Cave they find a Way which leads through obscure Woods to the River *Acheron*: Thither the Souls of those who are to pass over to the other Side flock together from all Hands; but as none are permitted to enter *Charon's* Boat, till they have received the Honours of Burial (*a*), those who have been deprived of it are forced to wander an hundred Years upon those dreary Banks (*b*). *Charon* seeing a Man approach him in Armour, gives him to know, that none but the Souls of the Dead are to pass over the River; but soothed with the Sight of the golden Bough which the *Sibyl* shews him, he receives them both into his Boat, and ferries them over to the other Shore. No sooner are they passed this fatal River than they find another dreadful one which serves as a Gate to the Kingdom of *Pluto*; it is kept by *Cerberus* the Dog with the three Heads; and the *Sibyl* having laid him asleep by a Composition of Honey and Poppies, they get over this Passage and enter *Pluto's* Realms.

C 3

Upon

(a) *Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta
 Transportare, priusquam sedibus ossa quierunt.*

(b) *Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum.*

Upon their Arrival in this dismal Mansion, they find the Souls of those who died before they came to the Use of Reason ; next of Persons who were unjustly condemned to Death, and of such as had taken away their own Lives. Here presents to their View a Grove of Myrtles, which serves for a Retreat to those whom amorous Despair had bereaved of the Light of Life. Leaving this Grove, they come to the Quarter of Heroes, who died with their Arms in their Hands. Adjoining to this is a Sort of Apartment which borders on one Side upon *Tartarus*, and on the other upon the Elysian Fields : Here it is that *Minos*, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus* administer Justice ; the latter judges the *Asiatics*, and the others the *Europeans*, and *Minos* decides the Differences that arise from the Judgments of his Brethren, the Judge from whom lies no Appeal, and upon the Sentence of this impartial Judge some are sent to the Elysian Fields, others are condemned to *Tartarus*.

Tartarus is a hideous Prison of a terrible Depth, surrounded with the miry Bogs of *Cocytus*, and of the River *Phlegeton*, which rolls Torrents of Flames all around : Three Rows of Walls with brazen Gates, render the Place inaccessible. *Typhoea*, the most hellish of the three Furies, watches at the Gate, and hinders any from going out. *Rhadamanthus* extorts from his wretched Prisoners a Confession of their most secret Crimes, and then delivers them over to the three Furies, to be punished according to their Demerits ; these Goddesses are always ready to exert their Fury upon those miserable Victims : Frightful Serpents which they hold in their Hands, are the Whips with which they lash them. In this hideous Mansion are confined those of distinguished Wickedness, whose very Crimes have made them famous ; The proud *Titans* whom *Jupiter* thunderstruck, when they attempted to besiege the Gods of *Olympus*, are in the deepest Part of *Tartarus*. The two *Aloides*, *Ephialtes* and *Otus*, whom *Neptune* had by *Hiphimedia* the Wife of

of the Giant *Alous*, suffer there a Punishment proportioned to their Crimes.

In this dreadful Mansion is also lodged the mad *Sal-moneus*, who attempted to imitate *Jupiter's* Thunders : The daring *Tityus*, who presumed to make Love to *Latona*, and whom *Apollo* transfix'd with his Arrows, is there condemned to horrible Torments : A cruel Vulture is continually preying upon his Liver, which grows again as fast as it is devoured. The presumptuous *Ixion* who boasted that he had lain with *Juno*, is there doomed to turn eternally a Wheel incircled with Serpents. *Theseus*, who attempted to carry off *Proserpine* for his Friend *Pirithous*, sits for ever upon a Stone whence he cannot possibly stir. *Tantalus*, for having designed to put a Cheat upon the Gods, and to serve up to them at Table the Members of his own Son *Pelops*, there pines away with the most outrageous Hunger amidst Plenty of Meats which fly from him as soon as he approaches them. The *Danaids*, those unhappy Daughters of *Danaus*, who murdered their own Husbands, are there condemned eternally to pour Water into a Cask full of Holes. There *Sisyphus*, for revealing the Secrets of the Gods, rolls a huge Stone to the Top of a Mountain, whence it continually tumbles down again. *Oedipus*, who slew his Father *Laius*, and married his Mother *Jocasta* ; his wretched Sons *Etheocles* and *Polynices*, who waged War upon one another, and were slain by each others Hands in the fatal Combat ; *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, *Egistus*, *Clytemnestra*, and all the other signal Offenders, suffer there Torments proportioned to their Crimes.

Such is the Description which the Poets give of their Hell : But if they have invented so frightful a Place for the Punishment of the Wicked, they have not been wanting in Return to give us a charming Representation of the Mansion of the Blessed.

On the Right of *Tartarus* is the Way that leads to the Elysian Fields, those happy Isles where the Souls of such as have lived virtuously in this World enjoy profound Peace and Tranquillity, accompanied with

the most innocent refined Pleasures: Let us imagine to ourselves enchanted Places abounding with every Thing conducive to Happiness; Bowers for ever Green, charming Meadows, with Fountains and Streams gliding gently through them, the Air healthful, temperate, and serene; Birds eternally warbling in delightful Groves, a perpetual Spring with other Suns and other Stars (*a*). These and the like are the Images under which the Poets (*i*) paint the Regions of Bliss; those happy Isles, the Kingdom of *Adrastus*, as they sometimes call it; in a Word, the Elysian Fields. But as the Descriptions which they give of them, were only the Fruit of their own Imaginations, every one of them represents the Pleasures and Employments of the Place conformable to his own Inclinations. *Tibullus*, voluptuous and prone to the Charms of Love, makes it to abound with Mirth and all sensual Pleasures (*b*).

Virgil, more chaste, admits nothing there but innocent Sports, and Employments worthy Heroes who are the Inhabitants; and herein he has copied *Homer*. In the *Greek* Poet, the Ghost of *Achilles* wages War with the wild Beasts, and in the *Latin* Poet the *Trojan* Heroes exercise themselves in managing Horses, or in handling Arms. Some Poets have added the Pleasures of good Cheer, describe Elysium as a Place of continual Feasting, while nothing, they say, is so sorry and mean as the Entertainments *Hecate* gives her Guests in Hell. Which proves, to mention it by the by, that the Part of Man which inhabited those Regions, was corporeal, since it could not subsist without Nourishment.

If we trace *Virgil's* Ideas with Attention, we shall find that he divides into seven Apartments the
Topographical

(*a*) *Largior hic campos æther & lumine vestit
Purpureo; solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.* *Æn.* 6. 640.

(*i*) *Homer, Virgil, Pindar, Claudian, Catullus, &c.*

(*b*) *Hic choreæ, cantusque vigent - - - -*

Ac juvenum series teneris immista puellis

Ludit, & assidue prælia miscet amor.

L. 1. 3. 637

Topographical Description he gives of the Mansion of Ghosts. The first is that of Infants that die so soon as they are born. (a)

*Now, as they enter'd, doleful Screams they bear ;
And tender Cries of Infants pierce their Ear :
Just new to Life, by too severe a Doom,
Snatch'd from the Cradle to the silent Tomb !*

Ibid. 592.

The second was possessed by those who had been charged with false Accusations, and unjustly condemned to Death (b). In the third were those whom cruel Destiny had forced to chuse a voluntary Death ; who, innocent as they were, seeing themselves overwhelmed with the Miseries of Life, had conceived an Aversion to it, and set their Souls at Liberty from their Bodies, as from an oppressive Load (c). The fourth, which we may call the *Fields of Tears or Mourning*, where is a Forrest of Myrtles cut into divers Walks, is the Mansion of those who in their Life-time had experienced the Hardships of unpitied Love (d). There is the unhappy *Phedra*, who killed herself for the Disdain of young *Hippolytus*, who was insensible to her Passion. *Procris*, whose Life the unfortunate *Cephalus* took away with the Dart which she had given him ; *Eriphyle*, *Evadne*, *Laodamia*, *Pasiphae*, *Dido*, *Ceneus*, who from a Girl had been transformed into a Boy, and by the Order of Destiny had again recovered his former State. The fifth was destined to the Heroes (e). There were *Tydeus*, *Adrastus*, *Parthenopeus*, and several others. The sixth Apartment was the frightful Prison of *Tartarus*, where are the noted Offenders whom I shall speak of afterwards, together with the *Parcæ*, the

(a) *Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus & ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo.* Æn. l. 6.

(b) *Hos juxta falso damnati crimine mortis.*

(c) *Proxima deinde tenent mæsti loca, qui sibi letum
Insontes peperere manu, &c.*

(d) *Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit.*

(e) - - - - - *Jamque arva tenebant
Ultima, quæ bello clari secreta frequentant.*

the Furies; &c. In fine, the last was the Mansion of the Blessed, or the Elysian Fields.

These several Mansions were not divided at random. *Minos*, who held the fatal Urn, summoned the Ghosts before him, took Information of their Crimes, examined their Lives, weighed the Merit of their Actions, and appointed each of them to his proper Place of Abode (1).

Such were the Fables which the antient Poets delivered with respect to the Mansions of Souls departed; a System embellished indeed with Ideas which were the Offspring of fertile Imagination; but whose Groundwork was derived from the *Egyptian* Customs, as we shall presently see.

C H A P. V.

That what the Greeks delivered on the Subject of the Infernal Regions and Elysian Fields, was borrowed from the Egyptian Usages already mentioned.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Fables added by the Greeks to the *Egyptian* System, yet 'tis easy to see it to be the Foundation of all that they have delivered upon this Subject; and though *Diodorus* has said so, I judge it however necessary to consider this Article somewhat more particularly. First of all the *Charon* of the Greeks, that rough and stern Ferryman whom *Virgil* paints so well, is the same with that of *Egypt*. He of the Greeks is upon the *Cocytus*, waiting to transport the Ghosts to the other Side of the River: The *Egyptian* had his fixed Residence upon the Banks of the Lake *Querron*, or *Acherusia*. That of the Greek Poets rigidly exacted a Duty for the Passage; that of the *Egyptians* was so regular and exact therein, that they tell us he would not dispense with a King's Son. The infernal Lake was formed by a River which conveyed its Waters thither: That of *Querron* was an Efflux of the *Nile*. The first nine Times surrounded the Kingdom of the Dead, as we have it in

(1) *Virg. Æn.* 6. 431.

in *Virgil*: *Novies Styx interfusa*, &c. The *Nile* formed in *Egypt* a vast Number of Canals.

The different Mansions which *Virgil* describes in the infernal Regions, especially that of *Tartarus*, a gloomy Dungeon, placed in the Center of the Earth, are founded upon the different Cells and Windings of the Labyrinth, chiefly those which, according to *Herodotus* and the other Antients, were under Ground. The sacred Crocodiles which the *Egyptians* nourished in those subterraneous Places, had given the Idea of those Monsters that were said to be in the Kingdom of *Pluto*, and in the Avenues that lead thither.

Homer (1) says, the Entry to the infernal Regions was upon the Banks of the Ocean. The *Nile* is called by the same Poet $\Omega' \kappa \epsilon \alpha \nu \acute{o} \varsigma$. The Idea of those Gates of the Sun so much celebrated by the Poets, is founded only upon what the *Greeks* had heard of the City *Helopolis*. That of the Judges *Eacus*, *Minos*, and *Rhadamanthus*, is evidently founded upon what we have quoted from *Diodorus*, concerning that severe Scrutiny which was made by the *Egyptian* Priests into the Lives and Actions of the Dead. Those of the infernal Rivers, are derived from the Lake *Acherusia* or *Querron*, and served to form the *Acheron* of the Poets; *Achou-Cherron*, as M. *Fourmont* remarks (2), signifying the Fenny Places of *Charon*. *Cerberus*, according to the same Academick, took his Name from an *Egyptian* King, named *Chebres*, or *Kebron*. In like Manner the Name of *Tartarus* comes from *Dardarot*, which in *Egyptian* signifies an eternal Habitation. Beyond the Lake *Querron*, were delightful Woods, a charming Grove, and a Temple consecrated to black *Hecate*, with two Marshes, *Cocytus* and *Lethe*: Near this Place was likewise a City named *Acanthus*, where a Priest, from we know not what Principle of Religion, poured every Day Water from the *Nile* into a Vessel full of Holes. Hence the Elysian Fields, the Rivers of Oblivion, the *Cocytus*, and the Punishment of the *Dancids*. *Mercury*, with his *Caduceus* in his Hand, whom

(1) Il. l. 10, & 11.

(2) Mem. de l'Acad. T. 1. p. 9.

whom *Homer* makes the Conductor of Souls into Hell, is only a Copy of those who in *Egypt* had the Care of funeral Obsequies, and conducted their pompous Processions.

Lastly, the *Ades* of the *Greeks* is the same with the *Amenthes* of the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Plutarch* (1), that subterranean Apartment, whither the Souls of the Dead went, and whence they returned (a). Add to this that the *Styx*, another infernal River, was likewise in *Egypt*. This accordingly is what we are told by *Servius*, who cites in Proof of it, a Work of *Seneca*, intitled : *Of the Egyptian Ceremonies*, which Time has destroyed. “ *Isis*, said he, having found
“ the dissipated Members of *Osiris*, whom *Typhon* had
“ murdered, chose a Place for their Interment near
“ a Marsh not very accessible, beyond which was an
“ Island which there was no landing upon ; and this
“ Marsh was called *Styx*, because it inspired with Melancholy those who looked upon it.”

But to prove yet more clearly what has been now advanced, I shall follow *Virgil* Step by Step, and enter into a Detail which I hope will not seem quite superfluous.

CHAP. VI.

Of Charon and Cerberus.

THE Idea of the Ferry-man *Charon* is derived, as *Diodorus* remarks, from the Signification of the Word in the *Egyptian* Language, which imports a *Boatman*, *Portitor* ; thus of an appellative Noun, the Poet makes the Name of a Divinity.

Jam senior, sed cruda DEI viridisque senectus ;

To whom they have given the Charge of transporting Souls in a Boat over the River *Acheron* : They have preserved to him the same Character with that of the

(1) De Is. & Osir.

(a) This, according to *Plutarch*, is the Etymology of the Word *Amenthes*, which imports, *Boat which gives and receives*.

the *Egyptians*, making him, like the other, rough, cholerick, morose, avaritious. A Proof of which is his Manner of receiving *Æneas*, and the small Regard he has to the Words of that Hero, till he has seen the golden Bow.

*Mortal ! whoe'er thou art, in Arms array'd,
Stand off, approach not ; but at Distance say,
Why to these Waters dar'st thou bend thy Way ?
These are the Realms of Sleep, the dreadful Coasts
Of sable Night, and airy gliding Ghosts. (a)*

Ibid. 539.

This Character they drew from what they had learned by Tradition of the *Charon* of *Egypt*, as shall be said presently : But as they would needs in every Thing be thought Originals, they invented several Fables upon this Occasion ; they composed a Genealogy for this God, and made him the Son of *Erebus*, and the Night, worthy Parents of the Boatman of Hell. They give him a fullen and crabbed Humour, without any Respect either to Dignity, Goods, or Riches ; and yet how his Name comes to denote Joy and Gayety⁽¹⁾, I know not, unless it be by way of Contrary.

The Poets have amused themselves in giving different Descriptions of *Charon*, but none of them has come near the inimitable *Virgil*.

*Lord of the Flood, imperious Charon stands ;
But rough, begrim'd, and dreadful he appear'd ;
Rude and neglected hung his Length of Beard ;
All patch'd and knotted flutters his Attire ;
His wrathful Eyeballs glare with sanguine Fire.
Tho' old, still unimpair'd by Years he stood,
And hoary Vigour bless'd the surly God.*

Himself

(a) *Quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad littora tendis,
Fare age quid venias, jam istinc & comprime gressus :
Hic locus umbrarum est, &c.* *Æn.* 6. 388.

(1) *Nat.* l. 3.

*Himself still ply'd the Oars, his Canvas spread,
And in his sable Bark convey'd the Dead (a).*

Ibid. 418.

As *Charon* was believed to carry none over gratis, hence was established the Custom of placing under the Tongue of the Deceased a piece of Money, which the *Latins* call *Nautis*, and the *Greeks* *Δανάη*, for the Freight (b). This Custom they likewise derived from the *Egyptians*, who gave something to him who transported the Dead over the Lake *Acherusia*. There is even an antient Tradition in the Country, setting forth, that *Charon* therein exercised a petty Tyranny, exacting that Capitation even from the Sons of Kings. Accordingly *Lucian* assures us, that the Custom of putting an *Obulus* into the Mouth of the Dead, to pay their Fare, was universal among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and we know none who dispensed with it but the *Hermonians*, because they thought themselves so near Hell, that they reckoned there was no Necessity for their paying any thing for their Passage (c): But we may add that *Charon* lost nothing thereby; for if that People did not pay him his Dues, the *Athenians* were so superstitious as to believe that they were obliged to give something more for their Kings, in order to distinguish them from the Herd of vulgar Souls; accordingly they put into their Mouths no less than three pieces of Gold (1). When *Charon* was forced to carry over any living Person, he was first to have a Sight of the golden Bough, which we shall speak of afterwards; and because *Hercules* was admitted without this Passport, when he went to deliver *Alcestes*, *Charon*, as we learn from *Servius* after *Orpheus*, was put in Prison for a Year, though he had received him with Reluctance and by Constraint.

Accordingly he complains to *Æneas*.

Know

(a) *Portitor has horrendus equas & flumina servat,
Horribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
Canities inculta jacet, &c.*

(b) See *Lucian's* Dial. of the Dead, *Diodorus*, l. 1.

(c) *Lyllo Girald. Synt. de Diis Inferiis*, Nat. l. 3. after *Strabo*.

(1) Nat. l. 3.

*Know I repent I led PIRITHOUS o'er,
With mighty THESEUS, to the farther Shore ;
That great ALCIDES past the Stygian Floods ;
Tho' these were Heroes, and the Sons of Gods.*

Ibid. 546.

But we are farther to know that they were not contented with this piece of Money ; and in order to make their Passage the more sure, they put into the Coffin of the Defunct an Attestation of his Life and Morals (1). This was a kind of Pass, the Form whereof is preserved by an Author : “ I undersigned
“ *Anicius Sextus*, the Pontiff, attest that such a one
“ was a Person of a good Life and Conversation :
“ Let his Manes rest in Peace (a).” Whereby it appears that to make this Attestation the better received in the other World, the Pontiff himself was in Use to write it. The *Muscovites* at this very Day practise the same Custom which came from *Egypt*, where an Encomium was pronounced upon the Defunct by the Border of the Lake, to keep the Judges from being prepossessed by his Accusers, as we have it in *Diodorus Siculus*.

Some Authors believe that *Charon* was a King of *Egypt*, and confound him with some Prince or other, whose Name has an Affinity to his, as has been said in the preceeding Chapter : But an *Arabian* Author (b) has gone farther, believing that *Charon* was *Moses's* Uncle or Cousin-German : And as he was at first in the Party of his Relation, he made his Laws and Ordinances strictly observed ; and he again in Return taught him Chymistry and the Secret of the great Work, which *Charon* made so good Use of, that in a little Time he accumulated great Riches thereby, as is believed at this Day in *Egypt*, according to several Relations (2). *Vossius* in his Treatise of Idolatry, alleges

(1) Eust. in Hom. and the Scholiast on Pindar.

(a) Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex, testor hunc honeste vixisse : manes ejus inveniant requiem. Fab. Cel. l. 3. ant.

(b) *Murtadi* in his *Egypt*. See the Translation of it by *Vattier*.

(2) See the third Voyage of *Paul Lucas*, V. 3.

ledges that the Word *Charon* comes from the *Hebrew*, and signifies *Wrath*, because he is the Minister of the Wrath and Vengeance of the Gods; and is at the same Time persuaded that he is the same with the infernal *Mercury*, whose Function, as has been said elsewhere, was to conduct Souls to Hell. But I hold for the *Charon* of *Egypt*, the Model of that of the *Greeks*, whose Name, according to *Diodorus*, signifies a *Ferryman*. *Mahomet* speaks also of a *Charon* (1), who was overwhelmed by the Earth, at the Prayer of *Moses*; but 'tis probable that he confounded *Charon* with *Coré*, who was swallowed up for having murmured against the Legislator.

Let us say something now of *Cerberus*, that famous Keeper of the infernal Regions, the Idea whereof was likewise derived from *Egypt*, where Burial-places were kept by Mastive Dogs; but what I am going to relate of the Serpent of *Tenarus*, served to embellish his Story.

Cerberus. The profound Cave of *Tenarus* was once inhabited by a frightful Serpent, or a kind of Dragon, which ravaged the Confines of that Promontory (2); and as this Cave was reckoned the Gate of Hell, hence they took Occasion to say that the Dragon was the Porter of those dreary Mansions: And this is the Original of *Cerberus*, who was called the Dog of Hell (3), though it was nothing but a Serpent. *Homer* is the first who gave him that Appellation. 'Tis true, in After-times *Cerberus* was reckoned a Dog with three Heads, but they never got rid altogether of the Idea of the Serpent of *Tenarus*: Thus instead of Hair, his Neck was said to be encompassed with Snakes (a); and the three Heads and three Tongues were given him only because the voluble Motion of Serpents Tongues seems to make three of them; or because their Tongue is somewhat

(1) Alcoran. c. 28. (2) Pausan. in Lacon. (3) Nat. l. 5.

(a) Cui vates horrere videns jam colla colubris.

Virg. Æn. 6.

Quamvis furiale centum muniant angues caput.

Hor. Od. 1. 3.

somewhat like a barbed Javelin (a). We may add that the History of *Aidoneus*, who had his Mines watched by mastive Dogs, may also have given Rise to the Fable of *Cerberus* : And as *Hercules*, passing through *Epirus*, delivered *Theseus*, and carried off perhaps one of those Mastives, hence the Fable of his having chained *Cerberus* (1).

But the most common Opinion derives the Origin of the Fable from *Hercules's* having by the Command of *Eurystheus* visited the Cave of *Tenarus* in Search of the Serpent that there made his abode, and brought him bound to the King of *Mycenæ* ; and the additional Circumstance of *Cerberus's* passing through *Thessaly*, and vomiting up a venomous Juice, which poisoned its Herbs, was owing to there having been many poisonous Plants in that Country : Which also had given Occasion to all the Fables of the Sorceresses there, who were said by their Enchantments to bring down the Moon to the Earth. We must not omit that *Hesiod* makes *Cerberus* the Son of *Typhon* and *Echidna*. Some Authors derive his Name from the Greek Word *Κρεόσυρος*, *Carnivorous*, or *Voracious Flesh-eater* (2).

Pausanias speaks thus (3) of the Promontory of *Tenarus* and the Fable of *Cerberus*. “ About fifty Stadia from *Teuthrones* you have the Promontory of *Tenarus*, which juts out considerably into the Sea, and under which there are two Ports. Upon this Promontory is a Temple to *Neptune* in Form of a Grotto, and at the Entrance a Statue of that God. Some Greek Poets have imagined it was through this that *Hercules* carried off *Pluto's* Dog; but besides that there is no subterranean Passage in this Grotto, 'tis not probable that a God should hold his Empire under Ground, nor that our Souls should repair thither after Death. *Hecateus*

VOL. III.

D

“ *teus*

(a) *Cui sunt tres linguæ, tergeminiisque caput.*

Tibull.

- - - - - *Sordidum tabo caput*

Lambunt colubræ ; viperis horrent jubæ,

Longeque torta sibilat cauda draco.

Sen. in Her. Fur.

(1) See the History of *Hercules*. (2) *Bochart*, l. 8. (3) In *Diacon*. c. 25.

“ *teus* of *Miletus* had a rational enough Notion of
 “ it, when he said that this Place of *Tenarus* served
 “ for a Den to a formidable Serpent, which was called
 “ the Dog of Hell, because whoever was stung by
 “ him instantly died ; and he alledges, that *Hercules*
 “ carried this Serpent to *Eurystheus*. *Homer*, who is
 “ the first that mentioned the Dog of Hell which
 “ *Hercules* dragged after him, distinguishes him by
 “ no proper Name, nor describes him, though he does
 “ the Chimera : But the succeeding Poets, who
 “ called this Dog *Cerberus*, gave him three Heads,
 “ and make a great Monster of him ; though *Ho-*
 “ *mer* by the Dog of Hell, might as well understand
 “ a Dragon, as one of those domestic Animals.”

C H A P. VII.

Of the Infernal Rivers.

ACHERON is a River in *Epirus*, or rather in *Thesprotia*, which takes its Rise from the Lake *Acherusia* (a), and discharges itself near *Ambracia*, otherwise called *Larta*, into the *Adriatic* Gulf.

The

(a) *Strabo*, l. 7. Though *Plato*, in *Phæd.* says, it enters into *Acherusia*. However *Titus Livius*, l. 8. calls the Place where this River, after having received the Waters of some other Brooks, disembogues itself into the Sea, the *Thesprotic* Gulf : But as the Passage in that Author speaks particularly of the Course of this River, we must quote it here. He is speaking of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to whom *Acheron* was to be fatal : *Accito a Tarentinis in Italiam, data dictio erat, cavere Acherusiam aquam, Pandosiamque urbem ; ibi fatis ejus terminum dari : eoque ocyus transmisit in Italiam, ut quam maxime procul abesset urbe Pandosia in Epiro, & Acheronte amne, quem ex Molosside fluentem, in stagna inferna accipit Thesprotius sinus.* From this Passage it appears that *Acheron* took its Rise from *Molossis*, that it run through *Epirus*, near the City *Pandosia*, and communicated its Name to the Gulf of the Sea where it discharges itself.

Pliny, l. 4. c. 1. says, *Acheron* disembogues itself into the Lake of *Ambracia* : However *Thucydides* tells us it runs into the Lake *Acherusia* ; now this Lake and that Gulf are very remote from one another. the Antients are of a contrary Opinion to *Pliny* ; therefore we ought to quit this Author, as well as *Martianus Capella*, and *Martin del Rio* upon *Seneca*, who have followed him. See *Grant-Menil*, *Græc. Ant.*

The Water of this River is bitter and unwholesome (1), and this is partly the Reason why they have made an infernal River of it; it remains actually a long Time hid under Ground, and rises up again at a very great Distance from the Place where it goes out of Sight. Its Name had also contributed to this Fable, for it imports *Anguish* or *an howling Noise*: Perhaps too *Orpheus* gave this Lake, and afterwards the River, the Name of the Lake *Acherusia*, which he had seen near *Memphis*, when he accommodated to *Greece* the Ideas which he had borrowed from *Egypt* with respect to the Dead. Several Fables were afterwards added to what we have now been relating; they gave out that *Acheron* was the Son of *Ceres*, or of *Titan* and *Terra*; that the Fear he had of the Giants made him lie concealed for some Time, and even go down to Hell to screen himself from their Fury. Some Authors have alledged, that *Jupiter* had cast him into Hell, because his Water served to quench the Thirst of the *Titans*: A Fable founded upon the Circumstance of this River's running a long Time under the Earth, which was the Mother of the *Titans*. They add that *Acheron* was Father to that *Ascalaphus* who was changed into an Owl, as shall be said in the History of *Proserpine* (2); that there was a King of *Epirus* named *Acheron*, who gave his Name to that River.

Be that as it will, we must not forget to take Notice that there was another River of this Name in the Country of the *Bruttians*, near *Pandesia*, which gave Rise to a fatal Ambiguity (3). The Oracle of *Dodona*, as we have it in *Titus Livius*, in the Passage we have quoted, having warned *Alexander* the King of the *Molossians* to fly *Acheron*, that Prince thinking it meant the *Acheron* which was in *Thesprotia*, would not go far away from the Place where he was, and was slain there. There is also another River of the Name near *Tenarus* in *Laconia*.

The *Cocytus* is another River in *Epirus*, or rather in *Thesprotia*, which empties itself to-
Cocytus.
D 2 gether

(1) *Pauf. in Lac.* (2) *Antrostius in sea navigatione.* (3) *Strabo l. 6.*

gether with the *Pyriphlegeton*, into the Lake *Acherusia*, and whose Name signifies *Sighs, Groans*; and that of *Pyriphlegeton, Burning* (1): These Etymologies, and the Neighbourhood of those Rivers to *Acheron*, made them be reckoned among the Rivers in Hell. Here I embrace the Opinion of Mr. *Samson*, who gives the *Cocytus* that Course, without alledging however any Authority for it. I know no Historian who gives *Cocytus* the Name of a River (a). *Pausanias* calls it only ὕδωρ ἀτεσπέλατον; which makes me believe that it was rather a Fen of muddy Water than a River.

Styx. The *Styx* is in *Arcadia*. 'Tis properly a Fountain that flows from a Rock, and then forms a Stream that continues a long Time buried under Ground: Its Water is Mortal, and this Quality, according to *Pausanias* (2), is what gave a Handle to the Poets to make it a River or a Lake in Hell: I shall take the following Description of it from him.

Hard by a City of *Arcadia*, named *Nonacris*, is a very high Precipice, whence distils Water that falls into the River *Cratis*. This Water is mortal to Men and other Animals: It breaks in Pieces earthen and porcelain Vessels, and all others, except those made of a Horses Hoof. Upon this Idea a Fable has been composed; the *Styx* has been animated, made the Daughter of the Ocean (3), and Wife of one *Pallas* or *Piras* (4). We are told that she was the Mother of *Hydra*, &c. Her Name was so terrible, that the most inviolable Oath was to swear by *Styx*, and the Gods themselves were very religious in keeping it (b). Those of them who perjured themselves after taking this Oath, were very severely punished. *Jupiter* ordered *Iris* to set before them a Cup full of poisonous Water of this Fountain, and he banished them from his Table and Conversation for a Year: He even deprived them of their Divinity for nine Years, as if it had

(1) φλεγω, *urs*.

(a) See the antient Map of Greece by *Strabo*, and *Grant-Ménil* in his *Græcia*, p. 204.

(2) L. 8. 18. (3) *Hesiod* in *Theog.* (4) *Pausan.* loc. cit.

(b) *Di cujus jurare timent & fallere numen.* *Virg. Æn.* l. 6.

had been an Office whose Functions he suspended. The Reason given by the Mythologists why the Gods were so religious as to this Article, is, that *Victory*, who was believed to be the Daughter of *Styx*, as has been said in the History of *Jupiter*, had assisted the Gods against the Giants, which had obliged that God, in Gratitude, to pass a Decree that the Oath by *Styx* should be inviolable. But this again is only another Fable, founded upon the antient Custom of using the Water of *Styx* for the Tryal of the Guilty and the Innocent, much after the Manner of the *Jews*, as to their Water of Jealousy. To conclude, when the Gods swore by *Styx*, they were to have one Hand upon the Earth, and the other upon the Sea, as *Homer* remarks (1).

'Tis easy to see that two Things conduced to make them place these Rivers in Hell; first, that they were almost all in *Epirus*, which was reckoned, upon Account of *Aidoneus*, the Kingdom of *Pluto*. Secondly, The Etymology of their Names; *Acheron* signifies *the Extreme* *, whereby was denoted that those who came into this Country to work at the Mines, almost all died there: *Cocytus* imports *Howling*; *Styx*, *the Water of Silence* †; *Pyriphlegeton*, *Burning*. In general, all the Waters that had any bad Quality were reckoned Rivers of Hell, as in *Italy* the Lake *Avernus* near *Puzzoli* (a), and *Lethe* or the River of *Oblivion*, which was in *Africa*. And thus it was that the *Greeks* would needs ascribe to their own Country what really belonged to *Egypt*.

D 3

CHAP.

(1) *Iliad* 14.

* Others derive the Name from A & χαῖρα, as you would say, *Sad* or *Joyless*. To which *Milton* alludes, *Par. lost*, B. XI. 578.

Sad Acheron, of Sorrow, black and deep.

† Or ἀπο τῆς στυγῆς, *Hateful*. So *Milton*, *ib.* v. 577.

Abhorred Styx, the Flood of deadly Hate.

(a) The Sulphur and Bitumen which are in great Quantities near the *Avernus*, had so corrupted its Water, that *Virgil* says, the Birds perished by flying over it, unless they mounted very high. 'Tis even this Circumstance that gave the Name of that Lake, for *Avernus*, in Greek Ἀΰρες, signifies *without Birds*.

C H A P. VIII.

Other Particularities of the System of the Poetical Hell.

THE first was their imagining that the Ghosts whose Bodies remained without Burial, wandered for a hundred Years upon the Banks of the *Cocytus*, before they were admitted into *Charon's* Boat (a). These *Egyptian* Customs may have given Rise to this Notion. First, when the Priests refused the Passage over the *Acherusian* Lake to the Body of any one, because he had not paid his Debts, the Relations kept it at Home till they were in a Condition to discharge the Debt. Another of their Customs was, that in transporting any dead Body over the Lake, if it happened to fall into it, and was not recovered, funeral Obsequies were performed to it after a hundred Years were expired, at the Expence of the Publick, as we learn from *Servius* (b).

I don't find any thing in the *Egyptian* Antiquities that has an Affinity to the golden Bough which the *Sibyl* tells *Æneas* is necessary as a Passport, when he was to visit the infernal Regions. This Bough had been plucked from *Hecate's* or *Proserpine's* Grove :

*A mighty Tree, that bears a golden Bough,
Grows in a Vale surrounded with a Grove,
And sacred to the Queen of Stygian Jove.
Her neather World no Mortals can behold,
Till from the Bole they strip the blooming Gold.
The mighty Queen requires this Gift alone,
And claims the shining Wonder for her own.
One pluck'd away, a second Branch you see
Shoot forth in Gold, and glitter thro' the Tree.
Go then ; with Care erect thy searching Eyes,
And in proud Triumph seize the glorious Prize.*

Thy

(a) Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum, &c. Virg. l. 6.

(b) Si quis in fluvio pereat, nec ejus inveniatur cadaver, post centum annos ultima persolvuntur officia. Hinc extractum, centum errant annos, &c. *Servius*, in 6. *Æn.*

*Thy purpos'd Journey if the Fates allow,
Free to thy Touch shall bend the costly Bough.
If not, the Tree will mortal Strength disdain;
And Steel shall hew the glitt'ring Branch in vain.*

Ibid. 196.

Servius, who was desirous to trace the Original of this Fable (1), pretends that it is taken from a Ceremony, which *Orestes* upon his Return from *Tauris* founded in the Worship of *Diana*. That Heroe, after having deposited in a Temple the Statue of *Diana*, which he had stolen at *Thoas*, appointed this Temple and the Grove surrounding it, to be an inviolable Place of Refuge. In the Middle of this Grove was a Tree, from whose Approach all were debarred by a Priest of that Goddess; and if any Criminal, who had fled to this Place for Refuge, could pluck off a Branch of it, he was allowed to fight with the Priest; and if he overcame him, to take his Place.

The learned Jesuit, *La Cerda*, adopts what is said by this antient Commentator on *Virgil*: But it must be owned that if this be the Original of the golden Bough, 'tis a very remote one. I am therefore rather inclined to think that this Notion is the Product of poetical Imagination; and that however they borrowed from the *Egyptians* the greatest Part of what they have fabled about the Mansions of the other World; yet they also added some Circumstances for which they had no Model.

We are not to think the same Way of the two Gates, through which was the Passage from the infernal Regions, the one of Horn, the other of Ivory, since this Fable came from *Egypt*, as has been observed in the fifth Chapter; after this Manner are they described by the Poets: (2)

*Immur'd within the silent Bow'r of Sleep,
Two Portals firm the various Phantoms keep:
Of Iv'ry one; whence flit to mock the Brain,
Of winged Lies a light fantastick Train:*

D 4

The

(1) In 6. *Æn.* (2) *Odyss.* 19.

*The Gate oppos'd pellucid Valves adorn,
And Columns fair incas'd with polish'd Horn :
Where Images of Truth for Passage wait,
With visions manifest of future Fate.*

Pope's Odyss. XIX. 657.

Virgil also describes these two Gates ; and by making his Heroe pass through that of Ivory, destroys at one Stroke, and very preposterously methinks, all that he had advanced in one of the finest Books of his Poem. These are mere Imaginations as well as the Reflexions of the Commentators on *Virgil* and *Homer* ; not excepting *Madam Dacier* herself, who will have it that the transparent Horn figures Dreams that come from the Air, and the Ivory, which is an opaque Body, those that proceed from the Earth. That the latter coming from terrestrial Vapours are false, while the others coming from the Air and Heaven, are true. The Passage of Scripture which she applies on this Occasion, does not seem designed for explaining such Reveries (a). Here it may be asked what was the Foundation of those Journeys to the infernal Regions, performed by most of the fabulous Heroes. What gave Rise to them I take to have been the Conjunction of *Euridice's* Ghost by *Orpheus*. He being very deeply affected with the Death of his Spouse, of whom he was bereaved by a fatal Accident, went into *Theſprozie*, where was an Oracle of the Dead, and this Expedition was disguised in the Poem composed upon that Subject, under the Image of a Journey to Hell. *Homer* who imitated that antient Poet, makes *Ulysses* likewise descend thither to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost ; this pretended Journey, as has been already noticed, has all the Air of a Piece of Conjunction. Fable set forth in like Manner that *Theseus* and *Pyrrhus* had undertaken the same Journey to carry off *Proserpine* ; as also *Hercules* who had delivered *Theseus*, whom *Pluto* detained Prisoner, and carried off *Cerberus* with him, *Bacchus* too,

(a) 'Tis said in the *Ecclesiasticus*, *Nisi ab altissimo emissa fuerit visitatio, ne dederis in illis cor tuum* : Unless Dreams come from God, give no Heed to them.

too was made to descend thither, to consult his Mother *Semele* : *Pindarus* sends *Perseus* the same Way ; and *Virgil* gives *Æneas* the *Sibyl* of *Cuma* to conduct him to Hell. Lastly, *Herodotus* tells us, that *Rampsinibus* King of *Egypt*, had visited the Place where the *Greeks* said Hell was, that he had played there at Dice with *Ceres*, and sometimes had won, sometimes lost ; and that the Goddess had dismissed him with a valuable Present (a).

C H A P. IX.

Of the Judges of Hell.

IT was also from the *Egyptians* that the *Greeks* borrowed their Notion of the infernal Judges, as we have observed from *Diodorus Siculus*. However, if we would take their Word for it, this Fable was very antient among them, as we see in several Places of *Plato* (1). According to antient Tradition, said they, we learn that there was at all Times a Law established, that Men after this Life should be judged, in order to be rewarded or punished as their Actions were good or bad. Under the Reign of *Saturn*, and in the first Years of the Reign of *Jupiter*, this Sentence was pronounced immediately before Death ; which gave Occasion to flagrant Iniquities. Princes who had been unjust and cruel, appearing before their Judges with all the Pomp and Apparatus of their Power, and producing Witnesses who deposed in their Favour, because they dreaded their Wrath while they were yet in Life, the Judges, dazzled by this Pageantry, and seduced by those false Testimonies, declared the Princes innocent, and made them pass into the happy Mansion of the Just. The same thing we may say in Proportion as to the Virtuous, who were poor and unsupported, Calumny pursued them even to the last Tribunal, and

(a) L. 2. c. 122. *Gronovius* translates the Greek Word *Χειρομακτον χρυσεον* by *Mantile aureum*, which in *English* signifies a Cloath or Napkin of Gold, or rather wrought with Gold.

(1) In *Gorgia*, p. 523. In *Axiop.* p. 371.

and found a Way to get them condemned as flagitious in the other World. The Fable adds that upon the reiterated Complaints that were laid before *Jupiter*, and the strong Remonstrances that were made to him, he changed the Form of those Judgments. The Time was fixed to the very Moment after Death. *Rhadamanthus* and *Eacus*, the two Sons of *Jupiter*, were appointed the Judges, the first for the *Asiatics*, the other for the *Europeans*; and over them *Minos* to give a final Decision in dark and dubious Cases. Their Tribunal was erected in a Place called *the Field of Truth*, because there falshood and Calumny had no Access. There a Prince, so soon as he had expired, stood forth to View stripped of all his showy Grandeur, in his own proper Colours, without Guard or Attendance, quite speechless, and trembling for himself after he had made the whole Earth to tremble. If he was found guilty of Vices capable of being expiated, he was confined to *Tartarus* only for a Time, with Assurance to be set at Liberty so soon as he was sufficiently purified.

Minos, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus*, were therefore the three Personages who for their strict Probity were chosen to be the Judges in Hell. This would be the proper Place to give their History, but I shall have a more natural Occasion to speak of them elsewhere in the History of *Greece*, where they will have a large Part to act (1).

C H A P. X.

Of the Infernal Gods, Pluto, Ceres, Proserpine, and Cottytto.*

PLU^TO, the Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, or *Ops*, was the youngest of the three *Titan* Brothers, who escaped the Cruelty of their Father. We have already said that in the Division of the World Hell was his Lot, that is, *Italy*, and afterwards *Spain*. To the Arguments

(1) In the sixth Vol.

* Though *Ceres* is of the Number of the terrestrial Divinities, yet we join her History with that of *Pluto*, because of the Connection between them, and to avoid Repetitions.

ments already offered to prove that these are the two Countries designed by the *Greeks*, when they gave that Prince Hell for his Lot, I shall add what *Diodorus Siculus* says, namely, that this Fable arose from his being the first who founded the Custom of burying the Dead, of transferring them into Sepulchres, and of bestowing other Honours upon them, which before him had been neglected. But what Probability is there that Duties so natural would be overlooked till the Time of *Pluto*? 'Tis therefore much more probable that he was reckoned the King of Hell, because he lived in a very low Country in respect of *Greece*, where *Jupiter* had fixed his Empire; and the following are the true Foundations of a History which has been so much disguised.

Pluto having retired to the Extremity of *Spain*, applied himself greatly to carry on the working of the Gold and Silver Mines, which were very common, especially on the Side of *Cadiz*, where he fixed his Residence (a). Upon which 'tis proper to remark, that though *Spain* is not reckoned at this Day a Country fertile in Mines, yet the Antients speak of it to us as a Country where were many Mines of Gold and Silver: They tell us even by a kind of Hyperbole, that its Mountains and Hills were almost all Mountains of Gold (1); that nigh to *Tartesus* was a Mountain of Silver (2). *Aristotle* informs us that the first *Phœnicians* who landed there, found so great a Quantity of Gold and Silver, that they made their Anchors of those precious Metals. The Author of the Book of the *Maccabees* (3) speaking of the *Romans*, says that they, by the Conquest of *Spain*, made themselves Masters of the Mines of Gold and Silver that were in that

(a) *Betica* where *Pluto* settled, was that Province which we now call *Andalusia*; and the River *Betis*, now called *Guadaluquivir*, gave that Name to it. This River formed of old at its Mouth a small Island called *Tartesus*, with a City of that Name; this was the *Tartessus* of the Antients, whence *Tartarus* was formed.

(1) *Possidonius*. (2) *Avienus*. (3) *L. 1. c. 8.*

that Country (a). *Silius* the Poet calls *Spain* a Country fertile in Gold (b).

This doubtless is what obliged *Pluto*, who was ingenious in that kind of Work, to fix his Residence about *Tartesus*; and this is also what made him pass for the God of Riches, and go under the Name of *Pluto* (c), instead of that of *Agefilaus* which he had before; which has frequently made him be confounded with *Plutus* the God of Riches, whom we shall speak of in the following Chapter.

Farther, the Situation of *Pluto's* Kingdom, which was a very low Country in respect of *Greece*, made him pass for the God of Hell. Besides as he continually employed Labourers in the Mines, who are obliged to rake a far Way into the Bowels of the Earth, and in a Manner, as far as Hell and the gloomy Mansions of the Manes, in Search of hid Treasures (d), hence he was said to dwell in the Center of the Earth. Add to this that they who work in the Mines, commonly die there: *Pluto* was therefore reckoned the King of the Dead; and the very Name which he bore, *Ades*, signified *Death, Destruction* (e).

Moreover the Ocean, upon whose Coast he reign'd, was accounted a Place overspread with Darkness; and this, I reckon, is the Foundation of all the Fables that were invented afterwards concerning *Pluto* and his Realms of Darkness. 'Tis probable, for Example, that the famous *Tartarus*, that Place so noted in *Pluto's* Empire, comes from *Tartesus* which is near *Cadiz* (f): The River *Lethe* comes, not improbably, from the
Guadelethe

(a) Et quanta fuerunt in regione Hispaniæ, & quot in potestatem redegerunt metalla argenti & auri quæ illic sunt.

(b) - - - - - Jam terra cedit Ibera,
Auriferis tandem Phenix depulsus ab oris.

(c) Dicitur esse Pluto, ἀπὸ τῆς πλῆτης, hoc est, a divitiis, quæ ex terræ eruuntur visceribus.

(d) In sede manium opes quærimus, nos ad inferos agunt.
Plin. l. 32. c. 1.

(e) It seems to be formed from the Phœnician Word *Ed*, or *Aid*, exitium.

(f) See *Strabo* & *Don Pexron's* Antiquity of the *Celtæ*.

Guadelethe which runs over-against that City; and the Lake *Avernus* from the Word *Abarona*, importing, *at the Extremities*; a Name given to that Lake which is near the Ocean; accordingly *Pluto* was specially worshipped at *Cadis* under the Name of *Death*, as *Philostratus* remarks (a). As to which there can be no Doubt, since the *Phœnicians*, whose Language was established at *Cadis* with the Colonies that *Hercules* had planted there, called *Pluto Muth*, their Name for *Death* (b).

Add to this, that all the Names given to him in the several Countries where he was worshipped, have a Reference to this Title, *God of the Dead*. The *Latins* called him *Sumanus* (c), the *Sabines*, *Soranus*, a Word which has Affinity to that of *Coffin*; others *Orcus* or *Argus* (d) or *Februus* (e). The Keys that were put into his Hand instead of a Scepter, signified that this God had the Keys of a Kingdom whence there is no Return: The Sacrifice of black Sheep that were offered him, and other Things of that Nature, allude to the same. This God had several other Names, *Jupiter Stygius*, *Agésilauus*, *Agésander*, because he passed for a Leader of People and Colonies, *Ἀγεσιλαός*, Leader of People, *Ἀγεσάνδρως*, of Men; *Πλῆτος*, rich upon Account of the Mines; *Dis* or *Ades*, *a terra, sub terra ejus regnum*; *Dis-pater* or *Diespiter*. I said they offered black Victims to *Pluto*, to which I add that he had this in common with all the infernal Divinities. Ditches were Dug about the Altars, and the principal Ceremony consisted in pouring in thither the Blood of the Victims, as if it had been necessary for it to penetrate to the Kingdom of that God. Again whatever was of bad Presage was especially consecrated to him, for which Reason the *Romans* dedicated to him the second Month of the Year, and the second Day of the same Month; and that because, according to

(a) *Soli hominum festis cantibus Mortem celebrant*, says he of the People of *Cadis*.

(b) *Bochart*, *Chan. l. i. c. 34*. After *Sanchoniathon*.

(c) As much as to say, God of the *Manes*.

(d) *Quasi urgeret interitum*.

(e) From an old *Latin* Word *Februo*, *purgo*, *lustro*.

to a Principle diffused through *Italy* from the Time of *Pythagoras*, the Number two was of all Numbers the most unlucky, designing the bad Principle, and consequently Disorder and Confusion. *Plato* (1), the divine *Plato*, tinctured with the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*, compared this Number to *Diana* always barren, and consequently despised.

We have few Monuments of *Pluto*; but in those which Time has preserved, he is represented with his Scepter or Batton with two Points, to distinguish it from *Neptune's* Trident which had three. We find him likewise seated upon a Throne, holding a Scepter or a Spear in his left Hand, and with the Right giving *Cerberus* a Soap. Sometimes he has the *Calathus* upon his Head, because *Serapis* whose Symbol the *Calathus* is, was the same among the *Egyptians*, as *Pluto* among the *Greeks* (a).

Pluto, though retired to the utmost Extremity of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the Beauty of *Proserpine*, the Daughter of *Ceres* Queen of *Sicily*, and resolved, according to a Custom very common in those Times, to commit a Rape upon her; perhaps too having demanded her in Marriage, this young Princess would not quit her Mother, for a Climate that was looked upon as the Extremity of the World; other Princesses had probably been of the same way of Thinking, and this doubtless is what had given the Poets a Handle to say (b) that this God had complained heavily that though the Brother of *Jupiter*, and the richest Prince in the World, yet no body would marry him; thus he resolved to carry off *Proserpine* the Daughter of *Ceres*.

Dio (c), this was *Ceres's* Name, was Queen of *Sicily* (a),

(1) In *Timeo*.

(a) *Plutarch* in *Is. & Os. Heraclides*, *Porphyry*, &c.

(b) *Dux Erebi quondam timidus exarsit in iras*

Prælia moturus superis, quod solus egeret

Connubiis, sterileſque diu consumeret annos.

Claud. de raptu Proſerp. l. i.

(c) See the sixth Volume of the *Biblioth. Universelle*, where *M. le Clerc* explains this Fable after *Theodotius* and other Antients, *Eusebius*, &c.

ly (a). The Reign of this Princess was famed for the Care she took in teaching her People the Art of Agriculture; she also established several laws concerning Policy (1) and the Property of Lands, that every one might reap what he sowed without any Molestation (b): Hence this Queen came to be looked upon as the Goddess of Corn and of the Earth. 'Tis proper to remark however that *Ceres* taught Agriculture only to the *Greeks*; the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and several other People, exercised it a long Time before. 'Tis even very probable that this Art had not been quite unknown in *Sicily* and *Greece* till the Time of *Ceres*, and that it was only improved by that famous Queen.

In the mean Time *Pluto* terrified, even in the Bottom of *Hell*, by the Earthquakes in *Sicily*, occasioned by the Efforts which *Typhæus* used, to shake off the cumbersome Load of Mount *Etna*, under which he was buried, resolved to visit that Country, to see if there was not some Chasm made that penetrated even into his Kingdom, fearing that the affrighted Ghosts might see the Light of Day; and after having examined all narrowly, he stopped upon Mount *Eryx*.

Ceres had her ordinary Residence in a delightful Place in *Sicily* called *Enna (c)*, which signifies *charming Fountain (2)*, where were beautiful Meadows watered with perpetual Springs (d). Her only Daughter, who was called *Pherephata*, which imports *Plentiful Fruit*, was walking one Day in those charming Meadows, gathering Flowers with some Virgins of her Retinue, and the Sirens who accompanied them: *Pluto* saw her, fell in Love with her, carried her off, and in an Instant mounting his Chariot drawn by four Horses, pursued his Way directly to Hell, notwithstanding

(a) There was another *Ceres*, the Daughter of *Cælus*. *Boccace*, Lib. Gen. Deor.

(1) Porphy. l. 4. de Abs. §. 22.

(b) What *Virgil* calls, *Partiri limite campum*.

(c) Cic. in Verr. Diod. l. 5. Ovid. Fast. l. 4. & Met. l. 5. and others.

(2) Bochart, Chan. l. 1. c. 28.

(d) *Violis aliisque florum generibus viridans*. Diod. loc. cit.

withstanding the wise Remonstrances of *Minerva*, who endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from this Design. Arrived near *Syracuse*, he found a Lake near which was the Nymph *Cyane*, who after having reproached him for this Violence, was going to stop his Chariot; but *Pluto* with a Blow of his Scepter, opens to himself a Way which leads him to Hell. The Nymph abandoned to despair melts into Tears, and is transformed into Water.

Mean Time *Ceres* apprized of what had befallen her Daughter, run over Sea and Land in quest of her; and when she had travelled all the Day long, she lighted a Torch to continue her Search by Night. One Day as she was quite spent with Fatigue, and found no Fountain to quench her Thirst, she came and knocked at the Door of a Hut, whence came out an old Woman, named *Baubo*, of whom she asked some Drink. The good Woman having presented her with a Draught, the Goddess swallowed it so greedily, that a young Child who was in the Cottage fell a laughing; and *Ceres* provoked with the Indiscretion, threw upon the Child what remained in the Vase, and forthwith he was transformed into a Lizard. *Ceres*, upon her Departure, came near the Lake of *Syracuse*, and perceiving her Daughter's Veil floating upon the Water, she judged her Ravishers must have made their Escape that Way. But she could have got no farther Information of them (*Cyane*, who could have given her Intelligence, having lost the Use of Speech since her Metamorphosis) had it not been for *Arethusa*, a Fountain-Nymph of the same Name, whose Waters, coming from *Elis* into *Sicily*, glide under the Bottom of the Sea, and in the Confines of *Styx*. This Nymph informed the afflicted Goddess that she had seen *Proserpine*, and that she had been ravished by *Pluto*; adding, as an Abatement to her Grief, that her Daughter was a Queen and Spouse to the God of Hell. She entreated her at the same Time not to carry farther her Resentment against the Earth, become barren since
the

the Goddess had denied to it her precious Gifts, for it was not guilty of the Rape of her Daughter.

Upon this Intelligence *Ceres* mounts her Chariot, traverses the immense Regions of the Air; and arriving at *Olympus*, casts herself down at the Foot of *Jupiter's* Throne, and demands of him her Daughter, who was also his. *Jupiter* having let her know that *Pluto* was not a disadvantageous Match for *Proserpine*, assures her however that she should be given back to her, if she had kept a strict Abstinence since she had been in Hell; but that if she had ate the least Thing, Destiny opposed her Return.

Proserpine walking in the Gardens of the Elysian Fields, had plucked a Pomegranate; whereof she had ate some Grains, *Ascalaphus* who was the only one that had seen her, made his Court thereby to his Master, and all that *Jupiter* could do, was to order *Proserpine* to remain six Months of the Year with her Husband, and other six Months with her Mother.

The Indiscretion of *Ascalaphus* cost him dear, since *Proserpine*, by sprinkling him with the Water of *Styx*, transformed him into an Owl.

In the mean Time *Ceres*, satisfied with *Jupiter's* Decision, bethought her how to repair the calamitous Effects occasioned by Famine and Barrenness. As *Attica* had been more distressed by it than other Countries, she went to *Eleusis*, where after having informed *Trip- tolemus* of all that concerned Agriculture, she lent him her Chariot, and ordered him to travel through the whole Earth to teach its Inhabitants so necessary an Art. *Trip- tolemus* having traversed *Europe* and *Asia*, arrived in *Scythia* at the Court of *Lyncus*. This Tyrant, jealous of the Preference which the Goddess had given to that Prince, designed to assassinate him; but just as he was going to pierce his Heart, he was transformed into a Lynx, an Animal which is the Symbol of Cruelty.

Thus *Ovid*, and after him *Claudian*, in his fine Poem upon the Rape of *Proserpine*, relate this Adventure; and what is singular in it, the Historians agree

with the Poets, at least in the Main. *Strabo* (1) mentions the Meadows of *Enna* where *Proserpine* was carried off; and *Cicero*, who seems to take the Fact for granted, has left us a Description of this Place equally elegant and ornamented (2) *Diodorus* says in several Places that *Sicily*, of all the Countries in the Earth, had been most honoured by *Ceres's* Favours, and that there the Goddess had fixed her ordinary Residence. But as this Author must have been very well informed in the Antiquities of his own Country, and as he seems to have read the Writers who went before him, I think fit to copy all that he says upon this Subject. “The *Sicilians*, says he (3), hold by Tradition from “their Ancestors, that their Island is consecrated “to *Ceres* and her Daughter *Proserpine*; some Poets “have written, continues he, that at the Marriage “of *Pluto* with that Princess, *Jupiter* gave them “*Sicily* for a Nuptial Present; and the Historians, “who are accounted the most faithful, say it was “in *Sicily* that *Ceres* and *Proserpine* shewed themselves to Men for the first Time, and that this “Island is the first in the World where Corn grew.” *Homer*, the most celebrated of the Poets, has followed this Tradition, when he says, speaking of *Sicily*:

*The Soil untill'd a ready Harvest yields,
With Wheat and Barley wave the golden Fields,
Spontaneous Wines from weighty Clusters pour,
And Jove descends in each prolific Show'r.*

Pope's *Odyss.* 9. 123.

“Accordingly we see still in the *Leontine* Territory and several other Places of *Sicily*, wild Wheat “springing up of itself.”

This Author proceeds to give the Description of the Fields of *Enna* where *Proserpine* was carried off; and relates all the other Circumstances of this Fable in the Manner as we have now given them. He adds too that the *Syracusans* have a Custom of offering Oblations every Year, each according to his Abilities,

near

(1) L. 7. (2) *Verr.* sixth. (3) L. 5. c. 2.

near the Fountain *Cyane*, which *Pluto* made to spring up, when in that Place he opened a Way to himself with a Blow of his Trident, and that after those private Sacrifices they make a publick Offering of Bulls, whose Blood they shed over the same Fountain.

As *Attica*, says the same Author, was the Country most honoured with *Ceres's* Favours next to *Sicily*, the *Athenians* instituted in Honour of her, not only Sacrifices, but also the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, which became venerable for their Sanctity and Antiquity.

Again, the *Sicilians*, continues he, besides the annual Sacrifices which they performed at the Fountain *Cyane*, instituted Feasts in Honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; and they celebrated them in a Manner suitable to a People on whom those Goddesses had conferred so many distinguishing Marks of Respect. These Feasts they place in different Seasons of the Year, in Allusion to the different Appearances of the Corn. The Rape of *Proserpine* is celebrated towards the Time of the Harvest, and the Search of *Ceres*, in Seed Time. The Latter lasts six Days, with splendid and magnificent Apparatus. 'Tis also usual, while this Feast continues, to mix in Conversation some loose and wanton Expressions, because by such Talk *Ceres* had been diverted from her Affliction for the Loss of her Daughter.

After this Detail, *Diodorus* cites, in Confirmation of it, the Authority of antient Poets, especially that of *Carcinus*, who had often been Witness at *Syracuse* to the Devotion with which the *Sicilians* celebrated the Feasts we have been speaking of.

Besides the Cultivation of Corn, *Ceres*, as we are told by the same Historian, had given Laws to the *Sicilians*; and it was for that Reason she had the Name of *Thesmophoros* given her by the People. *It was not possible*, *Diodorus* judiciously observes, *that she could have made Men two finer Presents than to supply them with the Necessaries of Life, and to teach them to live virtuously* (a).

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Notwith-

(a) Other Places of *Diodorus*, where he repeats the same thing, we have waved.

Notwithstanding all these Testimonies, most Mythologists look upon the Rape of *Proserpine* to be only an Allegory which has an obvious Relation to Agriculture. Thus, according to them, the Division which *Jupiter* makes of the Time that this Goddess was to stay with her Husband and her Mother, means no more, but that the Grain, after having lodged six Months in the Earth, appears upon its Surface, grows up, and ripens. And as *Sanchoniathon* informs us that *Proserpine*, *Saturn's* Daughter, died very young, so the Fable may also be allegorized by saying, she was ravished by *Pluto*, only because the Name of that God among the *Phœnicians* is *Muth*, which signifies Death. However, ingenious Authors, relying upon the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, refer this Event to History; and as *Don Pezron* and *M. le Clerc* have supported it with most Probability, I shall quote what they say.

Pluto, says the former of those Authors (1), though retired to the Extremity of *Spain*, which fell to his Lot, yet had Information of the Beauty of *Proserpine* his Niece (a), and having sent one of his Captains into *Sicily*, who found her with few Attendants, had her carried off without Resistance, and put her into a Chariot, which carried her to the Borders of the Sea, near *Syracuse*, where she was embarked and conducted into *Spain*. As we ascribe to the commanding Officer what is done by his Orders, so it was said that *Pluto* himself carried her off. We may farther add that he used Violence, because after Proposals of Marriage with her, *Ceres* had given him a Denial; and hereby would be verified what we are told by the Poets, namely, that this God had often complained, that, though *Jupiter's* Brother, and the richest Prince of the World, he had not been able to find a proper Match (b), as has been already said.

Besides,

(1) Ant. of the Language of the *Celtæ*.

(a) She was the Daughter of *Ceres* and of *Jupiter* his Brother, accordingly *Virgil* says, *Castâ licet patrui servet Proserpina limen*. *Æn.* l. 6.

(b) *Dux Erebi quondam tumidas exarsit in iras.*

Besides, Rapes were very common in those Times, especially when the Parents refused the Person who was courted for Marriage.

M. le Clerc (1), who has explained this Fable perfectly well, alledges that it was not *Pluto* carried off *Proserpine*, but *Aidoneus* the King of *Epirus*, or *Orcus* King of the *Molossi*. As *Aidoneus* employed Labourers in the Mines, and as in the Way to his Country it was necessary to pass a River named *Acheron*, hence this Prince was often confounded with *Pluto*. *Epirus*, which was a very low Country with Respect to the rest of *Greece*, was taken for Hell itself, and we know that *Theseus's* Travels, and after him those of *Hercules* into that Country, were looked upon as Journeys to Hell.

These things premised, that Author proves that *Ceres* or *Dio* reigned in *Sicily* at the same Time that *Aidoneus* governed *Epirus*. The Reign of that Princess was renowned for the Care she took to teach her People Agriculture. She also founded Policy, and settled the Property of Lands, that every one might reap what he sowed without any Molestation.

However ingenious this Explication of *M. le Clerc's* is, I cannot persuade myself that the Rape of *Proserpine* can be ascribed to *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus*, since that Prince lived only in the Time of *Theseus* and *Pyrrhous*, that is, about fifty Years before the Siege of *Troy*, whereas the *Titan* Prince, who went under the Name of *Pluto*, reigned several Ages before. Is it probable that *Ceres* was the first who taught *Sicily* and *Greece* the Art of Agriculture, only in the Time of *Hercules* and *Theseus*? Did they live then upon Acorns and wild Herbs? And had not *Greece* learned, from the Time of *Lycaon* and *Phoroneus*, to substitute more solid food in Place of that which they had in common with the Beasts.

M. le Clerc, I know, distinguishes two *Aidoneus's*; the one cotemporary with *Theseus*, and the other with *Abraham* or *Isaac*; and he says it was in the Time of

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(1) Bib. Univ. Tom. 6.

the former that *Proserpine* was ravished ; but besides that these two Princes resemble one another too much not to be the same, we may truly say it is but a Question about a Name, and that he calls that Prince *Aidoneus* to whom others give the Name of *Pluto*.

But not to insist, 'tis not improbable that those two Explications are no better themselves than two new Fables. Is it to be imagined that *Ceres*, when she was in Quest of her Daughter who was ravished from her, established her own Worship among the *Athenians* ; that *Erechtheus* would admit of Feasts which she herself had founded in her own Life-time ; and that *Triptolemus*, whose Father reigned in that Time in *Eleusis*, was Priest to a Woman who was not able to find out her own Daughter.

I know several Chronologists, and particularly the celebrated Sir *Isaac Newton*, relying upon the Authority of *Greek* Writers, endeavour to fix the Time when *Ceres* lived ; that they determine the Date of her Expedition from *Sicily* to *Athens* ; speak of the Year of her Death, and of the Worship that was paid her not long after. But notwithstanding these Authorities, I am persuaded that we are not to seek in *Greece* for any other *Ceres* than the *Iris* of the *Egyptians*, nor for other Mysteries than those of that Goddess. We are unquestionably certain that almost all the Gods of the *Greeks* and their Worship, came from the eastern Countries, and especially from *Egypt*, with the Colonies that had peopled *Greece* at different Times ; and if there are any of them about whose Transportation we may be certain, it is *Bacchus* or *Osiris*, and *Ceres* or *Isis* : What therefore had given Rise to the Fable is this. *Greece* was infested with a severe Famine under the Reign of *Erechtheus*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus* (1) ; *Ovid* too gives a beautiful and ample Description of this Famine. The *Athenians*, whose Soil was not very fertile, were more distressed by it than their Neighbours. *Erechtheus* thought fit to send to *Egypt* in quest of Corn, and those whom he had sent

(1) L. 18.

sent brought, besides the Corn that was sold to them, the Worship and Ceremonies of the Divinities who presided over Agriculture.

The Calamity which they had lately suffered, and the Dread they had of being again overtaken with the same, made them embrace, without Opposition, the Mysteries of a Goddess who was thought to have Power to secure them from it. *Triptolemus* at the same Time received that Worship into *Eleusis*. He himself would needs be the first Priest of *Ceres* or *Isis*, and as he lived in Plenty himself, he took Care to assist his Neighbours by teaching them the Mysteries which he had now learned. *Sicily* had embraced the Mysteries of that Goddess some Time before, and this was the Reason of its being given out that *Ceres* had come from *Sicily* to *Athens*. They added that her Daughter had been ravished, because the Corns and Fruits, which her Name designs, had ceased for some Time to yield Subsistence. Again it was said that *Pluto* had carried her away to Hell, because the same Fruits had remained all that Time as it were buried in the Center of the Earth; in fine, that *Jupiter* had decided the Quarrel between *Ceres* and *Pluto*, because they saw the Earth again covered with new Harvests. Here is the Foundation of this Fable; the Introduction of the Mysteries of *Ceres* into *Sicily* and *Greece*. Nor is what I advance without Proof, since *Herodotus* positively says that the *Thesmophoria*, one of the principal Feasts of *Ceres*, were introduced thither by the Daughters of *Danaus*.

Some famous Poet, whose Name is defaced in the XIV. Æra of the *Arundel* Marbles, celebrated this Event in a Poem, as we are told in that Æra: And 'tis proper to remark, 1. That this Poem, which *Ovid* had undoubtedly read, was composed ten Years after the Arrival of *Ceres*. 2. That the Author of the Chronicle of these Marbles considers the Rape of *Proserpine* as a Fable, together with *Ceres's* Travels, and the other Circumstances intermixed with this Event; which undoubtedly imports that the Poet, whom he speaks of in that Place, had extremely disguised

guised the History of the Translation of *Ceres's* Worship into *Attica*.

If however there are learned Men who, with *Diodorus Siculus*, are inclined to maintain that there really was a *Ceres* in *Sicily*, who gave Laws of Agriculture, we may for their Satisfaction suppose that she, having lost her Daughter, and come to *Attica* in Quest of her, taught *Triptolemus* the Mysteries of *Isis*, and that the *Greeks* having put herself afterwards among the Gods, her Worship came to be confounded with that of the Goddess of the *Egyptians*.

In the Treaty which *Ceres* made with *Pluto*, *Jupiter* granted her the Return of her Daughter, on Condition that she had ate nothing since her Arrival in Hell. *Ascalaphus* having informed that he had seen her eat six Kernels of a Pomegranate, which she had gathered in the Gardens of Hell, the Decree was reversed, and *Jupiter* ordered *Proserpine* to be six Months in Hell and six Months with her Mother ; or, as we have it in *Apollodorus* (1), nine Months with *Ceres* and three Months with *Pluto*. That Princess, to be revenged upon *Ascalaphus* for his Indiscretion, metamorphosed him into an Owl.

Ascalaphus, say they who maintain that *Proserpine* was really stole away by *Pluto*, was one of that Prince's Courtiers, who having advised his Master to the Rape of *Proserpine*, did all in his Power to defeat *Ceres's* Negotiations, and hinder her Daughter from being given back. *Proserpine* afterwards put him to Death, and this is what gave Rise to the Fable : The pernicious Counsels which he had given his Master were the Cause of his Death. His Transformation into an Owl is only a Metaphor, representing to us an odious Person ; unless you will chuse rather to say, that this Fable was published only to figure to us that he kept himself always hid in *Pluto's* Mines, whereof he was the Overseer, and where he died. 'Tis probable that he was crushed to Death by the Fall of some Rock ; which gave the Poets a Handle to feign that

(1) L. 1.

that *Proserpine* had covered him with a huge Stone, as may be seen in *Apollodorus* (1), who will have 'it that he was punished in that Manner by *Ceres* herself. The Name of *Ascalaphus* imports *one who breaks Stones in Pieces*, and this Name was probably given him to denote his Office. Some Authors contend that he was transformed into a kind of Lizard, which the *Greeks* call *Ascalabos*, and no doubt 'tis the Similitude of Names that gave them a Hint to say so.

Ovid adds, that the Nymph *Cyane* reproaching *Pluto* for the Violence he offered to *Proserpine*, was changed by that God into a Fountain; a Circumstance which I take to have no other Foundation but that it was near that Fountain which runs in the Confines of *Syracuse*, that *Pluto's* Emissaries embarked. What the same Poet adds, that a Virgin named *Menta*, whom *Proserpine* changed into a Plant which still bears her Name, and which the *Greeks* call *Hedyosmos*, because of its fine Smell, probably means that that Queen, not being able to bear a Rival to share her Husbands Affection, put her to Death. The Resemblance of Names made those who wrote this History of that Court to invent the Transformation.

In the same Place there is also Mention made of the Syrens who accompanied *Proserpine* at the Time she was carried off. But that I may not be obliged to make Repetitions I refer to what I have said of them in the History of the Sea Gods (2). All I shall say now is, that *Ovid* feigned that the Syrens, who accompanied *Proserpine* when she was carried away, obtained from the Gods to become Birds, that they might go in Quest of her, probably because the Syrens, who inhabited upon the Coasts of *Italy*, pretty near *Sicily*, having learnt the Misfortune which had befallen that Princess, fitted out a Ship with Sails to go in Search of her.

The Fable of the Fountain *Arethusa*, and of the Amours of the River *Alpheus* her Lover, who crossed so many Countries to visit his Mistress, is founded,
according

(1) Loc. cit. (2) B. I. c. 102

according to the learned *Bochart* (1), only upon a Quibble in the Language of the first Inhabitants of *Sicily*. The *Phenicians* who settled there, having found that Fountain encompassed with Willows, called it *Alpbaga*, which signifies *the Fountain of Willows*; others gave it the Name of *Arith*, which signifies *a Stream*. The *Greeks*, who arrived there some Time after, not understanding the Meaning of these two Words, and calling to Mind their *Alpheus* which runs in *Elis*, imagined that because the Fountain and the River had nearly the same Name, *Alpheus* must needs have passed through the Sea all the Way to *Sicily*, near the Fountain *Arethusa*. The Notion appeared ingenious to some of the Wits of that Age, who thereupon composed the Romance of the Amours of the River-God and the Nymph *Arethusa*. Most of the antient Historians have been deluded by this Fable, since they have seriously advanced that the River *Alpheus* passed through the Sea, and came into *Sicily* to flow near the Fountain *Arethusa*. This Fable must even have been well supported, since the Oracle of *Delphos* ordering *Archias* to go and plant a Colony of *Corinthians* at *Syracuse*, the Priestess expressed herself in these Terms: *Go into that Isle where the River Alpheus mingles his Waters with those of the beautiful Arethusa*. *Pausanias* (2), who reckons the Story of the Amours of *Alpheus* and *Arethusa* a Fable, influenced by the Authority of so exprels an Oracle, dares not deny but that River runs through the Sea, though he does not see the Possibility of the Thing.

As the famous *Triptolemus*, Son of *Ceres* and *Neera*, was one of those who gave *Ceres* the best Entertainment when she arrived in *Attica*, hence they fabled that this Goddess had taught him the Art of Agriculture, and sent him in her Chariot, drawn by winged Dragons, to propagate through all the World an Art so necessary to Mankind. They add, that she had nursed him with her own Milk; a strong Expression to intimate to us the Care which she had taken to form that Prince's Education. They even went so far as to

say,

(1) *Chan. l. 1. c. 18.*(2) *In Eliac.*

say, that *Ceres* put him into the Fire by Night to purify him, and took him out of it every Morning ; metaphorical Expressions setting forth that this Prince, in order to be initiated into the Mysteries of *Isis*, passed through all the Trials that were used on that Occasion. All these mysterious Fables, as well as the Arrival of *Ceres* in *Attica*, which is so finely represented upon a Marble Tomb ingeniously explained by M. *de Boze* in a Dissertation published in the fourth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles-Lettres ; all these Fables, I say, have no other Foundation but the Introduction of the Worship of *Ceres* into *Greece*, and especially into *Attica*, as we have already proved. *Triptolemus*, who reigned there, came to *Eleusis* by Sea, as we learn from *Philochorus*, to carry Corn into different Countries, where at the same Time he taught the Mysteries of *Ceres*, whereof he himself was Priest. Before he set out, he had sowed Corn in a Field of *Attica* named *Raria*, as we learn from the tenth Æra of the *Arundel* Marbles. This without Doubt is the Key and Resolution of all these Fables ; for certainly it refers to the Time when the Worship of *Ceres*, then so antient in *Egypt*, was received in *Greece*, and not to that of Agriculture, which had been known there long before ; unless we chuse to understand it of a new Method of cultivating the Ground, which the *Greeks* learned in their Travels to *Egypt*, and put in Practice at that Time. The Marbles now quoted, fix this Date under the Reign of *Erechtheus* ; that is, according to the Commentators on those Marbles, 1426 Years before *Jesus Christ*, 280 or thereby before the *Trojan War* (1).

But here a Difficulty occurs, which I believe has never been hitherto taken Notice of ; namely that the *Arundel* Marbles, which point out the three Dates of those Events, don't range them as other Authors who speak of them. In the first of those Æras, which is the twelfth, they make *Ceres* come into *Attica* : In the

(1) We shall see in the sixth Volume that we must bring this Date 100 Years nearer.

the thirteenth they say *Triptolemus* began to sow Corn in the Fields of *Eleusis*; and 'tis only in the fourteenth that Mention is made of the Rape of *Proserpine*, and according to this antient Monument, so much to be regarded for many Characters of Truth, the Arrival of *Ceres* at *Athens*, precedes the Rape of her Daughter 10 Years : I am sorry that the learned Commentators who have examined this Monument, have taken no Notice of this.

The Hazard which *Triptolemus* run in his Travels undoubtedly gave Rise to the Fable of *Lyncus*, whose Cruelty they have figured by transforming him into a Lynx. *Triptolemus* happily escaped the Hands of that Tyrant, who jealous of his Reputation, had a mind to put him to Death. The Fable of *Triptolemus*'s being drawn in a Chariot by winged Dragons, is taken from an Ambiguity in the *Phœnician* Language, whereof the Word used in this History signifies either *winged Dragons*, or a Ship adorned with Iron Beaks, as we are told by *Bochart* (1), and after him by *M. le Clerc*. However I am inclined to the Opinion of *Philochorus*, cited by *Eusebius*, who says, that this Ship was taken for a flying Dragon, because it had upon its Prow the Figure of a Dragon.

Though I am persuaded that the Fables now explained, have no other Foundation but the Introduction of *Ceres*'s Worship into *Greece*, yet 'tis proper to quote here what we learn from a Fragment of *Stobæus* (2), where it is said that *Erechtheus*, who was at War with the *Eleusmians*, learned from the Oracle that he should be victorious if he sacrificed his Daughter *Proserpine*; which, if true, may have given Rise to the Fable.

Another Fragment, which is *Homer*'s, cited by *Pausanias* (3), teaches us the Names of the first *Greeks*, who were initiated into the Mysteries of *Ceres*. These were, according to that Poet, *Triptolemus*, *Celeus*, *Eumolpus*, and *Diocles*. *S. Clemens Alexandrinus* (4) names them *Baubon*, *Disaules*, *Eubuleus*, *Eumolpus*, and *Triptolemus*. I am apt to suspect it was *Eumolpus* himself, or *Museus* his

(1) Hier. l. 3. c. 14. (2) Serm. 38. (3) In Corinth. (4) In Proem.

his Father, that compos'd the Poem we have mentioned in Honour of *Ceres*, and this is the Opinion of *Strabo* and *Pausanias*. This *Eumolpus* being the *Hierophantes* of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, was in so great Reputation that he made War upon *Erechtheus*. The two Generals were slain in the Battle, and it was agreed that the *Erechthidæ* should be Kings of *Athens*, and the *Eumolpidæ* content themselves with the Dignity of *Hierophantes*.

After having explained all the Fables that have any Connection with the History of *Ceres*, I am next to speak of the Mysteries that were instituted in Honour of her.

C H A P: XI.

Of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and other Feasts of Ceres.

I Am not to enlarge much upon a Subject which *Meursius* has thoroughly canvass'd, of whose Works we have an excellent Abstract by *M. le Clerc*; but because I might be censured if I said nothing of a Particular which has so much Connection with the History of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, I shall give a brief Account of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. And what I am to say of them shall be reduced to three Heads. First, I shall treat of the Festivals, then of the Initiated, lastly, of the Priests that celebrated them.

The *Sicilians*, in Gratitude for the Obligations they lay under to this Goddess, founded Feasts and Mysteries to perpetuate the Memory of her good Services. The Time of the Year marked out the Reason of their Institution, since they were celebrated a little before Harvest in Honour of *Proserpine*, and in Seed-time in Honour of *Dio*. Both of their Feasts were celebrated with a great deal of Solemnity; and *Diodorus Siculus* informs us that in the Latter, which lasted six Days, they represented Mens antient Manner of living before the Invention of Agriculture.

The Inhabitants of *Attica*, gratefully affected with the Services of *Ceres*, as well as the *Sicilians*, distinguish-
ed

ed themselves also by Feasts instituted to her Honour. The former was called *Proerosia*, because it was celebrated before sowing and tilling; and the Goddess was termed *Proerosia*, according to the Custom of the Antients who gave their Gods as many Names as they had Feasts and Temples.

The second, which was celebrated at *Athens* some Time after, namely, about the Middle of *October*, was named *Thesmophoria*, that is, *the Feast of the Legislatress*; it was instituted by *Triptolemus*: But some *Egyptian* Ceremonies, afterwards added that had a Reference to *Orpheus* and the *Danaids*, made some Antients say, that it was a Feast of *Isis* and *Osiris*, propagated from *Egypt* to *Greece*. This Feast lasted five Days at *Athens*, and two Women born of lawful Wedlock were chosen every Day to preside therein; and they took Care to have Sacrifices offered according to their Means, by the Hands of a Priest named *Stephanophorus*, or *Crowned*. They set out from *Athens* to *Eleusis*, when they performed Sacrifices on the second of the Month *Pyanepsion*, which answers in part to our *October*; and that Day was called *Anodos*, that is, *the Ascent*, because they went up to *Eleusis*. The same Women bore upon their Heads the Books of the Laws of *Dio*, and sung Hymns to her Honour. When they arrived, they lived very reserved, remote from the Company of Men, and appeared in a modest Habit, and without Crowns upon their Heads; abstaining especially from eating Pomegranates, whose Fruit had been so fatal to the Goddess: They even fasted the third Day, which they passed in the Temple of *Ceres*, sitting at the Feet of her Altars. Then they rallied one another to provoke mutual Laughter, as *Beubo* had done to *Ceres*, when she came into her Hut.

Last of all, they performed Sacrifices in secret, the Ceremonies whereof were not allowed to be divulged. The Feast ended with a Sacrifice named *Zemia*, that is, *of Atonement*, being designed to expiate the Faults they had committed during the Solemnity.

The

The third Feast was celebrated in the Month of *December*, and was called *Alca*, from the Word *Alos* which signifies, *a Barn Floor*, because that was the Time when they used to thresh the Corn, and to be in the Barns. But the most solemn was that which was celebrated at *Eleusis*, in the Month of *August*; it was named by Way of Excellence, *the Mysteries*. By whom this Festival was instituted is not agreed. Some Authors would have it to have been by *Erechtheus*, others by *Museus*, or *Eumolpus*, or *Orpheus* (a). These Things had given Rise to its Institution; the Invention of Agriculture, the Laws of *Ceres*, and the other Adventures which befel her at *Eleusis*; and the Memory of all these was kept up by particular Ceremonies (a). Thus this Solemnity comprehended the Motives of all the rest.

The *Eleusinian* Mysteries were of two Sorts, the Greater and the Lesser; one Qualification requisite to both was to be able to keep a great Secret. Though *Tripotlemus* had appointed that no Stranger should be capable of being initiated into the great Mysteries, yet *Hercules*, to whom they durst refuse nothing, demanded to be admitted to them, and upon his Account other Ceremonies were instituted, which they called the Lesser Mysteries, and these were celebrated afterwards at *Agra* near *Athens*. Those who were ambitious of being admitted to them, repaired to this Place in the Month of *November*, sacrificed to *Jupiter*, and kept the Skins of the Victims to lay under their Feet when they were purified upon the Banks of the River *Ilissus*. We know not exactly what Sort of Ceremonies were made Use of in those Purifications; only that Salt was there employed, Leaves of the Laurel-Tree, Barley and Crowns of Flowers, Sea-Water and River-Water: He who performed the Ceremony was called *Udranos*, because he poured Water upon

(a) It was in the Month *Boedromion*, which answers in part to our Month of *August*.

(b) See *Meusius* in his Treatise of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, and *M. le Clerc*, *Bibl. Univ.* Tom. 6.

upon the Candidates for the Mysteries. It was also necessary, during that whole Time, to keep strictly chaste; and, last of all, to sacrifice a Sow with young. These lesser Mysteries served as a Preparation for the greater ones, which were celebrated at *Eleusis*; and by their Means Persons were initiated into the secret Ceremonies of *Ceres*. After having passed thro' a good many Trials, the Person was *Mystes*, that is, qualified for being very soon initiated into the greater Mysteries, and to become *Epoetes*, or the Witness of the most secret Mysteries, which was not procured till after five Years Probation; during which, he might enter into the Vestible of the Temple, but not into the Sanctuary: And even when he was *Epoetes*, and enjoyed that Privilege, there were still many Things, the Knowledge whereof was reserved to the Priests alone.

When one was initiated, he was introduced by Night into the Temple, after having his Hands washed at the Entry, and a Crown of Myrtle put upon him. Then was opened a little Box wherein were the Laws of *Ceres*, and the Ceremonies of her Mysteries; and after having given him these to read, he was made to transcribe them. A slight Repast, in memory of that which the Goddess had got from *Baubo*, succeeded this Ceremony; after which, the *Mystes* entered into the Sanctuary, over which the Priest drew the Veil, and then all was in Darkness in the twinkling of an Eye. A bright Light succeeded, and exhibited to View the Statue of *Ceres* magnificently adorned; and while they were attentive in considering it, the Light again disappeared, and all was once more wrapped up in profound Darkness. The Peals of Thunder that were heard, the Lightnings that flashed from all Hands, the Thunder that broke in the midst of the Sanctuary, and a thousand monstrous figures that appeared on all Sides, filled the Initiated with Horror and Consternation; but the next Moment a Calm succeeded, and there appeared in broad Daylight a charming Meadow, where all came to dance and make merry together.

'Tis

'Tis probable that this Meadow was in a Place inclosed with Walls behind the Sanctuary of the Temple, which they opened all of a sudden when the Day-light was let in ; and this Scene appeared the more agreeable, that it succeeded a Night when nothing but doleful and hideous Objects were to be seen. There it was that amidst Jollity and Mirth all the Secrets of the Mysteries were revealed ; there, according to some Authors, the most unbounded Licentiousness reigned ; the *Myllos* was there exhibited, which the *Sicilians* bore about in the Feasts of *Ceres*, and *Tertullian* adds the *Phallus* of the *Egyptians*. But after all, we know not well what passed there, these Mysteries having been long kept an impenetrable Secret ; and had it not been for some Libertines who got themselves initiated in order to divulge them, they had never been brought to Light. This much is true, that the greatest Modesty, and even a pretty severe Chastity was exacted from the *Mystæ* and Women who presided over the Feasts of this Goddess. The Purifications and Oblations that were there practised, would make one imagine they were not so dissolute as some Authors have alledged ; unless we will say that the Abuses which the Fathers of the Church speak of were not in the primitive Institution, but had only crept into them afterwards. The Night being spent in these Ceremonies, the Priest dismissed the Assembly with some barbarous Words, which shews that they had been instituted by People who spoke another Language (*a*), namely by the *Egyptians*, and in a Word that they were the same, as has been already said, with the Mysteries of *Isis*, but to which the *Greeks* had, in Process of Time, added a great many Ceremonies of their own.

After having spoke of the Initiated, we must, before we be done, say something of the Ministers who officiated in these Festivals. The first was a *Hierophantes*, or a *Mystagogos*, that is, a Man who shews

Vol. III. F the

(*a*) These Words were *Conx* and *Om pax*, which *M. le Clerc* takes to signify, *to watch and do no Evil*.

the Sacred Things^(a), and the Initiated were not permitted to mention his Name to the Profane. This *Hierophantes* was to be an *Athenian* of the Family of the *Eu-molpidae*, of a certain Age, with other Qualifications prescribed by the Laws, and was especially to keep a perpetual Continence. The second was a *Daduchus* or *Torch-bearer*. The third a *Sacred Herald*. The fourth a *Minister of the Altar*; this was a young Man who put up Prayers in Behalf of the Assembly, and was subject to the superior Ministers. Besides these four Ministers there were two Prophets to do Sacrifice, and five Delegates, to see that all Things were performed in Order; the first was called the *King*, and the other four *Epimeletes*.

The Feast of Initiation lasted nine Days; the first was called *Agyrmos*, or *Day of the Assembly*; and it was taken up in the Ceremonies I have been speaking of. On the second, the *Mystæ* were sent to the Sea to bathe themselves. On the third was sacrificed a Barbel with Flower and Cakes. On the fourth Oxen were yoked in a Chariot whose Wheels were made like Drums. The Women walked along with the Chariot, crying *Heil, Mother Dio!* and bearing little Boxes in which were Cakes, Wool, Pomegranates, and Poppies. None of the Profane durst look upon this Chariot; and whoever happened to be at the Windows were obliged to withdraw. On the fifth they walked the Streets all Night long, in Imitation of the Search which *Ceres* had made for her Daughter. On the sixth they carried from *Eleusis* to *Athens* a large Statue of a young Man, crowned with Myrtle, and bearing in his right Hand a Torch; him they called *Jacchos*, a Name which *M. le Clerc* derives from the *Phœnician* *Eaach*, an Interjection of Joy and Transport. And indeed this Statue was accompanied with loud Exclamations of Joy and with Dancing; and 'tis very probable that it represented some of those who accompanied *Ceres* in her Affliction. On the seventh were celebrated the *Gymnic Games*, where the Combatants

were

(a) He was likewise sometimes called *Prophet*.

were naked : These were the most antient Games of *Greece*, instituted in Memory of the Invention of Tillage. The eight Day was employed in initiating those on whom the Ceremony had not hitherto been performed. This Day was termed *Epidauria*, because *Esculapius* had arrived on that Day from *Epidaurus* to be initiated ; a Favour which they were very willing to grant him. The Ninth was employed in filling two Vessels with Water, after which they were emptied in pronouncing some Words, whereby it seems they supplicated the Goddess for Rain, to fructify the Earth (1), and that Day was termed *Plemenchœ*, a Word importing *an earthen Vessel flat at Bottom*.

These were the greatest Mysteries of *Greece*, into which every body was desirous to be initiated : The whole represented the History of *Ceres*, her Laws, and the Care she had taken of Agriculture. Secrecy was therein especially enjoined with great Strictness, not so much to hide their Abominations, as because the Initiated were thereby let into the Secret History of *Ceres* and her Daughter, which was necessary to be concealed from the Public, lest had it been known that these two Goddesses had only been mortal Women, their Worship should have become contemptible ; which is the Opinion of *M. le Clerc* after *Meursius* and some of the Antients. This Opinion is favoured by *Cicero* (2), while he insinuates that it was the Humanity of *Ceres* and her Daughter, their Places of Interment, and several other Things of that Nature, that they concealed with so much Care. In the mean Time 'tis proper to remark that the Initiated were allowed to converse together upon these Things, which made the Secret the less uneasy to them.

Lastly, before I conclude the History of *Ceres*, it remains that I describe the Manner of representing her, and what Victims were offered to her. *Ceres* appears commonly upon antient Monuments like a Woman with a very big Belly, crowned with Ears
F 2 of

(1) *M. le Clerc*, loc. cit. (2) *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 1. c. 13.

of Corn, and holding in her Hand a Branch of Poppy : A Circumstance alluding to what we are told by some of the Antients, that upon *Ceres's* Arrival in *Greece*, some Grains of Poppy were given her to dispose her to Sleep, which she had not enjoyed since the Rape of her Daughter, besides that this Plant is very fertile. To her the first Fruits were offered, and her usual Victim was the Sow, because that Animal is very pernicious to Corn-fields. At her Sacrifices they did not use Crowns of Flowers, but of Myrtle or Narcissus's to figure the Mourning-dress she had wore since *Proserpine's* unlucky Adventure ; and the *Sicilians*, in imitation of their Queen, run up and down in the Night Time with Torches in their Hands ; this was one of the principal Ceremonies of their Feasts, as has been already said.

As to what remains, though it be neither necessary nor possible to explain all the Circumstances of these Fables, I should be glad however that some body would favour us with some Conjectures about them. We are told that while *Ceres* was in Quest of her Daughter, *Neptune* meeting her fell in Love with her ; that the Goddess having concealed herself under the Form of a Mare, the God of the Sea transformed himself into a Horse to seduce her, with which she was so highly offended, that after having washed herself in a River, she returned into a Cave and there lay concealed. In the mean Time Famine and Pestilence beginning to ravage the whole Earth during the Absence of the Goddess, the Gods made search for her every where, without being able to get any Information of her, till *Pan* keeping his Flocks discovered her, and apprized *Jupiter* of it : He sent the fatal Sisters, who by their Prayers brought her from her Retreat. This Cave was in *Sicily*, and there was to be seen a Statue of *Ceres* clad in Black, with a Horses Head, holding a Pigeon in one Hand and a Dolphin in the other. The *Sicilians* called her *the black Ceres*, or *the Erinnyes*, because the Outrages offer-

ed

ed her by *Neptune* had turned her frantic and furious.

The Mythologists, I know, will discover in this Fable several pretty Allegories; happy he who shall light upon the true one. In the mean Time, I offer it as a Conjecture of my own, that possibly they had no other View in this whole Fiction, but to signify that *Ceres*, in Quest of her Daughter over Sea and Land, suffered some Insult from a Pirate, whose Ship bore the Figure of a Horse; which Story they veiled under the mysterious Fable now related.

I joyn *Cotytto* with *Proserpine*, several Mythologists being of Opinion that this was only a Sirname of that Goddess, founded upon the Resemblance between the Mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and those which the *Athenians* celebrated in Honour of *Cotytto*. 'Tis true, a great many Obscenities were committed in both; but that is not enough to persuade us that *Cotytto* was only the Sirname of *Proserpine*. I take them to have been two Goddesses quite distinct from one another; this at least is the Opinion of *Strabo* (1), who says, that *Cotytto* was a Goddess worshipped in *Thrace*; and *Synefius*, in his Epistles, agrees with *Strabo*.

The Priests of *Cotytto* had the Name of *Baptæ*, and were justly looked upon as the vilest of Men, upon Account of the obscene Rites with which they defiled themselves without any Check or Controul. And to be sure they must have carried Debauchery very far, since *Juvenal*, who paints them to the Life with one Stroke, says, they tired out their Goddess *Cotytto*, though she was the Goddess of Lewdness.

Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Cotytto (2)

The *Athenians* had received from the *Thracians* the Mysteries of this filthy Deity, which were called *Cotyttea*, and they celebrated them with a great deal of Solemnity; but in a Secret and mysterious Manner, as we are told by *Juvenal*. *Eupolis* had composed

F 3

a Co.

(1) L. 10.

(2) Sat. 2.

a Comedy intituled *Cotyto*, where he rallied those Mysteries, and particularly *Alcibiades* who participated in them; which cost that Poet his Life.

If we may believe the antient Scholiast upon *Juvenal*, 'tis these Mysteries and the Obscenities therein committed that *Canidia* speaks of in *Horace* (1).

*Inultus ut tu viseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis.*

And do you still hope for Impunity, after having exposed the Mysteries of the Goddess Cotyto, and divulged those Rites that are sacred to the Freedoms of Love?

CHAP. XII.

Plutus the God of Riches.

AS we rake into the very Bosom of Hell, says *Pliny*, in Search of Riches, and are led thereby to the gloomy Kingdom of the Dead, 'tis not without Reason that *Pluto* has been ranked among the Gods of the infernal Regions. *And would to God!* exclaims the Poet *Timocréon* (a), by way of Apostrophe to this God, *you had always remained in those gloomy Mansions, and had never been seen either by Sea or Land.*

Some Antients, from the near Resemblance between their Names, have taken *Plutus* and *Pluto* for one and the same God; but the greatest Part have always distinguished them. All are agreed with *Hesiod* that the latter was the Son of *Chronos* or *Saturn* and *Rhea*; now the same Poet asserts (2) that *Plutus* owed his Original to *Ceres* and *Jasion*. *Ceres*, says he, *having had Commerce with the Heroe Jasion, had a Son by him named Plutus, whom she brought forth in the Island of Crete, and who was very powerful by Sea and Land.*

I am not ignorant that the old Scholiast upon *Hesiod*, followed herein by several other Authors, allegorizes

(1) *Canid. Respons. Epod. Od. 18.*

(a) See *Lysio Giraldis. Synt. 6.* who has quoted the Fragment of this antient Greek Poet.

(2) *Theog. in fine.*

rizes this Genealogy of *Plutus*, and that in this Light nothing could be more just than to make him the Son of *Ceres* and *Jasion*, whose whole Life had been applied to Agriculture, since 'tis by Means of this that substantial Riches are acquired.

Diodorus Siculus (1), who is of the same Opinion with this antient Scholiast, gives *Plutus* another Extraction; *Jasion*, says he, dwelt in the Island of *Samothrace*, while his Brother *Dardanus* went and settled upon the Coast of *Troas*, received there *Cadmus*, and gave him in Marriage his Sister *Harmonia*; for, says this Author, the *Greek* Mythologists are mistaken when they assert that she was the Sister of *Mars*. The Gods, adds *Diodorus*, vouchsafed to attend the Celebration of this Marriage, and this was the first Time they were present at such a Ceremony. Each of them came thither with his Present, and *Ceres*, who loved *Jasion* dearly, brought Corn for hers. And hence, according to him, is the Source of this Fable. *Jasion*, continues he in the same Passage, afterwards espoused *Cybele*, and was ranked among the Gods.

Dionysius Halicarnassens, an Author no less accurate than well instructed in the *Greek* and *Roman* Antiquities, thus speaks of this Personage (2): *Jupiter* having married *Electra*, Daughter of *Atlas*, had two Sons by her, *Dardanus* and *Jasus*. The latter was not married: But *Dardanus* espoused *Chrysa* the Daughter of *Pallas*, by whom he had *Idæus* and *Dimas* who succeeded him; but a particular Deluge in *Arcadia* where they reigned, having obliged *Jasus* and *Dardanus* to depart thence, they went in Quest of Adventures elsewhere. *Dardanus* became at last the Head of the Colony, his Brother *Jasus* being crushed to Death by Thunder, for having made an Attempt upon the Honour of *Ceres*. *Homer* gives the same Account of *Jasion's* Death, as well as *Hermippus* in *Hyginus* (3).

That there was such a Person as *Jasion* is therefore a Thing not be doubted: And since he was a Man of Wealth and Power, which made him pass for a

F 4 Lover

(1) L. 5. (2) Ant. l. 1. c. 53. (3) Cælo Poet. in Artophyl.

Lover of *Ceres*, may we not reduce to History this whole Fiction, and say it was his Son whom they called the God of Riches? It will be objected that there ought to be some Authority brought in Proof of his having had a Son who was called *Plutus*; but if that will do the Business, Authority is not wanting. *Hyginus*, in the Passage already quoted, adds the Testimony of an antient Historian of the City of *Gnosſus* in the Island of *Crete*, named *Petellides*, who positively asserts it. “ To *Ceres* and *Jafion*, says that
 “ antient Historian, were born two Sons *Philomelus* and
 “ *Plutus*, who had but little Favour for one another.
 “ The latter, who was extremely rich, imparted no
 “ Share of his Substance to his Brother, who being
 “ fore reduced, sold the small Estate he had, bought
 “ two Oxen with the Price, and set about the culti-
 “ vating of the Ground, and was the first that applied
 “ himself to Agriculture. His Mother *Ceres*, after
 “ having admired the Art which her Son had invent-
 “ ed, placed him among the Stars, where he forms
 “ the *Bootes*; or the *Arctophylax*.” Here then, according to the Authority of an antient Historian, whom *Hyginus* does not contradict, is a Son of *Jafion*, named *Plutus*, a very rich Man; and who consequently may be the God of Riches adored by the *Greeks* (a).

This *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whoever he was, having been observed to dispense his Favours very unequally, was therefore given out to be blind, as well as Love; *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus*, adds that he was lame, because whenever he had a Mind to enrich the Good, he came to them but very slowly; and when he came to favour them, he was said to be
 very

(a) Ex his (id est Cerere & Jafione) ut Petellides Gnosſius historiarum ſcriptor demonstrat, nascuntur filii duo Philomelus & Plutus, quos negant inter se conveniſſe: Nam Plutum qui ditior fuerit, nihil fratri ſuo de bonis conceſſiſſe: Philomelum autem neceſſario adductum, quodcumque habuerit, vendidiſſe, ex eo boves duos emiſſe, & ipſum primum plauſtrum fabricatum eſſe. Itaque arando & colendo agros, ex eo ſe aluiſſe. Cujus matrem inventum miratam, ut arantem eum inter ſidera conſtituiſſe, & Bootem appellaiſſe. Hygin. Cæl. Poet. Aſtr. in Arctophy.

very clear sighted, and to have good Eyes. We know in what Manner this comic Poet rallies the *Athenians* with respect to this God, and how, when the good *Cbremylus* had restored his Sight to him, he puts him in the Place of *Jupiter*; and makes him to be the only God whom they invoked.

Pindar, *Aristophanes*, and *Lucian*, tell us, that *Plutus* was a dastardly God, whence *Erasmus* has taken Occasion to make one of his Proverbs; but *Plutus* vindicates himself from that Imputation, in the Comedy which I have cited, and says that as Thieves and Robbers never could catch him, that is, never could make themselves Masters of great Riches, hence they constructed his Precaution and Foresight to be Cowardice.

Saint *Jerome*, followed by several Ecclesiastic Writers, alledges that the *Syriac* or *Chaldaic* Word *Mammona*, was the same with the *Plutus* of the *Greeks*; 'tis true indeed that Word signifies *Riches*, and in the Books of *Genesis* and *Job*, *Matbmon* is taken for Treasures; but this, as I take it, is no Proof that the *Syrians* and *Chaldeans* had made a God of Riches.

C H A P. XIII.

The F U R I E S.

IF the Pagans have justly been reproached for embracing a licentious Theology, according to which the Gods themselves had given Examples of the greatest Irregularities, we ought at least to do them Justice as to some Articles wherein they had consulted clearer Reason: Such, among others, is that of the *Furies* appointed for chastising those in the other World who had led an irregular Life in this. Though I have given a particular Dissertation upon this Subject, printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1), yet I cannot chuse but give an Abstract of it here.

When we trace out the Origin of the Pagan Gods, we are obliged to have Recourse to the Poets who
have

(1) Tom. 7i

have given their Genealogy; but we soon perceive that they had no other Guides but a confused Tradition, which left them at entire Liberty to choose the Opinion which they thought the most mysterious. Accordingly *Apollodorus* (1) says, the *Furies* had been formed in the Sea from the Blood which issued from the Wound that *Saturn* had given his Father *Cælus*. *Hesiod* who makes them younger by one Generation (2), gives the Earth for their Mother, who conceived them from the Blood of *Saturn*; But the same Poet in another Work (3), so precarious were the Principles of Theology which he followed, asserts that those very Goddesses were the Daughters of *Discord*; and to give a higher Proof of his Exactness, he adds that they were born the fifth Day of the Moon, a Sentiment which *Virgil* has followed in his *Georgicks* (4); thus assigning to a Day which the *Pythagoreans* thought sacred to Justice, the Birth of Goddesses who were to inflict it with the utmost Rigor.

Lycophron (4) and *Eschyles* (5) will have it that the *Furies* were the Daughters of Night and *Acheron*. The Author of a Hymn addressed to the *Eumenides* asserts that they owed their Birth to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*; *Sophocles* (6) makes them spring from the Earth and Darkness; and *Epimenides* says, they were the Sisters of *Venus* and the *Parcæ*, and the Daughters of *Saturn* and *Evonymus*. Had I a mind here to make an Ostentation of Learning, I might expatiate upon what is advanced by Mythologists and Commentators as to the different Originals now assigned: But it requires no great Penetration to find out, that the Poets in this followed the Traditions of their own Times and Countries; or that each had given to those Divinities such Parents as seemed to suit best with their Character; and that having nothing plausible nor certain

to

(1) L. 1. (2) Theog. l. 1. (3) Opera & Dies.

(4) *Ipsa dies alios, alio dedit ordine luna*

*Felices operum: quintam fuge, pallidus Orcus,
Eumenidesque satæ.*

(4) In Alex. (5) In Eumenid. (6) In Oedip.

to deliver to us upon this Subject, they had a mind to give their Genealogies at least an Air of Mystery which People durst not always dive into. I reckon we must go farther back to find out the true Original of the Divinities now in Question.

It was a general Opinion that after this Life there were Places allotted for the Punishment of the Wicked and the Reward of the Good; and no Doubt upon this Idea were formed the Elysian Fields and Hell: And as there were Judges there appointed for rendering to every one the Justice he deserved, so the *Furies* were imagined to be their Ministers, and to execute the Sentences which they passed upon the Wicked. It is likewise possible (for after all Idolatry followed true Religion too near not to have preserved some of its Truths) it is possible I say, that a confused Knowledge of the Fall of the Angels and their Punishment, had given Rise to the Introduction of *Furies*, who are themselves Devils appointed to be the Tormentors of the Guilty; and this I am apt to think was the true Original of these Divinities; this is what made them be invented by those who embraced this natural Notion, that there were to be Rewards and Punishments after this Life. For though this Truth has been disfigured by the absurd Fables that have been intermixed with it, 'tis easy however to distinguish the Substance of the Opinion from the Veils they were obliged to draw over it, to render it the more familiar.

We ought to judge thus favourably for the Sake of the Philosophers, who doubtless had sounder Ideas than the People, and not say with *Lucretius*, that whatever had been delivered about the infernal Regions had a Reference only to this Life (a).

If the Antients varied as to the Original of the *Furies*, they have not been more unanimous as to their Number; at first it would seem they admitted only three

(a) *Atque ea nimirum quaecunque Acheronte profundo
Proditæ sunt esse; in vita sunt omnia nobis.*

three of them, *Tisiphone*, *Megea*, and *Alecto* ; and these Names which import, *Rage*, *Slaughter*, *Envy*, &c. were perfectly applicable to them (a). *Ausonius* makes it even a kind of Axiom (1), there are three *Gorgons*, three *Harpies*, and three *Destinies*. *Euripides* reckons the Goddess *Lyssa* among the *Furies*, because she inspired Rage and Fury, whence her Name was derived. *Juno* in that Poet orders *Iris* to conduct her armed with Serpents to *Hercules*, to infuse into him that Madness to which he owed the Loss of his Life. *Plutarch* (2) allows of but one *Fury*, whom he calls *Adrasta*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Necessity*; it was she, according to that Author, who was the sole Minister of the Vengeance of the Gods.

From the Manner in which *Virgil* paints the *Harpies*, it appears that he takes them into the Number of the *Furies* : He even calls them by that Name when making *Celeno* speak, he says (3),

———— *Vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

In fine, the Goddess *Nemesis*, or the *Nemeses*, for they reckoned more than one of them, are also to be taken into the Number of the *Furies*. They have all their Characters ; Daughters of the Night and the Ocean, they were appointed to examine into Mens Actions, for the Punishment of the Bad and the Reward of the Good.

Besides these three particular Names, the Antients gave other general ones to those three Goddesses. The *Latins* called them *Furies*, because of the Fury they inspired ; and the *Greeks* *Erynides*, as much as to say ἐρις νῆς, *contentio mentis* ; or because, as *Pausanias* remarks, ἐριννυειν signifies to fall into Fury. The *Sicyonians*, as we are told by the same Author, called them γέμνας θεάς, the venerable Goddesses, and the
Athenians

(a) *Tisiphone*, quasi τίσις ἢ φόνος, *Megea* comes from μεγαίρω, or from μεγάλη ἔρις, *great Contention*: and *Alecto* from α, & λήγω, *Refract* and *Unrelenting*. See *Phurnutus*.

(1) *Gryph. Num. ternarii*. (2) *De Sex. Num. Vind.* (3) *Æn.* l. 111. 252.

Athenians *μαρία* (1). In fine, after that *Orestes* had appeased them by Sacrifices, they got the Name of *Eumenides*, or *Benevolent*; for I am not of *Lylio Gyraldi*'s Opinion, that they were so called by the Rule of contrary, *quod minime sunt benevolæ* (2). The very Occasion of their getting this Name is a Refutation of that Etymology. The *Greek* and *Latin* Poets frequently give the *Furies* Epithets denoting either their Character or their Habit, or the Serpents which they wore instead of Hair, or the Places where they were worshipped: Thus *Ovid* (3) calls them the Goddesses of *Palestine*, when he speaks of the Fury with which they inspired *Atys*.

'Tis not difficult, after what I have now said, to find out what were the Functions of the *Furies*. Antiquity has always looked upon them as the Ministers of the Vengeance of the Gods, and as stern and inexorable Goddesses, whose sole Employment was to punish Vice, not only in the infernal Regions, but even in this Life, pursuing the Guilty incessantly with Stings that gave them no Rest, and with dreadful Visions, which often frightened them out of their Senses. I should be obliged to copy almost all the Poets, especially *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*, were I to relate all that they say of the frantic Disorders of those whom they tormented. We know with what lively Strokes *Virgil* paints the Disorder occasioned by one of those *Furies* in the Court of *Latinus*. What *Tisiphone* did to *Etheocles* and *Polynices*, is unknown to none who have read *Statius* (4). *Ovid* represents with the same Vivacity the whole Havock caused at *Thebes* by the Fury whom *Juno* had sent to take Revenge upon *Athamas* (5); and all that *Isis* suffered from another Fury, whom the same Goddess had stirred up to persecute her. But of all whom those implacable Goddesses tormented, no Body was a more conspicuous Example of their Vengeance than the unhappy *Orestes*, and the Theatres of *Greece* frequently resounded

(1) In Arcad. & in Att.
(4) Thebaid. (5) Met. l. 4.

(2) Synt. 6.

(3) Fast. l. 6.

resounded with the Shrieks of that Parricide, whom they pursued with so much Fury.

The *Furies* were employed not only in punishing the Guilty, but also in chastising Men by Diseases, by War, and the other Strokes of celestial Wrath. *Virgil* however seems to have distributed these several Functions among the three *Furies*, so that *Tisiphone* was employed for contagious Distempers (1), while *Alecto's* Functions particularly related to the Disorders of War (2). According to this Idea, *Statius* has called her the Mother of War (3). In fine, when any Person was to be put to Death, *Megea* was she whom the Gods commonly made use of.

Cicero has reduced to a very judicious Moral all the different Functions of the *Furies*. “ We need not
“ have Recourse, says he, to *Furies* armed with flaming Brands to be the Tormenters of the Wicked.
“ The Stings and Remorses of a guilty Conscience
“ are the only *Furies* designed by the Poets.” They figure, no doubt, the Testimony of an evil Conscience, that gnawing Worm which incessantly preys upon the Guilty, of which *Nero* himself complained that he never could get rid, as we are told by *Suetonius* (4).

Goddeffes so awful commanded particular Homage. In short, so great was the Veneration paid to them, that People durst hardly mention their Names, as *Euripides* tells us in his *Orestes*, or cast their Eyes upon their Temples. If we may believe *Sophocles* (5), it was accounted an Act of Impiety what *Oedipus* did, when going to *Athens* as a Suppliant, he retired into a Grove that was consecrated to them in the Village of *Colone*, and he was obliged, before he departed, to appease them by Sacrifice, whereof this Poet, and *Theocritus*, in his *Pharmaceutria*, have left us the Description. The Inhabitants of *Colone* enjoined him to pour out Fountain-water, which was to be drawn in Vessels whose Handles were covered with the Wool of a young Lamb. After which, turning himself towards the East,

(1) Georg. 1. 3. (2) Eneid. 1. 7. (3) Theb. 1. 4.
(4) In Nero. (5) In Oedip. Epicolon.

East, he performed a Libation with *Oxyerat* *, and threw upon the Earth at three Times nine Olive-branches. He was especially prohibited to mix Wine in the Sacrifice.

The *Furies* had Temples in several Places of *Greece*. The *Sicyonians*, if we may believe *Pausanias* (1), sacrificed to them yearly upon the Day of their Festival, Ewes big with Lamb, and offered to them Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, especially of *Narcissus*, according to *Sophocles* and *Phurnutus*, a Plant beloved by the infernal Deities, upon account of the Misfortune that had befallen the young Prince of that Name (a). They had likewise a Temple in *Achaia* in the City of *Corynaeum*, with very small wooden Statues (2). This Place was so fatal to those who were guilty of any Crimes that, so soon as they entered into it, they were seized with a sudden Fury, which deprived them of their Reason, so much were they disordered by the Presence of those Goddeesses, joined with the Reflection upon their Crimes. These Examples must needs have happened even more than once, since it was found necessary, as *Pausanias* says, to debar all from entering thither. The same Author adds, that in the Statues of these Goddeesses themselves was nothing either very singular or curious, but that in the Vestible were several others in Marble of an exquisite Workmanship, representing Women who were taken for the Priestesses of these Goddeesses. This is the only Passage, as far as I know, where the *Furies* are said to have had Priestesses, since we find elsewhere that their Ministers were Men, whom the Inhabitants of *Tilphosa* in *Arcadia*, named *Hesichides*. *Demosthenes* owns that he himself had been the Priest of those Goddeesses (3), in the Temple which *Orestes* had built them

* A Composition of Water and Vinegar.

(1) In *Arcad*.

(a) *Eusebius* upon the first Book of the *Iliad* says, the Reason why they offered the *Narcissus* to the *Furies*, was owing to the Etymology of the Word *νάρκνυ*, *torpere*. *Quia Furiae torporem immittebant sceleratis.*

(2) *Idem*. in *Acha*. (3) *Orat*. in *Midiam*.

them near the *Areopagus* (1). We are told, that *Perilas*, Uncle to *Clytemnestra*, summoned that unfortunate Prince before that severe Tribunal (2); and that his Cause having been tried very strictly, and the Suffrages of the Judges found equal, *Minerva* added hers, whereby he was acquitted; that is to say, Wisdom and Equity at length got the better of the Intrigues and Interest of a Party. All who appeared before those Judges, were obliged to offer a Sacrifice in the same Temple, and to swear upon the Altar of the *Furies*, that they were ready to tell the Truth.

But of all the Temples dedicated to those Divinities, there was none of them, next to that of the *Areopagus*, more noted than that which the same *Orestes* built in *Arcadia*. It was in that Part of the *Peloponnesus* that the *Furies* (3) appeared to him for the first Time, which threw him into such a Fit of Madness, that he ate his own Finger. Having retired from thence to a Field named *Até*, the same Goddesses again appeared to him in white Robes, and a milder Aspect, which again composed his Mind. *Orestes* erected a Temple in each of those Places, and offered to the black *Furies* expiatory Sacrifices to appease the Manes of his Mother, and to the white *Furies* a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving. It was upon this Occasion, to mention it by the By, that the *Furies* got the Name of *Eumenides*. We may add, that the Temples of the *Furies* were a secure Sanctuary for those who retired thither. *Pausanias* remarks (4) that, after the Death of *Codrus*, the *Dorians*, who were guilty of it, would all have been punished with Death by the Judges of the *Areopagus*, had they not avoided it by flying for Refuge to the Temple of these Goddesses.

Tho' the Worship of the *Furies* did not make so great Progress in *Italy* as in *Greece*, yet the *Romans* were far from neglecting them; and we learn from *Varro* (5) and *Cicero*, that the Goddess *Furina*, whom the latter takes to be the same with the *Furies*, had a
Temple

(1) Pausan. in Attic. (2) Idem in Arcad. (3) Near Megalopolis. (4) In Achaic. (5) Lib. 5. de ling. lat.

Temple at *Rome* in the fourteenth Region; and a sacred Grove; and that the Day of her Festival, which was called the *Furinalia*, was marked in the Kalendar and in the Fast, the sixth before the Kalends of *September*.

Besides the *Narcissus*, they used likewise in their Sacrifices Branches of Cedar, of Alder, Hawthorn, Saffron and Juniper; they sacrificed to them Sheep and Turtle-doves, as we learn from *Eliau* (1), and they used in their Sacrifices the same Ceremonies with those of other infernal Deities.

The Author of the Poem of the *Argonauts*, gives a fine Description of one of those Sacrifices, which *Medea* offered for *Jason* before his Combat with the Dragon that kept the golden Fleece, wherein she invokes the *Furies*. First, she makes three Trenches, into which she pours the Blood of the Victims, pronouncing some Words to call up those Divinities: Then she raises a Pile of Cypress, Alder, Juniper, and Thorn, upon which she burns the black Sheep which she had killed; and after several Libations of sweet Wine and other Liquors composed of Honey, as being most proper to sweeten the fullen Humour of these Goddesses, she believed that she had at length made them propitious to her Lover.

Pausanias remarks (2), that in the earlier Times the Statues of these Goddesses had nothing different from those of other Divinities, and that the Poet *Æschiles*, in one of his Tragedies, was the first who represented them with that hideous Air, and those Serpents that made them so dreadful, that the first Representation of his Play proved fatal to many of the Spectators. The Description of the *Furies* given by this Poet was followed; and it passed from the Theatre to the Temples: Henceforth they came to be represented no otherwise but with a grim Aspect and a frightful Mien, with Attire black and bloody, having, instead of Hair, Serpents wreathed about their Heads, a burning Torch in one Hand, and a Whip

G

of

(1) De Animal. l. 10. c. 46. (2) In Arcad.

of Scorpions in the other, and for their Attendants, *Terror*, *Rage*, *Paleness* and *Death*. Thus seated around *Pluto's* Throne, whose Prime Ministers they were, they waited his Orders with an Impatience that marked out all the Fury they were possessed of.

We have now but few antique Figures of these Goddesses; only we see on an Abraxas published by M. *Chifflet*, their three Heads, with Serpents hanging from a Tree, and around, the Word *Iao*; and on a Lamp of *Licetti*, which represents a dead Man lying upon a Bed, the Heads of two *Furies*, with a horrible Countenance. Besides these, we have two *Greek* Medals, the one belonging to the King's Cabinet, struck under the young *Gordian* by the Inhabitants of *Lyrba*, a Town in *Asia Minor*; and the other by those of *Mastaura*, a City of *Lycia*, where they are represented with Serpents, Keys, lighted Torches, and Daggers in their Hands, without any Thing frightful in their Looks; those of the first of these two Medals, have each a *Calathus* upon her Head, and those of the second, Leaves or Plants, and their Hair as usual. But to supply the Want of Marbles and Bronze, the Poets, especially *Virgil* (1), have left us in their Works Pictures of these Goddesses which represent their Character to the Life.

C H A P. XIV.

The Parcæ, Fate, and the Destinies.

THERE were no Divinities in the Pagan World who had a more absolute Power than the *Parcæ*. Mistresses of Human Lot, they regulated its Destinies: Whatever came to pass in the World was subject to their Empire; and we would be mistaken should we imagine that their Functions were confined to the spinning out of our Days, since I shall make it appear that the Movements of the celestial Spheres, and the Combination of the Principles which form the World, were also under their Jurisdiction; for the Philosophers,

(1) *En. l. 1.*

phers, as well as the Poets, have spoke of the Power of these Goddesses, and they have vied with one another in treating a Subject wherein Physiology had almost as great a Share as moralizing (a).

To observe some Method in this Article, I shall first enquire into the Original of the *Parcæ*: Then I shall speak of their Employments: In the third place of their Number, and the different Names that were given them; and I shall conclude with the History of their Worship, and with some Pictures of them left us by the Historians and Poets.

Varro says (1), that as these Goddesses presided over the Birth of Men, they took their general Name from *partus*, Birth. *Parca*, says he, that is *parta*; or as other Authors say, *à parturiendo*, which comes to the same. *Servius* on the contrary asserts (2), that they were so called only by an *Antiphrasis*, because they spare no body, *quod nemini parcant*, in the same Way as the *Furies* were termed *Eumenides*. 'Tis needless here to cite a great Number of Authors who have treated of the Original of these Goddesses, since after all we would learn nothing from them but the various Etymologies of a Name which the *Latins* gave to Divinities, the Knowledge of whom they had borrowed from the Theology of the *Greeks*. I know not if the Reader will be better satisfied when I tell him, that the *Greeks* called the *Parcæ* *μοῖραι*, a Word derived from the Verb *μεῖρω*, *divido*, *to divide*: For though this Name informs us, that these Goddesses were so called, because they regulated the Events of human Life, and divided our Destinies; yet it still remains to be shewn by what Train of Principles they came to be admitted into the System of Pagan Morality.

If we trace their Origin next in the Poets, we shall find in them such a Diversity of Sentiments as is not
G 2 likely

(a) See my Dissertation upon the *Parcæ*, Mem. of the Acad. of the *Belles-Lettres*, tom. 5.

(1) De Orig. Ling. Lat. apud Aul. Gell. l. 3. c. 16. (2) Upon the fourth Eclogue of Virgil.

likely to be very satisfying. *Hesiod* says, in the Beginning of his *Theogony*, that they were the Daughters of *Night* and *Erebus*, wherein he was followed by *Orpheus*, or at least by him who composed the Hymn upon the *Parcæ*: And 'tis obvious that these two Poets designed thereby to point out the impenetrable Obscurity of our Lot, as *Horace* has it (1): But the same *Hesiod*, as if he had forgot at the End of his *Theogony* what he had said at the Beginning, will have it that these Goddesses owed their Birth to *Jupiter* and *Themis*, the Daughter of *Cælus*, wherein he has been followed by *Apollodorus* (2); *Lycophron*, who does not always agree with the Author of the *Theogony*, asserts (3), that the *Parcæ* were Daughters of the Sea.

Those Moderns who are of Opinion, and not without Reason, that the *Greeks* had derived from the *Phenicians* the greater Part of their Theology, search for the Origin of the *Parcæ* in the Language of that People, with which *Greece* came to be acquainted by different Colonies; and if we will believe the learned *Bochart* (4), they were invented from some Expressions like those used by *Job* (5) and *Isaiab* (6), when they say, *My Days are cut off more swiftly than the Thread by the Weaver. The Time of my Abode upon Earth is come to an End. God cuts short the Thread of my Life.* *M. le Clerc* (7), who had so often successfully followed the Notions of the Author now quoted, drops him here, and says the Name of the *Parcæ* comes from the *Hebrew Parach*, which signifies *to cut the Thread*: *Hinc*, says he, *Parca Dea quæ filum rumpit*. But he had not considered that the *Greeks*, who were acquainted with these Goddesses before the *Latins*, never called them by that Word. But whatever be in this, I am of opinion that they are the Offspring of Philosophy. The Philosophers, who sought out a Method of reconciling the absolute Power of the Supreme Being with human Liberty, were divided among themselves.

Some

(1) L. 3. Od. 39. (2) Bibl. l. 1. (3) In Alex. v. 44.
 (4) Chan. l. 1. (5) Job vii. 6. (6) Is. xxxviii. 12. (7) Notes upon Hesiod.

Some absolutely denied a Providence, as the *Epicureans*; and to save Liberty they pretended that the Destiny *Fatum* was only a chimerical Divinity: Others established Providence upon the Ruin of Liberty; and not daring to rob the first Principle of the Knowledge and Care of Futurity, which they saw could not subsist if we were Masters of our own Actions, they concluded that all came to pass in the World by an inevitable Necessity, and thereupon formed their *Fatum*. Each of these two Consequences appeared just to their respective Sects.

Fate being a blind Divinity, who regulated all Things by a Power whose Effects he neither could foresee nor prevent, it was necessary to give him Ministers to execute his Orders, and thus they imagined the three *Parcæ*. *Cicero* (1), after the Philosopher *Chrysippus*, will have it that they themselves were this fatal Necessity that governs us, and which the *Greeks* call *εἰμαρμένη*; and this, no doubt, is the true Original of the Goddesses now in question. The Antients, to mention it by the by, had a pretty singular Notion of their *Fate*, who was, according to them, a Divinity to whom all others were subjected. The Heavens, the Earth, Hell and the Sea were under his Empire, and nothing could reverse what he had decreed; or to speak more justly, he himself was that fatal Necessity according to which all Things happened in the World. *Jupiter* in vain had a Mind to save *Patroclus*; he must examine his Destiny which he does not know. He takes the Scales, weighs it, and the Side that determined the Death of this Heroe being the heaviest, he is obliged to abandon him to his Destiny. How inevitable soever the Decrees of this blind Divinity were, *Homer* however says, they were once like to have fallen short of being put in Execution; so far were they from having clear and consistent Ideas as to this Subject.

These Destinies, in short, were written from all Eternity in a Place where the Gods went to consult them;

G 3 and

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

and *Ovid* (1) tells us, that *Jupiter* went thither with *Venus* to look into those of *Julius Cæsar*. This Poet subjoins, that those of the Kings were engraved on Diamond.

But passing that, as the whole Destiny of Men, which was thought to be subject to the Power of the *Parcæ*, respected either the Time of their Nativity, or of their Life or Death; *Clotbo*, the youngest of the three Sisters, presided over the Moment when we come into the World, and held the Distaff; *Lachesis* spun all the Events of our Life; and *Atropos*, the eldest of the three, cut the Thread with Scizars, and thus put a Period to it, according to this antient Verse.

Clotbo colum retinet, Lachesis net, & Atropos occat.

The three most usual Names of these Goddesses, had a plain Allusion to *their Offices*: The first is derived from κλωθεῖν, *to spin*, the second from λαχεῖν, *to measure out by Lot*, and the last from ἀτρεπτον, *irreversible*; or which comes to the same thing in the main, *Clotbo*, as *Fulgentius* alledges, signifies *Evocation*, to denote that this Goddess *over-rules* the Moment of our Birth; *Lachesis* signifies *Lot*, because 'tis she that regulates our Destinies; and *Atropos*, without Order and without Law, to teach us that this Destiny is with-held by no Consideration, when the Hour of our Death is once come, and that she owns no other Law but that which *Fate* imposes upon her (2).

According to this Idea, the Poets have described in different Manners this Ministration of the *Parcæ*; sometimes they exhort them to spin out happy Days, for those who are to be the Favourites of Destiny (3); sometimes they tell us that they prescribe the Time we are to continue upon Earth, as *Homer* says upon Occasion of the Stay that *Ulysses* was to make with the Nymph *Calypso* (4); and *Ovid* speaking of the fatal Brand to which *Meleager's* Destiny was annexed

(1) Met. l. 15. (2) Fulg. Myth. l. 1. (3) Catullus in the Epith. of Thetis and Peleus. (4) Odyf. l. 1.

nexed (1): Sometimes they tell us, that they reveal a Part of our Destinies, concealing the rest in impenetrable Obscurity (2): That they make Use of the Subserviency of Men, to take away the Lives of those whose Destinies are accomplished, as *Virgil* observes, speaking of *Halesus*. If we may believe the same Poets, they are present at the Moment of our Birth, and sometimes even appear in the Apartment of Women in Child-bed, as *Ovid* and *Hyginus* say of *Meleager* (3), and *Catullus* of *Achilles*, &c. they preside over the Return of those who, having gone down to *Pluto's* Kingdom, had obtain'd Permission from the Gods to revisit the Earth, such as *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Æneas*, *Theseus*, and some other Heroes. They are the absolute Mistresses of all that lives in the World, as we are told by *Claudian* (4). In fine, 'tis they that dispense as they please, all the Good and Evil that befall us, according to *Hesiod* (5).

These are the Functions which the Poets assign to the Goddesses we are now upon; but the Mythologists had peculiar Notions about them, which it is proper to unfold. *Martianus Capella* reckons the *Parcæ* the Ministers of *Fate*; or to use his Words, they were his *Secretaries*, and the *Keepers of his Archives*; *Librariæ, archivique custodes*. He adds, that one dictated the Orders of her Master, another wrote them down with great Exactness, and the last executed them by spinning out our Destinies; *unam loqui, alteram scribere, tertiam nere*. Other Mythologists are not quite agreed as to the Ministration of the *Parcæ*: *Fulgentius* contends, that they served under *Pluto's* Orders (6); accordingly we see *Claudian* represents these Goddesses at the Feet of the God of Hell, to dissuade him from making War upon his Brother *Jupiter* (7). *Phurnutus* on the contrary pretends, that they were the Ministers of *Jupiter*; and since this God, according to the Testimony of *Pausanias* (8), bore the Name of *μοῖρα*.

G 4

γῆτις,

(1) Met. l. 8. (2) En. l. 3. (3) Met. l. 8. (4) De raptu Proserp. l. 1. (5) Hym. in Parc. (6) Myth. loc. cit. (7) De rapt. Proserp. (8) In Eliac.

ἡγήτης, or Conductor of the *Parcæ*, we may very well reckon him their Sovereign: But we may reconcile these two Authors, by saying that this was *Stygian Jupiter*, the same with *Pluto*. But whatever be in that, the Opinion most generally followed by the Antients is, that the *Parcæ* served under the Orders of *Fate*, to whom the other Gods and *Jupiter* himself were subject.

The Philosophers again give the *Parcæ* Functions quite different from these now mentioned. *Aristotle* says that *Clotbo* presided over the present Time, *Lachesis* over the future, and *Atropos* over the past; and *Plato* is so fanciful and romantic upon this Subject, that I am afraid his Imagination has a little outrun his Judgment. Sometimes he represents these Goddesses in the midst of the celestial Spheres, with white Robes spangled with Stars, wearing Crowns upon their Heads, and seated upon Thrones refulgent with Light, where they attune their Voices to the Songs of the Sirens: There, says he, *Lachesis* sung past Events (1); *Clotbo* those which the present Moment brings forth; and *Atropos* such as still lye hid in the Womb of Futurity. Sometimes he imagines an Adamantine Spindle, one End of it touching the Earth, while the other is lost in the Clouds: *Necessity* high enthroned upon an Altar, holds this Spindle between her Knees, and the three *Parcæ* which are at the Foot of the Altar, turn it with their Hands. *Plutarch* (a) delivers a Philosophy upon the same Subject not much less subtle. *Atropos*, according to him, placed in the Sphere of the Sun, sheds down upon the Earth the first Principles of Life; *Clotbo*, who has her Residence in the Sphere of the Moon, forms the Stamina that infold the eternal Seeds; and *Lachesis*, whose Abode is upon Earth, presides over the *Destinies* that govern us.

After what I have now said, one would be apt to think that the *Parcæ* were three in Number, and that they

(1) Plato de Rep. l. 10.

(a) Treatise of the Face of the Moon, and in the *Demon* of *Socrates*.

they had no other Names but those which I have given them so often ; and yet the Antients, as we shall see, varied as much about these two Articles as those we have been now upon. Their general Names in the *Greek* Authors, are *μοῖρα, αἴσα, κῆρ, εἰμαρμενη*. The first had a manifest Relation to their Measuring out our Destinies together. The second, according to *Lyllo Gyraldi* (1), denoted either the Darkness in which Futurity is involved, or rather the Eternity of the Divine Decrees, as is explained by *Aristotle*, or the Author of the *Treatise de mundo*, which is attributed to that Philosopher : The two last again were fatal *Necessity* itself, by which all Things are conducted. The particular Names given by *Hesiod* to these three Divinities, *Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos* (2), had a manifest Allusion to their Functions, as has been already said.

Pausanias names other three *Parcæ*, very different from those now mentioned : The first, and the most antient of all, was *Venus Urania* (3) ; it was she rather than *Clotho*, that presided over Man's Birth, according to the antient Doctrine of the Pagan Theology, that *Love*, the uniting Principle of the Universe, was the eldest of all the Gods. The second was *Fortune* (4), and in proof of his Sentiment he quotes *Pindar's* Authority. In fine, *Ilithia* was the third, according to the Testimony of *Olenus* of *Lycia*, who in *Pausanias* gives her the Epithet of Spinsteress *Εὐλινον*.

Proserpine, or *Stygian Juno*, who, according to the best Authors of Antiquity, often disputes with *Atropos* the Office of cutting the Thread of our Destiny, as has been said elsewhere, is also to be taken into the Number of the *Parcæ*.

If we consider the absolute Power the *Parcæ* were supposed to have over all our Destinies, we would think they must needs have had the most solemn Worship : And yet we find little or nothing upon this Subject in the Writings of the Antients ; the reason probably

(1) Hist. Deor. Synt. 6. (2) In Theogon. (3) In Att.
(4) In Eliac.

bably is, that being accounted inexorable Goddesses whom it was impossible to mitigate, it was judged unnecessary to be at any Trouble and Expence about their Worship. All that we learn from *Pausanias*, is, that they had some Temples in *Greece*, and Statues in several Places. The *Lacedemonians*, as we are told by the same Author, had built them one in the same City of *Sparta*, near *Orestes's* Tomb, and the *Sicyonians* another, which was dedicated to them, in a sacred Grove (1), where they bestowed the same Worship upon them as upon the *Furies*; that is, if we may believe *Menander*, a very antient Author, they offered up to them every Year black Sheep, in a Sacrifice where the Priests, among other Ceremonies, were obliged to wear Crowns of Flowers. The same *Pausanias* says (2), that in the City of *Olympia*, there was an Altar consecrated to *Jupiter* the Director of the *Parcæ*, near which those Goddesses had another; and he adds farther, that in a Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (3), were the Statues of two *Parcæ* by that of *Jupiter*, who was in Place of the third; and that at *Megara* the Statue of the same God, made by *Theoscomus*, bore upon its Head those of the three Goddesses. Further we learn from the same Author (4), that among the other Figures represented upon *Cypselus's* Chest, was to be seen that of a kind of Monster with a wild and savage Air, great Tusks and crooked Hands, which was known to be a *Parca* from the Inscription upon it.

'Tis easy to see from all that I have now said, and from the Description of these Goddesses given by *Catullus* (5), in what Manner they were represented; but notwithstanding all these, we have not any antique Figure of them remaining; those which we find in *Cartari*, and some other Authors, being only done from the Descriptions given of them by the Poets and Philosophers. However, the Figure of one of the *Parcæ* is thought to be represented upon a Medal which

(1) In Corinth. (2) In Eliac. l. 1. (3) Idem in Phocicis.
 (4) In Eliac. c. 1. (5) In Epithal. Pelei & Thetidis.

which *Patin* has inserted in his Treasure; but the Antiquaries are not agreed about it.

As to what remains, the Manner in which the Antients represented these Goddesses, contained certain Mysteries which 'tis proper to explain. They were usually figured like three Women of great Age, with Chaplets made of big Locks of white Wool, interwoven with Flowers of Narcissus: A white Robe covered their whole Body, and Fillets of the same Colour bound their Chaplets, as *Catullus* has it (1). One held the Distaff, another the Spindle, the third the Scissars to cut the Thread, at the Hour of Death, which *Virgil* calls the Day of the *Parcæ*.

According to other Authors, the Habits of these three Goddesses did not resemble one another. *Clotho*, clad in a Robe of different Colours, wore upon her Head a Crown of seven Stars, and held in her Hand a Distaff which reached from Heaven to Earth. *Lachesis's* Robe was spangled with numberless Stars, and she had by her a great Quantity of Spindles; *Atropos* was cloathed in Black, Scissars in her Hand, with a Number of Clews of Thread larger or smaller, according to the Length and Shortness of their Lives whose Destinies they contained.

The great Age of the *Parcæ* figured no Doubt the Eternity of the Divine Decrees. The Distaff and the Spindle signified that it belonged to them to regulate their Course; and that figurative Thread, the Insignificancy of human Life which is so slender and precarious. *Lycophron* adds that they were lame, to signify, as *Eustathius* remarks, the Inequality of Events in Life, and that mixed State of Good and Evil which we experience by Turns. If they had Wings, as we are told by the Author of a Hymn to *Mercury*, which is ascribed to *Homer*, it was in Allusion to the Rapidity of Time, which flies apace, and passes away like a Dream. The Crowns which they wore upon their Heads, bespoke their absolute Power over the Universe, the Events whereof were under their Direction; and the
horrid

(1) Loc. cit.

horrid Cave, where *Orpheus* says (1) they dwelt, was an Emblem of the Obscurity that covers our Destinies. That horrid Mien which *Pausanias* gives to (2) that one of the three *Parcæ* who was near the Tomb of *Etbeocles* and *Polynices*; these great Tusks and crooked Hands which made her more terrible than the fiercest of wild Beasts; all this denoted that nothing could be imagined more dreadful, than the Destinies of those two unfortunate Brothers, and that their Days had been spun by the most terrible of the *Parcæ*. In fine, if the Philosophers placed them in the celestial Spheres, where they accompanied with their Voices the Songs of the Sirens or of the Muses, it was to intimate to us that they regulated that admirable Harmony wherein consist the Order and Arrangement of the Universe.

C H A P. XV.

Nemesis, or the Nemeses, and Adrastea.

TH^O Mythologists are not agreed as to the Class wherein the Goddess *Nemesis* is to be ranked, I am of Opinion however, that what suits her best is that of the infernal Gods.

And indeed the Ideas they had of her was that of a Divinity who watches for the Punishment of the Guilty, not only in this World, which she surveyed with vast Concern to find them out for Correction, but also in the other, where she chastises them with the utmost Rigour. And for this Reason she was represented with Wings, sometimes too with a Helm and a Wheel, to set forth that she pursued the Guilty by Sea and Land. Daughter of Justice, she was, if we may believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, appointed to avenge Impiety, and at the same Time to recompense virtuous Actions (a).

Such is the Idea which Antiquity gives us of this Divinity; this is even what has led some Authors to confound her with the three *Parcæ*, or to make her a fourth.

(1) Hymn. in *Parcas*. (2) In *Eliacis*.

(a) *Ulrix facinorum, bonorumque Præmiatrix*, *Amm.* l. 14.

fourth. Accordingly *Phurnutus* says, that *Nemesis* and *Adraſtea* were ranked among the Goddeſſes : The former, ſaid he, corrected the Injuſtice of Deſtiny, and the ſecond was the Miniſter of Divine Vengeance ; but this Author, to mention it by the Way, is miſtaken in making *Nemesis* and *Adraſtea* two Divinities, ſince the laſt is but a Sirname of *Nemesis*, when *Adraſtea* raiſed an Altar to her. Thus he ought not to have divided their Functions : *Nemesis* in correcting the Injuſtice of Chance or Fate, was the Miniſter of Divine Vengeance.

Several among the Antients, and many Moderns, take *Nemesis* to be the ſame with *Leda*, the Mother of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who got that Name after her Deification ; but the moſt common Opinion is, that *Nemesis* herſelf was the Mother of thoſe two Heroes whom ſhe had by *Jupiter*, and that *Leda* was only their Nurſe.

Others, and not a few, confound *Nemesis* with *Fortune*, and think the Wheel which uſually accompanies her Statues, can ſignify nothing elſe ; but I reckon I have given the true ſignification of thoſe two Symbols. 'Tis true however that her Name is allowed to ſignify the Force or Power of Fortune, *Vis Fortuneæ*.

But not to inſiſt on that, *Nemesis* was worſhipped in ſeveral Places, as well in *Greece* as *Italy*, even in the Capitol itſelf ; and according to *P. Viſtor* ſhe had a Temple at *Rome* ; but no where was her Worſhip more pompous than at *Rhamnus*, a Town of *Attica*, where ſhe had a Statue ten Cubits high, of a ſingle Stone, and ſo exquisitely beautiful, that it was nothing ſhort of *Phidias's* fineſt Works. *Ageracritus* his Scholar, who, according to *Pliny* (a), had deſigned it for a *Venus*, ſeeing one preferred to it, which was done by *Alcamenes* another Scholar of the ſame Maſter, ſold his to the *Rhamnufians*, on Condition that they would only take it for a Statue of *Nemesis* (1), whence ſhe got the Name

(a) *Pauſanias* in his *Atticks* differs from *Pliny*, and will have this Statue to have been the Work of *Phidias* himſelf ; others give it to the Statuary *Diodorus*.

(1) L. 36.

Name of *Rhamnusia*. Antiently the Statues of *Nemesis* were without Wings, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* were the first who gave her any ; however, we find none of them at present either upon the Statues or Medals of this Goddess.

In the Title of this Chapter I have put *Nemesis* or *Nemeses*, because *Pausanias* speaks of them in the plural Number, upon Occasion of the Fact which I am going to relate. “ As *Alexander* the Great, says that “ Author (2) was hunting on Mount *Pagus*, he fell “ asleep under a Plane-tree near the Temple of *the* “ *Nemeses*, when those Goddesses appeared to him, “ and commanded him to build a City on that Spot “ of Ground, and to transport thither the antient “ City of *Smyrna* : Which he accordingly executed, “ for he is the Founder of that City as it is at this “ Day.” We must not forget that the *Romans*, before they set out for War, offered up a Sacrifice to *Nemesis*, as we learn from *Pomponius Lætus*, probably taking that Goddess for *Fortune*, who ought to accompany and favour Warriors.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the DII MANES.

THOUGH the Function of the Gods called *Manes* was to take Care of the Tombs, where they were thought to make their Abode, we rank them however in the Class of the infernal Gods, because it was their Business also to take Care of the Ghosts of those whose dead Bodies they watched over in their Burial Places, and *Pluto* was their Master : This is the very Reason why that God had the Name of *Summanus*, as much as to say *Summus Manium*, *The Sovereign of the Manes*, as we have it in *Martinus Capella* (a).

The Antients had not a very clear Idea of the *Manes*, since they gave their Name also to the Shades of

(1) *Lec. cit.* (2) L. 7.

(a) *Manes Corpori humano Præsules attributi sunt, qui sub Plutonis potestate sunt ; qui ideo summanus dicitur, quasi summus Manium.*

of the Dead : They were often confounded with the *Lares*, sometimes with the *Lemures*.

What Mythology teaches us of more Certainty about them, is, that the Gods *Manes* were *Genii* appointed to take Care of Burying-Places, and of the Ghosts that were thought to wander about their Tombs.

Some Antients give the Goddess *Mania* for the Mother of the *Manes* ; but their true Original is to be referred to a prevailing Opinion that the World was full of *Genii*, as has been said in the first Volume (1) ; that there were of them both for the Living and the Dead ; that the one were good and the other bad, and that the former were called *Familiar Lares*, and the latter *Lemures*, or *Larvæ*. Thus when *Virgil* says, *Quisque suos patimur Manes*, 'tis, according to *Servius*, as if he had said, *We have each of us our Genius* (2).

A Passage in *Apuleius*, with respect to the Demon of *Socrates*, explains this whole Mythology. “ The
“ Genius, says he, is the Soul of Man disengaged
“ and set at Liberty from the Bonds whereby it is
“ united to the Body. I find in the antient *Latin Lan-*
“ *guage* it was named at that Time *Lemur*. Of these
“ *Lemures*, they whose Province it is to take Care of
“ those who inhabit the Houses where they themselves
“ had dwelt, who are gentle and peaceful, are called *fa-*
“ *miliar Lares*. Those on the contrary, who for the
“ Punishment of their bad Lives, have no fixed Re-
“ sidence, but are condemned to wander up and down,
“ raising panic Terrors in the Good, whom they
“ seek to disturb, and inflicting real Evils upon the
“ Wicked, are named *Larvæ* ; and both the one and
“ the other, whether *Lares* or *Larvæ*, go under the
“ Name of *Dii Manes*, and the Designation of Gods
“ is added to them by way of Honour : *Honoris*
“ *gratia Dei vocabulum additum est.*”

I know not what Virtue was in the Noise and clashing of Brass and Iron ; but *Lucian* and *Agatharcides*, cited by *Photius*, assure us (3), that it was so insupportable to the *Manes*, that it put them to Flight.

Thus

(1) B. 4. (2) En. 6. (3) Phil. Pseud.

Thus it was also as to the Ghosts that were in the infernal Regions ; accordingly *Circe*, in *Homer* (1), recommends to *Ulysses*, when he has offered a Sacrifice to the Gods who preside there, and poured out the Blood of the Victims into a Ditch, to take his Sword in his Hand to keep off the Ghosts who would come to suck up the Blood, which they exceedingly thirsted after. *Virgil*, who always copies the *Greek* Poet, says in like Manner, that *Æneas*, upon his Arrival in Hell, took his Sword to defend himself against the same Ghosts who were fluttering about him. But it seems he was going to fall on them in good Earnest, and had a Mind to try a fencing Bout, when the *Sibyl* let him know that his Thrusts would be useless, because they were nothing but vain Phantoms, on whom Steel could make no Impression (a).

But, not to insist on this, Fear, at least as much as Esteem, made People have an extreme Veneration for these Gods, and they never failed to recommend to them the Dead : Hence the usual Form which we find upon the antient Tombs, *D. M. Diis Manibus*. Hence also those frequent Libations that were performed there, the Object whereof was not only the Ghosts of the Dead, but also the Gods *Manes*, by whom they were guarded. The *Augurs* likewise honoured those Gods with a particular Worship, and never failed to invoke them, because they took them to be the Authors of whatever Good and Evil befel us (b).

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Divinities of the Night, Sleep, and Death.

WE take also into the Number of the infernal Gods, *Night*, *Sleep*, and *Death*.

Night, according to *Hesiod* (2), was Daughter of *Chaos* ; and since they made a Divinity of her, they could

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Et, ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas, &c.* *Æn.* l. 6. 292.

(b) As they derived the Name *Manes* from *Manare*, they accordingly believed that Good and Evil proceeded from these Gods, *Manabant*.

(2) *Theog.*

could not but reckon her the first and eldest of all, since 'tis so far true that Darkness preceded Light, and in the Beginning overspread the Face of the Deep: *Et tenebræ erant super faciem abyssi* (1). Accordingly, the Author who goes under *Orpheus's* Name, says she was the Mother of the Gods and Men. The Poets, who came after those now cited, have rivaled one another in painting this Divinity. *Theocritus* makes her appear mounted upon a Chariot, preceded by the Stars of the Firmament. Others give her Wings, to figure the Rapidity of her Course; but he who has given the most ingenious Description of her is *Euripides*, who represents this Goddess muffled up in a large black Vail bespangled with Stars, in her Chariot coursing the vast Circuit of the Heavens; and this Manner of figuring her has been followed by the Painters and Statuaries. Sometimes, however, we find her without her Chariot, with her Veil spangled with Stars fluttering in the Wind, while she approaches the Earth, to extinguish the Torch which she has in her Hand, as is to be seen in a fine Draught taken from a Manuscript in the King's Library, which *Montfaucon* has given in his Paleography; which proves that this Manner of painting *Night* was practised down to the Middle Age, and was still in use in the tenth Century.

As *Night* was only a physical Divinity, or, to speak more justly, was a Nonentity, since Darkness is but the bare Privation of Light, the Poets gave her Children of the same Kind, whom she was said to have had by *Erebus* (2); namely, *Fear, Sorrow, Envy, Labour, Destiny, Old-age, Love, Death, Darkness, Misery, the Parcæ, the Hesperides, Dreams, or Sleep* itself. We may add, before we close this Article, that the Antients confounded *Night* with *Diana*, in so far as she represented the Moon, and painted both of them in the same Manner; or, which comes to the same, with the God *Lunus*, who, according to *Spartian* (3), was worshipped at *Carræ*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, whither the Emperor *Caracalla* undertook an Expedition in

VOL. III.

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order

(1) Gen. 1. v. 2. (2) Cic. 1 3. de Nat. Deor. (3) In Comm.

order to worship that God. Mr. *Maffei* has given a Print of *Lunus's* Statue, where he is represented with the *Phrygian* Bonnet arched before ; and we find him upon Medals standing in a military Habit, with a Pike in his Right-hand, and in his Left a Victory, with a Cock at his Feet, whose crowing by Night intimates the returning of the Dawn.

Noctulius again was another God of the Night ; but he is known only from an Inscription found at *Brest*, upon a Statue which represents that God under the Figure of a young Man habited much like *Atys*, extinguishing his Torch, and having at his Feet an Owl, a Bird of the Night.

We say nothing here of the Moon, the principal Goddess of the Night, having said enough of her in the Article of *Diana*, who, in some Respects, was the Moon itself.

Of Sleep, and his Children.*

I shall begin this Article with a proper Remark. The Invocations made to *Sleep* might have, and actually had, two quite different Senses. When he was invoked for the Dead, as we see in the Forms that sometimes occur upon the Tombs of the Antients, such as this, *Æternali Somno*, and the like, the Sleep of Death was meant ; but on all other Occasions, *Sleep* taken in its natural Signification, whom they addressed, in order to enjoy that peaceful undisturbed Repose which he bestows.

Sleep, according to *Hesiod* (1), was the Son of *Night*, and Brother of *Death*. *Homer* speaking of this God, says (2), *This is Sleep, who is said to be the Brother of Death*. *Virgil*, who never loses Sight of his Original, says the same Thing, & *consanguineus Lethi sopor*. And sure they could never have given him a more apposite Title, since he is the very Image of *Death*. The Author of a Hymn, which passes under *Orpheus's* Name, calls *Sleep* the King of Gods and Men, and of every Thing that breathes upon the Earth. The *Lacedemonians*,

* Called by the *Greeks* ὕπνος.

(1) Theogon. (2) Il. l. 14.

nians, as we are told by *Pausanias*, relying upon *Homer's* Authority, joined in their Temples the Representation of *Sleep* with that of *Death*. “ We see, “ says that Author (1), upon one of the Faces of “ *Cypselus's* Chest, a Woman bearing two Children “ in her Arms, the one white, and the other black ; “ the one asleep, and the other seeming to sleep ; and “ both of them with their Feet misshapen. The In- “ scription makes them known ; but, abstracting “ from the Inscription, who can doubt but that the “ one of these Children is *Sleep*, and the other *Death*, “ and the Woman who holds them, *Night* ? ”

What *Pausanias* says, lets us know that *Sleep* was represented as an Infant ; and this is undeniably proved by a fine Marble of an excellent Taste, which we have now extant. 'Tis a Child buried in profound Sleep, with some Poppies in his Hand, and reclining his Head. Near him is a great Vase, full, no doubt, of some narcotick or soporiferous Liquor. The same Author (2) speaks of a Statue that was in a Temple of *Æsculapius*, which had only the Head ; but as he seldom remembers what he has said, or what he has to say, he does not let us know whether it was the Head of a Child, or that of a Man. As we have another Statue of *Sleep* under the Figure of a winged Infant, 'tis probable that this was the only Manner of representing this God.

Philostratus, in the Picture of *Amphiaraus*, paints *Sleep* under the Figure of a Man cloathed in a black Robe, and another white one above, with a drowsy downcast Eye, and in one Hand holding the Horn, thro' which he sends true Dreams ; where it is proper to remark, that the Antients distinguished two Sorts of Dreams ; the true ones ; that is, those which exhibited Things real ; and false Dreams, which were mere Illusions. The former were contained in an ordinary Horn, the second in an Ivory one : Hence the two Gates of *Sleep* mentioned by *Homer* and *Virgil* (a).

H 2

The

(1) In *Eliac.* c. 18. (2) In *Corinth.*

(a) *Sunt geminae somni portæ, &c. Æn.* l. 6.

The Poets make frequent Mention of Poppies which this God holds in his Horn, and which he sheds upon weary Mortals. *Ovid* is fuller than any other upon the Article of *Sleep*; 'tis in the Place where he says (1), that *Juno*, tired with the fruitless Vows which *Alcyone* was incessantly putting up to her for her Husband, who had perished in Shipwreck, sends *Iris* to the Palace of *Sleep*, to order him to inform that unhappy fond Spouse of her Husband's Death. Nothing is more elegant than the Description the Poet gives of the Palace of this God, and of the *Dreams* that surround him; but I refer to the Author himself, whom we would be obliged to copy Word for Word, if we would lose nothing of so charming a Description.

Dreams passed for the Children of *Sleep*; the Poet now quoted, names three of them; *Morpheus*, who excelled most in assuming the Gate, the Mien, the Air, and tone of Voice of those whom he is to represent; and this *Dream* is only for Men: *Phobetor*, the second, assumes the Similitude of wild Beasts, Birds, and Serpents. The third, called *Phantasia*, transforms himself into Earth, into Rock, River, and every inanimate Thing; but these three *Dreams* were delegated only to the Palaces of Kings and great Ones: There were Numbers of others for the Populace. Further, these three Names agree to what the Poet says of the three *Dreams*; the first signifying *Form and Shape*, which that *Dream* imitated; the second has much the same Signification; and the third is derived from Phantoms which are formed in the Imagination.

Homer places the Mansion of *Sleep* in the Island of *Lemnos*, and there it is accordingly that *Juno* comes in quest of the drowsy God to lull *Jupiter* asleep. The other Poets, among whom is *Ovid* (2), fix the Residence of this God in the Country of the *Cimmerians*, as nothing agrees better to *Sleep* than a Country overspread with eternal Darkness. *Virgil* makes (3) the Habitation of *Sleep* and *Dreams* to be in an old Ash-tree, that grew at the Mouth of Hell.

In

(1) Met. l. 11. (2) Loc. cit. (3) Æn. l. 6.

In fine, the *Greeks* acknowledged a Goddess of *Sleep* called *Brizo*, a Name importing *to sleep*; and another which they termed *Brimo*.

Of DEATH.

As we have observed from *Homer* that *Sleep* was the Brother of *Death*, which is itself the deep eternal *Sleep*, we shall add here a Word or two upon that Divinity; for the *Greeks* reckoned *Death* among their Gods. Their Poets, as well as the *Latins*, and *Virgil* among others (1), gives him that Title. We know nothing about the Worship that was paid him; we only learn, that the *Lacedemonians* honoured him as a Divinity, and had, as *Pausanius* tells us (2), one of his Statues near that of his Brother *Sleep*. We have just now given a Description from that Author of the Statue of *Night*, bearing in her Arms her two Sons, *Death* and *Sleep*.

Nænia, the Goddess of Funerals, had a Worship better established, and History makes mention of a Chapel which she had at *Rome*, without the Walls of the City. It was especially at the Funerals of old Men, if we may believe *Varro*, whose Testimony is quoted by St. *Augustine* (3), that double Honours were paid to this Goddess; and from the same Divinity were derived the Names of those mournful Ditties that were sung at Funerals. This Goddess, in short, who is little known but from *Arnobius*, the only Antient, of those whose Writings are extant, that speaks of her, was never employed but in the Agonies of the Patient. Then it was they began to invoke her.

Such are the Gods who are said by Mythologists to preside over the infernal Regions. Of the same Number they reckon *Jupiter Stygius* and *Juno Stygia*; but I have proved elsewhere, that in this Acceptation they were the same with *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. *Eiber* and *Hecate*, who, at Bottom, are no other than the Sun and Moon, when upon their Descent to the lower Hemisphere, they went, according to popular Belief, to enlighten the Kingdom of Ghosts; also *Mercury*; but

H 3

this

(1) *Æn.* l. 2. (2) *In Lacon.* (3) *De Civ. Dei.* l. 5.

this God only conducted the Souls thither, then returned to Heaven his ordinary Mansion.

Lastly, to omit nothing of Importance upon this Subject, it remains that I speak of the Worship that was paid to the infernal Gods, and of those signal Offenders, who were believed to be condemned to dwell eternally in *Tartarus*.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Worship paid to the Infernal Gods.

BESIDES what I have said in the preceding Chapters of the Worship and Honours that were paid to each of the Infernal Gods, I shall here add a few Remarks that relate to them all in general. The first is, that no Altars were erected to them, these being reserved for the celestial Gods, but only Ditches were made for receiving the Blood of the Victims. *Secondly*, that those Victims were to be black, to distinguish them from those offered to the celestial Gods. *Thirdly*, that the Priests in their Sacrifices only had their Heads covered. *Fourthly*, that when Sacrifice was offered to the Infernal Gods, the Priest, in reciting the Prayers prescribed by the Ritual, kissed his Hand, and turned it towards the Earth, whereas he had it lifted up when he addressed those Prayers to the Gods of Heaven, and with his Hand touched the Earth itself when he sacrificed to her. Hence, in the fifth Place, the Distinction of Gods, into superior Gods, *Superi*, and inferior Gods, so noted among the Antients to point out those of Heaven and those of Hell. It was even a received Axiom, that the living were above, *Superi*, with respect to the Dead; as those of Heaven are in Relation to Men, which *Macrobius* thus expresses (1): *Sicut Dii nobis, ita nos defunctis Superi habemur*.

A sixth Remark is, that *Pluto*, and all the other Infernal Gods, were generally hated, as we read in *Homer* (2); the Reason whereof was, that those Gods passed for inflexible,

(1) *Somn. Scip.* l. i. c. 3. (2) *Il.* l. 9. v. 158.

inflexible, and were so little moved by the Prayers of Men, that they hardly deigned to lend an Ear to them. *Euripides* adds, that this was the very Reason why neither Temples nor Altars were erected to them, nor any Hymns composed to their Honour. The same Gods were accounted so ferocious and unsocial, that they always lived by themselves, and had but very little Commerce with others, as we are told by the same Poet (1). Not but that some Worship was paid them; but besides their being rarely addressed, it was not to ask Favours of them, as of the other Gods, but only with a View to appease them, and prevent their doing Mischief; tho', at the same Time, the Votary had no great Prospect of Success.

A last Remark is, that the Infernal Gods were so many Sovereigns in their gloomy Region, as those of Heaven were in theirs, and the latter, tho' more honoured, had not, however, any Jurisdiction over the former; the Division once made, the three Brothers became absolutely independent of one another. When *Juno* brought *Æolus* to raise that Storm which did so much Damage to *Æneas's* Fleet (2), *Neptune* gave him roundly to understand that he was Master.

C H A P. XIX.

*The History of those whom the Poets have placed
in Tartarus.*

The GIANTS and the Titans.

WE may easily judge in the first Place, that they would not fail to lodge there the *Giants* and *Titans*, for having declared War upon the Gods. The very History of the *Titans*, which we have given from *Euhemerus* and other Antients, sets forth, that *Jupiter*, after their Defeat, had imprisoned some of them under Mount *Etna*, which was reckoned one of the Vents of Hell, others in *Tartarus* itself. There accordingly was confined *Egean*, *Parphyrion*, and the rest; but of them we have said enough in the History of the Gods.

H 4

The

(1) Hecuba. (2) *Æn.* l. 1.

The same Poets represent in these doleful Mansions, several other Personages, famous in fabulous History.

S I S Y P H U S.

Among the illustrious Wretches that were lodged in *Tartarus* was *Sisyphus*, condemned to roll up a huge Rock to the Top of a Mountain, whence it quickly came tumbling down again by its own Weight ; and this sad and painful Task left him not a Moment's Repose. The Name of this Prince is very famous in the ancient History of *Greece*. Illustrious by Birth, he derived his Origin from *Eolus*, being descended from him in a right Line. After the Retreat, or if you please, the Flight of *Medea*, who from the Return of the *Argonauts*, had reigned ten Years at *Corinth* (1), *Sisyphus* ascended the Throne, to whom she had destined it, and who had a Title to it by Birth-right ; and if we reckon the two Years that intervened between *Jason's* Return to *Colchos*, whither he carried *Medea*, before they were obliged to retire to *Corinth*, it will be about twelve Years after the Conquest of the Golden Fleece, that *Sisyphus* began to reign. Now, as we know the Date of the Expedition of the *Argonauts* (2), we can consequently determine that of the Reign of this Prince ; that is to say, he reigned twenty-four or twenty-five Years before the War of *Troy* ; how many Years his Reign lasted we cannot say, but we know he lived to a very great Age.

Ennelus (3), an ancient Poet, who had wrote the History of *Corinth*, after having said that *Sisyphus* mounted the Throne in room of *Medea*, gave the Series of that Prince's Descendants, down to the Conquest of *Corinth* by the *Heracleidae*, and that Genealogy began with *Ornytion*, the youngest of *Sisyphus's* Children, and was carried down to *Doridas* and *Hyathincidas*, who were the two last, and who reign'd at *Corinth* at the Time of the Return of the *Heracleidae* into the *Peloponnesus*, that is, 80 Years after the taking of *Troy*.

(1) Apoll. l. 1. (2) See that History in Vol. vi. (3) Pausan. in Corinth.

Troy. To *Pausanias* we are indebted for this Fragment of *Eumelus's* History : In the mean time, *Paulmier de Grant-Menil* is persuaded, that the Poet whose Sentiment is delivered by *Pausanias*, is mistaken in making *Sisyphus* contemporary with *Jason*. *Sisyphus*, says he, who reigned at *Corinth*, was the Son of *Eolus*, and Brother of *Cretheus*, *Jason's* Grand-father, and consequently older than that Prince. This learned Critic relies upon *Euripides's Medea*, wherein it appears that *Sisyphus* was dead when *Jason* came to *Corinth*, since *Creon* was then reigning there. But may we not say, in order to reconcile those two Opinions, that there were two *Sisyphus's*, the one *Eolus's* Son, and the other his Descendant ; that the former had no Successor of his Family, and that *Medea*, when she quitted the Throne of *Corinth*, had raised to it *Sisyphus* II. to whom it belonged ? For in short the Genealogy of *Sisyphus* given by *Eumelus*, appears to be very consistent ; and it is no rare Thing, especially in those ancient Times, for two Princes of the same Name to be confounded together ; and when the Heirs of the first have not reigned, yet the Crown has afterwards returned to his Family. But what clearly proves my Assertion, *Pausanias*, who in his Travels to *Corinth* had spoke of *Sisyphus*, who was contemporary with *Jason* and *Medea*, makes mention of another who was Brother-german to *Athamas*, who, after the fatal Death of his Children, adopted his Grand-nephews, *Coronus* and *Haliartus*, the Sons of *Thersander*, and Grandsons to *Sisyphus*. Now *Athamas*, the Father of *Phryxus*, who had retired into *Colchis*, lived before the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, who took Arms only to recover his Succession.

Sisyphus, I said, lived to great Age, and upon this Article the Antients broached two Fables. According to *Pherecides*, who published the first, this Prince was said to have chained up Death, whom he confined till *Mars* delivered him at the Request of *Pluto*, whose Kingdom was become desolate, by Reason of Men's not dying as usual. The second intimated, that *Sisyphus*

Sisyphus had actually died young, but had obtained Permission from the Gods of Hell to return to the World, to go and punish his Wife for having too well obeyed him (*a*); but that having once repassed the *Cocytus*, he had no Mind to return into the infernal Regions.

These two Fictions, no doubt, intimate to us obscurely, that *Sisyphus* recovered from some Sickneſs that was thought to be mortal, and that having recovered his Health after he was believed to be dead, he lived thereafter to an extreme old age. It was for that Reason, they tell us, that *Pluto* condemned him inceſſantly to roll that enormous Rock which I have mentioned at the Beginning of this Article; as if they had a mind thereby to let us know, that no Efforts of Man can avail to ſtop the rapid Career of the Days that are allotted to him, nor retard the fatal Period preſcribed to human Life: Or rather, to leave us the Emblem of an ambitious Prince, who had long revolved in his Mind Schemes that were never put in Execution.

Pausanias, however, aſſigns another Cauſe of this Prince's Punishment, and ſays, that he ſuffers in Hell for having let *Aſopus* know the Place where *Jupiter* had hid *Egina*, of whom that God was enamoured.

Sisyphus, we are told, was a Man of great Cunning and

(*a*) *Sisyphus*, according to the Fable, returns from Hell. Thus the Story is related by *Noël le Comte*, after *Demetrius* upon *Pindar's Olympiads*. “ Others maintain that *Sisyphus* was condemned to roll
“ his Stone in Hell, for having perfidiously cheated the ſubterra-
“ nean Demons, telling us that after Death he went down to the
“ infernal Regions, and there played one of his Tricks upon *Plu-*
“ *to*: Being at the Point of Death, he commanded his Wife to
“ throw out his Body into the publick Place without Burial; which
“ ſhe having done, he aſk'd Leave of *Pluto* to go and chaſtiſe his
“ Wife, who had ſhewed ſo little Regard to him, promiſing to re-
“ turn ſoon. But having obtained his Requeſt upon this Condition,
“ ſo ſoon as he had breathed the Air of this World he was reſolved
“ to return no more to the other, till *Mercury* graſping him by the
“ Throat, brought him back thither, putting in Execution the
“ ſaid Decree of the Gods againſt him. Others again will have it,
“ that it was for offering Violence to his Niece *Tyrro*.” *Trad. de*
Jean de Mont-Ljard.

and Policy. He married *Anticlea*, Daughter of *Autolychus*, by whom he had a Daughter of the same Name, who was married to *Laertes*, *Ulysses's* Father. *Autolychus*, who thought himself at least as crafty as *Sisyphus*, stole some of his Oxen, and having mixed them with his own, hoped thereby to conceal his Theft ; but *Sisyphus*, who had mark'd all his Oxen under the Foot, had no Difficulty to know them again. This Artifice struck *Autolychus*, who having conceived a high Opinion of *Sisyphus*, gave him his Daughter in Marriage.

Pausanias (1) relates another Passage of *Sisyphus's* Life, which I ought not to omit ; from it we learn his Piety to *Melicerta*. That Author, speaking of the Confines of *Cremion*, where *Theseus* had defeated a Robber surnamed *Pytocampes*, says there was hard by an Altar to *Melicerta* : For it was asserted that a Dolphin had taken him out of the Sea when he was drown'd, and had brought him to that Place. *Sisyphus* finding him exposed upon the Shore, had him interred, and instituted in his Honour the *Isthmian Games*. It was in the same Isthmus of *Corinth*, as we are told by the same Author, that *Sisyphus* himself was interred ; but his Monument was known but to few Persons.

T I T Y U S.

Homer in two Places of his *Odyssey* (2) makes mention of *Tityus* : The first is, where *Alcinous* tells *Ulysses* that *Rhadamanthus* had once gone to the Island of *Eubæa*, with a Design to see there *Tityus* : The second is, where speaking of the Ghosts which *Ulysses* found in Hell, he makes him say :

*There Tityus large and long, in Fetters bound,
O'erspreads nine Acres of infernal Ground ;
Two rav'nous Vultures, furious for their Food,
Scream o'er the Fiend, and riot in his Blood,
Incessant gore the Liver in his Breast,
Th' immortal Liver grows, and gives th' immortal Feast.
For as o'er Panope's enamel'd Plains
Latona journey'd to the Pythian Fanes,*

With

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) L. 7. & l. 11.

*With haughty Love th'audacious Monster strove,
To force the Goddess, and to rival Jove.*

POPE'S *Odys.* B. 11. v. 709.

Strabo accordingly alledges, that this *Tityus* was a Tyrant of *Panope*, a Town in *Phocis*, not far from *Delphos*, who for his Oppressions drew upon himself the Indignation of the People, and was equally odious to Gods and Men.

The Fables which Antiquity published in relation to him are easy to be explained. The first, which makes him the Son of the *Earth*, has no other Foundation but the Name of this Tyrant, which imports *Earth* or *Clay*; or if you please, it derives its Origin from another Fiction, importing that *Jupiter* being enamoured of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenos*, she had been obliged, in order to evade *Juno's* Jealousy, to conceal herself in the Bowels of the Earth, where she was delivered of *Tityus*. The second, importing that he was a Giant whose Body covered nine Acres of Ground, had no other Foundation, as we are told by *Pausanias* (1), but that the Place of his Burial, which was near *Panope*, contained precisely a like Quantity of Ground, which *Homer*, who probably had that Tomb in his Eye, had expressed poetically.

The third is, that *Apollo*, by his Arrows, had rid the Earth of this Monster, because he had probably died young, or by a violent Death, all violent or untimely Deaths being attributed to that God, as we have had Occasion to notice oftner than once. The fourth and last, that he was incessantly prey'd upon in Hell by two Vultures, is explained by *Lucretius* (2), when he says that the true *Tityus* is he whose Heart is consumed by Love, that Passion being commonly accompanied with the most cutting Anxieties and Cares.

We may however suppose, either that *Tityus's* Tyranny did not last through the whole Course of his Life, but that towards the End of his Reign he repaired the Evils which he had done at the Beginning, or that the Inhabitants of *Eubœa* had not the same Idea.

(1) In *Phoc.* (2) *De rer. nat.* l. 3.

Idea of him with those of *Panope*, since *Strabo* (1) says, that in *Eubæa* was still to be seen in his Time, a Cave named *Elara*, from the Name of his Mother, and a Chapel where *Tityus* had a religious Worship paid to him. But does not *Strabo*, in saying he reigned at *Panope*, contradict *Homer*, who makes *Rhadamanthus* travel to *Eubæa*, there to see *Tityus*? Madam *Dacier* has endeavoured to reconcile this Contradiction, by saying, that *Elara* being delivered of *Tityus*, sent him to *Eubæa* to screen him from the Jealousy of her Rival ; that he was there educated, and that during his Youth *Rhadamanthus* came to see him ; that *Tityus* came afterwards to *Panope*, where he reigned ; and that the *Eubæans*, who had taken Care of his Education, had consecrated to him the Chapel which we have now mentioned.

P H L E G Y A S.

We find also in *Tartarus* the unfortunate *Phlegyas*, who is there under the eternal Apprehension of the Fall of a Rock that hangs over his Head. His Crime was, that he burnt the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, because he believed his Daughter had been debauched by that God (a) ; probably some Priest being in love with her, had assumed the Habit and Equipage of that God. *Phlegyas* is the Preacher in those sorrowful Mansions, as we are told by *Virgil* (b),

*There Phlegyas feels unutterable Woe,
And roars incessant thro' the Shades below ;
Be just, ye Mortals ! by these Torments aw'd,
These dreadful Torments, not to scorn a God.*

PITT'S *Æn.* vi. 860.

An useless Sermon, since it is delivered to those who
are

(1) In loc. cit.

(a) *Phlegyas autem, Ixionis pater, habuit Coronidem filiam, quam Apollo vitiavit, unde suscepit Æsculapium : quod pater dolens incendit Apollinis Templum, & ejus sagittis est ad inferos trusus.*
Servius in l. vi. Æneid.

(b) *Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes*

Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras

Discite justitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos. *Æn.* l. vi.

are no longer capable to practise such excellent Precepts of Morality.

Statius adds, that poor *Pblegyas* was pining away for Hunger under the insupportable Load of a hideous Rock. A very painful Situation for a Preacher, and doubtless it will not be easy to justify *Virgil* for making him cry so loud while he is fasting, and has so enormous a Weight upon his Breast.

As *Pausanias*, of all the Antients, has enlarged most upon the History of *Pblegyas*, I shall recite all that he says of him (1). *Eteocles* having died without Sons, the Descendants of *Halmus* took Possession of his Dominions, for he had only two Daughters, *Chryfogenia* and *Cbryse*. The latter, by an Intrigue with *Mars*, had a Son called *Pblegyas*, who afterwards possessed the Throne of his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and changed the Name of the Country called *Andreis* into that of *Pblegyas*, which it has ever since retained. This Prince having built a Town after his own Name, peopled it with a Body of the bravest Men whom he could draw together from all Parts of *Greece*; and of this Medley was formed an audacious People who pretended to make a separate Community; and thus having made a Separation from the *Orchomenians*, had no other Aim but to aggrandize themselves upon the Ruin of their Neighbours. They carried their Audaciousness so far as to march against *Delphos*, and attempt to pillage the Temple of *Apollo*. *Philamman* came to the Relief of the Inhabitants of this City with a select Band of *Argives*; but he and his Men were slain in a Battle which was fought under the Walls of *Delphos*. This Victory encreased the Courage and Audaciousness of the *Pblegaeans*; accordingly *Homer* represents them as a very warlike People. 'Tis in that Place of the *Iliad* where the Poet speaks of *Mars*, and *Terror*, which is the Offspring of that God; he puts the *Pblegaeans* in the same Rank for Valour. The Fire of Heaven, says *Pausanias*, Pestilence and continual Earthquakes exterminated that Nation at last.

Those

(1) In *Corinth.* c. 26. in *Beot.* c. 36.

Those who saved themselves, passed into *Phocis*, and were never more heard of.

Phlegyas, adds the same Author (1), made an Expedition to the *Peloponnesus*, apparently out of Curiosity, but in Effect to spy out the Country in Person, and to see if the Inhabitants were numerous and warlike. For this Prince was the greatest Warrior in his Time; wherever he came he laid waste the Country, and always carried off a great deal of Booty. He had but one Daughter, who having suffered herself to be debauched by a Priest of *Apollo*, became Mother to *Esculapius*, as we shall see in the following Book (2).

Phlegyas having died without Sons, *Chryses* his Nephew, by his Sister-in-Law, succeeded him. The two Fables blended with this History, the one that he was the Son of *Mars*, the other that he was punished in *Tartarus*, are easy to be explained. His singular Valour no Doubt made them give him *Mars* for his Father; and besides they never failed to palm upon some God the Intrigues of Ladies of the Rank of *Chryse* his Mother: His Enterprize against *Delphos* is undoubtedly what made him be accounted an *Atheist*. The Kind of Punishment inflicted upon him, is nothing but a poetical Figure to which probably his ambitious and restless Spirit gave a Handle. However, if we may credit S. *Augustin* (3), who had picked up several of the antient Traditions of *Greece*, it was not *Phlegyas* but *Danaus* that burnt the Temple of *Delphos*.

T A N T A L U S.

Tantalus was the Son of *Tmolus*, King of *Lydia* in the *Lesser Asia*. *Tzetzes* informs us (4) from all the Antients that this was a Prince religious to Extremity, and that he carried Superstition so far as to offer to the Gods human Sacrifices; which made him be looked upon as impious, and induced the Poets to condemn him to the Punishment which we are going to speak of. In

(1) In Corinth. (2) See the History of this God, B. 5.
(3) De Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 12. (4) Hist. 10. c. 5.

In the mean Time *Ovid* and *Hyginus* (a) make him to have incurred this Punishment for revealing the Secrets of the Gods, whose High Priest he was, that is, for disclosing the Myſteries of their Worſhip; a Thing prohibited with the utmoſt Rigour.

Pausanias, in the Deſcription of a Picture of *Polygnotes* (1), ſpeaks of a ſacrilegious Theft committed by *Tantalus*, and of an Oath he made, adding, that his Accomplice on that Occaſion was *Pandarus*. This Theft is a Point of Mythology not much known: And indeed the common Opinion is, that *Tantalus* ſuffers in Hell for having ſerved up to the Gods the Members of his Son *Pelops*, as we have already ſaid; but *Pindar*, and after him *Didymus*, informs us that this Prince, admitted to the Table of the Gods, ſtole the Nectar and Ambroſia to give away to Mortals. The Scholiaſt on *Pindar* has followed another Tradition, from what *Lucian* alledged, that *Tantalus* had ſtole a Dog which *Jupiter* had committed to him to guard his Temple in *Crete*. *Jupiter* having asked him what was become of the Dog, he answered that he knew nothing of the Matter; and this they will have to be the Theft and the falſe Oath we mentioned.

Pausanias, I ſaid, advanced, that *Pandarus* had been *Tantalus's* Accomplice in that Crime, and in his Perjury: *Pandarus*, according to this Author, was of *Miletus*, and if we may credit *Homer*, the Gods took away his Life, perhaps as a Punishment for his Sacrilege. *Penelope*, in whose Mouth the Poet puts this Piece of Hiſtory, adds, that the Daughters of *Pandarus* being Orphans, *Venus* herſelf took Care of their Education, and that the other Goddeſſes heaped Favours upon them; that *Juno* gave them Wiſdom and Beauty, *Diana* added the Advantage of Shape and Stature;
Minerva

(a) *Quarit aquas in aquis, &c.*

- - - - - *Hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Jupiter concedere *Tantalo* ſua conſilia ſolitus erat, & ad epulum Deorum admittere, quæ *Tantalus* ad homines renunciavit, ob idque dicitur in inferis in aqua media parte corporis ſtare. *Hygin.* Fab. 82.

(1) In Phoc.

Minerva taught them all Sorts of Works fuitable to Women ; that when they were marriageable, *Venus* re-ascended Heaven to supplicate *Jupiter* to grant them a happy Match, and that during this Absence of the Goddess, the Harpies carried off these Princesses, and delivered them to the Furies.

The Sense of this Fable, which I never read but in *Homer*, is, that these Virgins having lost their Father in their Youth, their Tutors took great Care of their Education, and that they died when they were upon the Point of being married. Thus it is that the most simple Facts have always been transmitted to us under the Mask of Fiction.

As to *Tantalus*, *Ovid* tells us, that the Gods having gone to visit that Prince, he had a Mind to try if they knew hidden Things, and thereby to judge of their Divinity ; that for this Effect he served up to them the Body of young *Pelops* his Son, mixed with other Meat ; that *Ceres* finding it an excellent Dish, ate up a Shoulder, and that *Jupiter*, who discovered *Tantalus's* barbarous Curiosity, had restored the young Prince to Life, giving him an Ivory Shoulder instead of that which had been eaten, and flung *Tantalus* Headlong to Hell ; where seated, according to *Homer*, in the Midst of a sumptuous Banquet, he no sooner puts forth his Hand to the Food than it flies from him, and in like Manner the Water when he offers to drink. However, in the Picture by *Polygnotus* which we have mentioned, this Prince was represented in a dreadful Fright upon Account of a huge Rock that hangs over him, and threatens every Moment to fall.

Pausanias says the Painter had borrowed this Idea from *Archilochus's* Poems, but that he knows not whether *Archilochus* was the Inventor thereof, or if he had taken it from some other Poet : In that Case, *Tantalus* and *Phlegyas* would have suffered the same Punishment.

'Tis pretty probable that this Fable of *Tantalus's* being set in the midst of Meat and Drink without being able to taste thereof, is a Consequence of that

which makes him offer to the Gods human Sacrifices ; and that the Poets, to create a greater Abhorrence to that barbarous Custom, feigned that he had offered to them his own Son, and spoke of this Sacrifice under the Notion of a Feast ; unless we would choose rather to say with *Pindar* (1), that what had given Rise to this Fable, is, that *Neptune*, that is to say, some famous Privateer, having stole away young *Pelops*, some one or other, in order to make *Tantalus* odious, published the Fable of this barbarous Repast, and added that *Ceres* had ate a Shoulder of *Pelops*, *Tantalus* having offered human Sacrifices to that Goddess : But I should rather think that an Adventure related by *Pausanias* (2), had given Rise to the Fable.

As among the other Fatalities of *Troy*, the City could not be taken by the *Greeks*, unless they had the Bones of *Pelops*, they therefore sent to *Pisa* where he was interred. The Vessel was Shipwrecked in its Return, and some Time after a Peasant found upon the Shore the Shoulder of that Prince, and hid it under the Sand. The *Eleans* having gone to the Temple of *Delphos* to consult the Oracle, in order to be delivered from the Plague, the Priestess ordered them to go and dig up the Bones of *Pelops* : Perhaps in Memory of this Event they made an Ivory Shoulder, which they consecrated to *Ceres*, and the *Pelopidae* bore it afterwards upon their Ensigns.

Whatever be in that, to come to something more certain, *Tantalus* had a long War with *Tros* the King of *Troy*, upon Account of the Rape of *Ganymede* his Son. This War at last obliged *Pelops*, after the Death of his Father *Tantalus*, to leave *Phrygia* and repair to *Oenomaus* whose Daughter he married ; but of him we shall speak at more length in the History of the Heroes. *Tantalus* lived about a hundred and thirty Years before the taking of *Troy*, as will be easily seen when we come to speak of the Succession of Kings of that City, from *Tros* to *Priam*. We shall continue
our

(1) *Olymp.* (2) *In Eliac.*

our History and give a short Account of the *Danaids* and their Punishment.

The DANAIDS.

What may have given Occasion to the Punishment of the *Danaids*, according to *Diodorus*, was that Custom among the Priests of *Achas*, of pouring Water into a Cask full of Holes, whence *Orpheus* took the Hint of destining the same Punishment to the *Danaids* who had cut their Husbands Throats. Every body knows that *Danaus*, upon his Departure from *Egypt* with his Daughters(1), because the Oracle had foretold him that he was to be killed by one of his Sons-in-Law, retired into *Greece*, where he was chosen King of *Argos*; that the Sons of *Egyptus* his Brother went in quest of him, and married their Cousins; that *Danaus* obliged his Daughters to put their Husbands to Death, and that *Hypermnestra* alone saved her Husband. *Danaus*, as we are told by *Pausanias*, arraigned his Daughter *Hypermnestra*, in order to be condemned for her Disobedience, but the People declared her innocent; and she caused a Temple to be built in *Argos* itself to the Goddess *Pitbo*, i. e. Of *Persuasion*. The same Author says there was still to be seen in that City the Judgment-Hall where that Cause was tried, as well as the Tomb of that Princess and her Husband. I shall have Occasion to take Notice afterwards in what Manner *Lyncæus* succeeded his Brother-in-Law *Danaus*, and how he put him to Death.

By Way of Punishment of those Princesses, who had embrued their Hands in the Blood of their own Husbands; they were supposed to suffer in the Manner already mentioned; this is the received Opinion. In the mean Time *Eusebius* and some others (a); reckon what had given Rise to this Fiction, was; that they had laboured in digging Wells in *Argos*; where some

I 2

of

(1) See Apollod. Pauf. &c.

(a) *Eusebius*, Chron. l. i. says: *Danaus fecit abundare aquis agros*; and the *Greek* which is not translated by St. *Jerom*, adds, *Ope Danaidarum*. The *Egyptians* were skilled in the Art of conveying Water by Means of Pumps and Canals: this was the only Way of fructifying their Lands.

of them had been continually employed in drawing Water by Pumps, which is a very painful Exercise, which made those who were condemned to that Labour take Occasion to say, that the Gods, to punish those Princesses, had condemned them in Hell to fill a Vessel full of Holes.

The Tomb of those Sons of *Egyptus* was at *Argos*, according to *Pausanias* (1), upon the Highway that led to the Citadel. And indeed, says he, thither were their Heads carried and interred; but their Bodies remained at *Lerna*, where they had been slain. *The Wives of those young Men*, continues he, *after having slain their Husbands, cut off their Heads and carried them to Danaus their Father, as a Proof at once of their Obedience and of their Obduracy.* This Author, who found in *Argolis* many Monuments of this History, says in the 25th Chapter, speaking of the City *Lyncea*, there it was that *Lyncæus* retired, when he alone of all the fifty Brothers had escaped the Fate that threatened them all, and that from thence he had given *Hypermnestra* a Signal with a lighted Torch; for he had agreed with her, that so soon as he found himself secure from the Ambuscades of *Danaus*, he would give her Notice of it from the Top of the Citadel of *Larissa*, if he thought she would be quite out of Danger. In Memory of this Event the *Argives* celebrated every Year a Festival which they called the Feast of Torches.

I have observed in the Beginning of this Article that *Diodorus* says, the Priests of *Achas* had a Custom of drawing Water in a Vessel full of Holes: This Author assigns not the Reason of it; but I have read somewhere that it was in order to refine and purify the Water of the *Nile*, to be employed afterwards in Sacrifice.

The two A L O I D E S.

In fine, that I may omit nothing that relates to those noted Offenders who were doomed to *Tartarus*, I shall first give the Fable of the *Aloides*, as we have it in
Apollodorus,

(1) Loc. cit. c. 24.

Apollodorus (1), then shall subjoin their History. *Iphimedia*, the Daughter of *Triopas*, having married *Aloeus*, fell in Love with *Neptune* (this was some Sea Captain) and having had frequent Interviews with her Gallant upon the Shore, she at last proved with Child, and brought him two Sons *Ephialtes* and *Otus*. These young Princes growing every Year a Cubit in Breadth, and a Yard in Height, became so insolent from seeing themselves at the Age of nine Years as big and strong as the most famous Giants, that they thought none could be an Over-match for them : Thus they attempted to dethrone *Jupiter* himself, and in order to make an irresistible Assault upon him they piled Mount *Pelion* and *Ossa* above *Olympus*. Thence those presumptuous Giants menacing the Sovereign of the Gods, had the Insolence to demand of him *Juno* and *Diana* ; and *Mars* offering to oppose their Enterprize, took him Prisoner and clapped him in Chains, from whence he was released by *Mercury*. At length, the Gods finding their Power useless against such terrible Enemies, were obliged to have Recourse to Artifice ; *Diana* having perceived them in a Chariot, transformed herself into a Hind, and run in directly between them. As they were going to draw their Arrows they wounded each other, and by their Death delivered the Gods from the Terror they had been under : *Jupiter* threw them down into the Depth of *Tartarus*.

Homer and *Pindar* say they were slain by *Apollo* at *Naxos* above *Paros*, and *Pausanias* adds (2), that their Tomb was at *Anthedon* in *Beotia*, a City upon the Banks of the *Euripus*.

Some hold that *Ephialtes* and *Otus* were the first who sacrificed to the Muses upon Mount *Helicon*, and consecrated to them that Mountain. 'Tis likewise thought that *Asera* was built by them. This is what we learn from *Hegefinous* in his Poem upon *Attica*, when he says, that *Neptune* having won the good Graces of the beautiful *Asera*, had by her a Son named *Oecclus* ; who in Concert with the Sons of *Alocus* built the

City *Afera* at the Foot of the humid heliconian Mount. Nothing remarkable of the City *Afera* remains but a single Tower.

The Sons of *Aloeus* instituted the Worship of three Muses only, and the Names they gave them were *Melete*, *Mneme*, and *Aæde*, that is, *Meditation*, *Memory*, and *Song*; whence 'tis easy to judge that these Sons of *Aloeus*, by giving those Names to the Muses, did only personify the three Things which are subservient to the Composition of a Poem.

After the following Manner is the Adventure of those two Giants with *Mars* related by *Homer* (1).

*The mighty Mars in mortal Fetters bound,
And lodg'd in brazen Dungeons under Ground,
Full thirteen Moons imprison'd roar'd in vain;
Otus and Ephialtes held the Chain:
Perhaps had perish'd; had not Hermes' Care
Restor'd the groaning God to upper Air.*

Pope's Iliad VI. 475.

F. Hardouin (2), after his usual Way, gives a very odd Explication of this Fable. Two Princes, says he, had made a Truce. They had put up their Arms on both Sides in a good Arsenal, for the Space of a Year or more. A Declaration of War which followed, stirred up *Mercury*, that is the Love of Spoil, and set *Mars* at Liberty, or War which had only been suspended for thirteen Months; but had it not been for *Eribæus* and *Mercury*, *Mars* had perhaps perished, that is, the War had been entirely extinguish'd. For my own Part, without having Recourse to such Refinement, I would explain it that these two Princes having taken some famous Warrior Prisoner, kept him confined thirteen Months; at the End of which *Mercury*, that is, some able Trader, at the Solicitation of *Eribæus*, procured his Deliverance. This brazen Prison which *Homer* speaks of, or that Cask of the same Metal, where, according to *Arnobius*, his Enemies kept him shut up, means no more but that he was close confined in a strong

(1) Il. 5. (2) Apolog. d'Hom. p. 198.

strong and inaccessible Prison. *Diodorus Siculus* adds to this History, that *Butes* the Son of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*, having become delirious for offering to carry off the *Bacchanals* who were celebrating the *Orgies*, threw himself into a Well where he was drowned. This Event which was construed as a Punishment inflicted upon him by *Bacchus* for that Impiety, did not hinder his Soldiers from seizing the other *Bacchanals*, of whom the most considerable were *Iphimedia*, the Wife of *Aloeus*, and her Daughter *Pancratis*; and they returned into *Strongylos* with their Spoil. There they chose for their King in *Butes's* Stead, *Agassamenus*, whom they got to marry the fair *Pancratis*, *Aloeus's* Daughter. Before this Election two of the principal *Thracians*, named *Sicelus* and *Ecetor*, had already killed one another in contending for that Princess. As for *Iphimedia*, *Agassamenus*, or *Agassamedus*, gave her in Marriage to one of his Friends whom he had named his Lieutenant. In the mean Time *Aloeus* had sent his two Sons, *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, in quest of his Wife and his Daughter. These Princes having made a Descent upon *Strongylos*, vanquished the *Thracians* and took their City. *Pancratis* died some Time after; *Otus* and *Ephialtes* endeavoured to settle in that Island, and even to make themselves Masters of it, which they accordingly brought about, and changed the Name of *Strongylos* into that of *Dia* (1). After this the two Brothers having made War upon one another, and lost many Men, perished in it themselves, and after their Death received the Name and Honours of Heroes. The *Thracians*, for the Space of more than two hundred Years, were in Possession of that Island, when a great Famine made them quit it (a).

I 4

We

(1) Sacred Island.

(a) I spoke before at considerable Length of the two *Aloides* in the History of the *Giants*, Book I. But as I had omitted several Particulars pretty curious, I thought fit to resume that History, and I hope I shall be forgiven this Representation as well as some others which 'tis impossible to avoid in a Work of this Nature, however great Precaution be used.

We find also in *Tartarus*, *Oedipus*, *Etheocles*, *Polynices*, *Ixion*, *Theseus*, *Porphyryon*, and some others, whose Crimes are well enough known ; but we shall have a more natural Occasion to speak of them in the sixth Volume.



B O O K V.

Of some other Gods adored by the Greeks and Romans.

BESIDES the Gods discoursed of in the preceding Books, the *Greeks* and *Romans* owned a great many others, whom they placed in none of the four Classes to which I have reduced the others (a). *Cicero* (1), after he has discoursed of the natural Gods, such as *Heaven*, the *Earth*, the *Stars*, &c. adds, “ Besides those there are many others who have been
 “ deified by the Sages of *Greece* and by our An-
 “ cestors, from a Persuasion that whatever is of great
 “ Benefit to Mankind, is derived to them from divine
 “ Goodness.—— They also made a nominal God of
 “ any Thing of singular Virtue ; for Example *Faith*,
 “ *Intelligence*. These *Scaurus* placed not long ago in
 “ the Capitol among the Divinities. *Faith* had been
 “ put there before by *Calatinus*. You have before
 “ your Eyes the Temple of *Virtue*, and that of *Honour*,
 “ rebuilt by *Marcellus*, raised at first by *Fabius*. Shall
 “ I mention the Temples dedicated to *Help*, to *Safety*,
 “ *Liberty*, *Concord*, *Victory*, all which are deified, be-
 “ cause their Natures can only be inherent in a Di-
 “ vine

(a) The Mythologists call these Gods *Axonoi*, out of the *Zones*, that is, to speak more clearly, out of the Classes into which they ranged the others.

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 1.

“vine Power? This in like Manner is what made
 “them consecrate the Names of *Cupid, Pleasure,*
 “*Venus, &c.*”

This learned Author is far from naming all the Gods of this Kind, as we shall see in the Sequel. After having fully examined their Natures, I think they may be reduced to five or six Heads. I mean to the Virtues, the Affections, and Passions of the Soul, to the Vices, the principal Actions of Life, as Marriage, Health, Diseases, Repasts, Joy; for they had Gods for eating, drinking, sleeping, &c. Let us begin with what was most rational in Paganism, I mean the Virtues which they deified.

C H A P. I.

*Of some Beings, and particularly of the Virtues
 that were raised to Divinities.*

F E L I C I T Y.

SAINTE *Augustine* (1) is justly surprized, that the Romans, who had introduced a great many Gods unknown to other Nations, should have been so late of taking *Felicity* into the Number: “For, in short,
 “says that learned Father of the Church, if the
 “Books and Ceremonies of the Pagans are true, and
 “*Felicity* be a Goddess, why did they not adore her
 “alone, since she was capable of bestowing all, and
 “making Men quickly happy? What is the Amount
 “of all our Desires but Prosperity? Why then were
 “they so long of building a Temple to her? Why
 “did not *Romulus* especially, who was desirous to
 “found a happy City, consecrate one to her, and
 “abandon for her alone the Worship of all the other
 “Gods, since with her nothing could fail him? Where-
 “as, without the Favour of that Goddess, he could
 “never have been first made King, and then a God.
 “Why then did *Romulus* give the Romans for Gods,
 “*Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tyberinus, Her-*
 “*cules?* Why did *T. Tatius* add *Saturn, Ops, the*
 “*Sun,*

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 23.

“ *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Vulcan*, the *Light*, and a World of
 “ others, even the Goddess *Cloacina*, at the same Time
 “ that he shewed no Regard to *Felicity*? Why did
 “ *Numa* introduce so many Gods and Goddesses,
 “ without taking her into the Number? What if the
 “ Reason was that he could not single her out among
 “ such a Multitude of Divinities? Had *Tullus Hostili-*
 “ *us* known and adored her, he had never consecrated
 “ *Fear* and *Paleness*, since both of them disappeared
 “ at the Sight of *Felicity*.”

All the other Gods, continues he, would have yielded to *Felicity*, even *Jupiter* himself, since it was she who made him happy, by raising him to the Throne. But, adds that holy Doctor, civil Wars never happened till the *Romans* acknowledged that Goddess. Was it, says he, that she was offended at them; because, instead of giving her a Place among the great Gods, the Gods of Council, and of building to her the most magnificent Temple, such as might have eclipsed that of all the rest, they placed her by the Side of a *Priapus*, a *Cloacina*, &c. From this Passage it appears, that it was very late before the *Romans* raised *Felicity* to the Rank of their Divinities. It was actually above six hundred Years after the building of *Rome*, that *Lucullus*, upon his Return from the War with *Mitbridates* and *Tigrenes*, built a Temple to her. *Pliny* adds (1), that this General enjoined the Statuary *Archefilaus* to make the Statue of that Goddess, but that they both died before the Work was finished. *Lepidus*, General of the Cavalry, had also, according to *Dion* (2), dedicated a Temple to that Goddess; and this is almost all that we know about her. The *Greeks* likewise honoured the same Goddess under the Name of *Eudaimonia* and *Macaria*. An Oracle having informed the *Athenians* that they should win the Victory, if one of *Hercules*'s Children would submit to a voluntary Death, *Macaria*, one of his Daughters, killed herself; the *Athenians* were victorious, and worshipped her who had so generously devoted herself for them,

(1) L. 35. c. 12. (2) L. 44.

them; under the Name of *Felicity*, as her Name imports. But it does not appear that this *Atbenian* Divinity has any Relation to her whom the *Romans* adored under the same Name.

But, be that as it will, *Felicity* is often represented upon the *Roman* Medals, either under the Figure of a Woman holding in her Hand the *Cornucopia*, or under some other Symbol, with the Legend, *Felicitas Publica*, or, *Felicitas Aug. Felicitas Temporum*.

H O P E.

Had *Hope* escaped when the imprudent *Epimetheus* opened *Pandora's* Box, no Resource had been left to Man against the Calamities he labours under. But as she alone remained in the Bottom of the fatal Box, I think it no Wonder that they made a Divinity of her. *Cicero* (1) defines *Hope* the Expectation of Good, *Bonorum Expectatio*; a Definition conformable to that of the Apostle, *Spes est futurorum bonorum*; Good Things to come, whether in this Life or the next, are its Object; and 'tis probable the Pagans themselves extended it thus far. It was in the Hope of Immortality, says *Cicero*, that the Heroes so chearfully resigned themselves to Death. The wisest among the Heathens have shewed us what Influence *Hope* and *Fear* are capable of producing upon the Minds of those who take a near View of the future Life. What *Plato* says to this Purpose is admirably good (2): Know, Socrates, that when any one is at the Point of Death, anxious Doubts and Fears arise in his Mind from a Reflection on the Errors of his Life. Then 'tis that the Pains and Torments reserved for the Guilty in the other World, which he had hitherto accounted only so many ridiculous Fables, and made them the Objects of his Raillery, begin to affect, and make an Impression upon him, apprehending all these Things may be real. Thus, whether it be that his Mind is enfeebled by Age, or that having Death nearer at hand, he examines Things with greater Attention, his Soul is seized with Fear and Dread, and if he has injured any one, he sinks into Despair; while he, who has nothing to reproach

(1) *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 1. (2) *De Rep.* l. 5.

approach himself with, feels that sweet Hope springing up in his Mind which Pindar calls the Nurse of Old-age. This is one of those refined Sentiments which right Reason dictated to the Philosophers, who were so wise as to consult and hearken to this sacred Guide. It was Virtue, according to *Cicero*, that inspired the Hope of Immortality, and that same Immortality animated Hope. There is nothing melancholy, says he, in Death, which leads to Immortality (a). So thought the wiser Heathens, and nothing could be objected to their Morality as to this Article. had they gone no farther than to consider *Hope* as a Virtue; but they actually made a Divinity of it. *Cicero* speaks of one of the Temples of this Goddess (1). *Titus Livius* makes Mention of that which stood in the Market for Herbs, and of another which *Publius Victor* erected to her in the seventh Region. *M. Fullius* the Cenfor consecrated another to her near the *Tiber*.

As to what remains, whether the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greeks* the Worship of this Goddess is what I cannot determine; but this much is certain, that the ~~latter~~ worshipped her under the Name of *Elpis*. *Hope* is represented upon some antient Monuments, but oftner upon the Medals of the Emperors, sometimes with these Words, *Spes publica, spes populi Rom. &c.* Sometimes with a *Cornucopia*, or with Flowers and Fruits, or a Bee-hive, &c. insomuch that one would take her for *Ceres*. All these figured the Goods that were looked for from her, and there is nothing in them that needs to surprize us. In fine, we find her often with one Hand resting upon the Altar, which *M. Aurelius Pacorus* had dedicated to her. As this Goddess had her Temples and Altars, 'tis not to be doubted but she had her Sacrifices too; but Antiquity gives us no Account of the Victims that were offered to her.

ETERNITY.

(a) Non est lugenda mors, quam immortalitas consequitur.
De Senect. c. 1.

(1) De Leg.

E T E R N I T Y.

As the most solid Hope is that which terminates in *Eternity*, the *Romans* made *Eternity* itself one of their Divinities ; but we find neither Temples nor Altars to this Goddess. She is only to be seen upon some Medals under the Figure of a Woman, with the Words, *Æternitas*, or *Æternitas Aug.* &c. holding in her Hand the Head of a radiant Sun ; and that of the Moon, or a Phenix, a Globe, or an Elephant, and some other Symbols that were thought proper to represent her. The Sun and Moon, because it was reckoned their Course would never have an End ; the Elephant, because of his long Life ; and the Phenix, because this fabulous Fowl was believed to spring out of its own Ashes, and so was in a Manner immortal. *Lastly*, the Globe, because 'tis a Figure without any Extremities.

T I M E.

I may add they deified likewise *Time* and its Parts. 'Tis true History does not inform us what Kind of Worship was paid to all the Parts of *Time*, as it does of some, for Example, the Hours and Seasons ; but since all those Parts had been personified, 'tis very probable that they were accounted so many Divinities. The Thing is out of doubt as to *Time*, who was represented by *Saturn* himself ; and ordinarily he was painted with Wings, to express the Rapidity with which he passes away, and a Scythe, to signify the Havock and Waste he makes. In like Manner *Pausanias* informs us that the *Athenians* adored the Seasons, and paid the same Worship to them as to *Pandrosos* the Daughter of *Cecrops*.

Time was divided into several Parts ; the Age, the Generation or Period of thirty Years, the Lustrum, or Space of five Years, the Year, the Seasons ; of these they reckoned at first but three, *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter*, *Spring* being added afterwards ; the *Morning*, *Twilight*, *Aurora*, *Noon*, the *Evening*, the *Evening-twilight*, and the *Night*.

Each of these Parts had its particular Figure, and they were represented either like Men or Women, according

according as their Name was masculine or feminine; their Images were even carried about in the Ceremonies of Religion: Thus; at the famous Procession of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, appeared *Penteteris*; or the *Lustrum*, under the Figure of a tall Woman; and the *Year* under that of a Man of the same Stature; that is, six Foot high. I have no Design to dwell longer upon this Subject; but shall only direct the Reader to consult the first Volume of the Supplement of *Montfaucon's* Antiquity, where that Father has given very fine Prints of all those Parts of *Time*.

T H O U G H T.

The Antients made also a Divinity of *Mens*, that; as we are told by *Varro*, *Lactantius*, and St. *Augustine* after him, it might suggest to us none but what are good, and turn away those which have a Tendency to seduce and lead us into Error. *Titus Livius* informs us (1), that *T. Ottacilius*, when Prætor, had vowed to that Goddess a Temple which he built upon the Capitol, when he was created *Duumvir*.

P I E T Y.

As *Piety*, whether it have for its Object the Supreme Being, or the Poor, or one's Country, has always been respected in all human Societies, we need not wonder that the *Romans* made this Virtue a Divinity, and the Object of Worship. *M. Attilius Glabrio* built a Temple to her in the Herb-market, a second in the Place where the Woman dwelt who had nursed her Father in Prison, which is expressed to us by that of natural Affection: *Pietas erga Parentes*.

M E R C Y.

We learn from *Pausanias* (2) the Name of that Goddess, which we may render by these synonymous Terms, *Indulgence*, *Compassion*, *Pity*. The Life of Man, says he, is obnoxious to so many Hardships and Sufferings, that this Goddess deserves to be in the highest Esteem. All Nations of the World should offer Sacrifices to her, because they all stand mutually in need of her. All that we farther know about her,

is,

(1) L. 22. & 23. (2) In Attic.

is, that she had an Altar at *Athens*, which the Author now quoted calls *ἐλεῖς βωμὸν*. The *Romans* gave the Name of *Asylum* to the Temple which they had erected to this Goddess, as also the *Greeks*, as we learn from *Servius* and *Statius* (a).

VIRTUE and HONOUR.

The Philosophers, the Orators, and the Poets, had made so many, and so eloquent Encomiums upon *Virtue*, the only Thing that made them happy, that it would have been difficult to hinder the Admiration which they inspired for so glorious an Object from passing very soon into Adoration. Accordingly she was deified, and Antiquity has left us several Traces of the religious Worship that was paid to her, as may be seen in the fourth Book of *St. Augustine de Civ. Dei*. *Plutarch* (1) and others inform us, that *Scipio*, he who razed *Numantia*, was the first who consecrated a Temple to this Divinity. *Marcellus*, as we are told by the same Author (2), being designed to build a Temple of the Spoils of the *Sicilians* to the same Goddess, and to *Honour*, consulted the Pontiffs, who hindered him from it, under Pretext that one and the same Temple could not contain those two Divinities; thus he built two adjoining to one another, in such a Manner, as *Cicero* remarks (3), that there was no arriving at that of *Honour*, but by passing through that of *Virtue*, to teach Men that true *Honour* was only to be acquired by the Practice of *Virtue*. It was even to support this wise Maxim, that *Virtue* was sometimes painted with Wings, because she procured Honour and Victory to those who studied her. *Plutarch* furnishes us with another Remark to this Purpose; namely, that they sacrificed to *Honour* with the Head uncovered, it being usual to uncover at meeting those who by their Virtues have

(a) *Postquam Hercules migravit e terris, nepotes ejus timentes insidias eorum quos avus afflixerat, Athenis sibi primum asylum, hoc est templum misericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus posset abduci. Serv. in 8 Æn.*

*Herculeos fama est fundasse nepotes,
Et Romulus acer asylum*

Rettulit.

(1) *De For. Rom.* (2) *Life of Marcell.* (3) *L. 1. In Verrem.*

have acquired Honour in the World; and we learn from *Pliny* that *Fab. Rutilianus* was the first who made a Law, that on the Ides of *July* the *Roman* Knights should march on Horseback from the Temple of *Honour* to the *Capitol*.

Virtue was usually represented under the Figure of a venerable Matron, leaning against a Pillar. We find her, however, upon some Medals of *Gordian* and *Numerian*, under the Figure of a Man with a Beard.

Marius, after the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, also consecrated one to these two Goddesses. *Plautus*, in the Prologue to his *Amphitryo*, names *Virtue* among the other Gods whom *Mercury* speaks of in that Place; and *Lucian* says *Fortune* used her so very ill, that she durst no longer appear before *Jupiter's* Throne. An ingenious Allegory, applicable to virtuous People, who are too often persecuted.

TRUTH, called by the Greeks *Aletheia*.

The Pagans, deprived of the Lights of Revelation, were ignorant that he, who was to come one Day for the Salvation of the World, was the *Truth*, and that this *Truth* was eternal; thus we are not to be surprized at their having believed, as *Plutarch* and several other Antients relate, that *Truth* was the Daughter of *Time*, or of *Saturn* taken for *Time*. Whether is it, says that judicious Author, because *Saturn* is *Time*, or because he was the justest of Men, that he has been accounted the Father of *Truth*? This is what he does not determine, tho' he inclines to believe that it was for his having strictly practised the Rules of Justice, that he had this *Virtue* given him for his Daughter. *Pindar* however makes *Jupiter* to have been her Father (1).

As *Truth* was reckoned the Daughter of the just *Saturn*, so she was the Mother of *Virtue*; which Genealogy shews, that Men, tho' sunk in the grossest Idolatry, followed sometimes the Lights of refined Reason. *Philostratus*, in the Image of *Amphiaraus*, represents *Truth* as a young Virgin, clad in a Robe, whose whiteness

(1) In Olym.

ness resembled that of the Snow. *Hippocrates* in one of his Letters, gives likewise her Portrait. Represent to yourself, says he, a fine Woman of a proper Stature, modestly dressed, with a thousand attractive Charms, the Lustre of her Eyes, especially, resembling that of the Stars, and you will have the just Idea of this Divinity. *Laërtius* has left us a Saying of *Democritus*, that Truth lay hid in the Bottom of a Well, so difficult it is to come at the Discovery of it.

CONCORD, PEACE, and TRANQUILLITY.

Though *Concord*, *Peace* and *Tranquillity* seem to present but one and the same Idea, 'tis however certain, that the *Romans* made three distinct Goddesses of them : The first had several Temples at *Rome* ; one in the Capitol, which the Dictator *M. Furius Camillus* had built (1), where the Senators, as *Pliny* tells us (2), frequently assembled to deliberate about the Affairs of the Republick. The same Author informs us, that *Flavius* had built a Chapel of Brass in honour of the same Goddess, of the Money raised by a Tax upon the Farmers of the Revenues. *Cicero* (3), *Titus Livius*, and some others of the Ancients, speak often of the Chapels and Altars of this Goddess, as also, of the Statue which was consecrated to her by the Cenfor *Quintus Marcius*, and of the Temple which was erected to her, or at least repaired by *Livia*, *Augustus's* Wife. *Concord* was addressed to promote a good Agreement in Families, between Spouses, Citizens, &c.

As the Power of *Concord* was confined, as I may say, within the City and Houses, so that of *Peace* was extended to all the Empire, and then she had magnificent Temples ; and that which *Claudius* had begun, and *Vespasian* finished, was little short of any in *Rome*. If we may believe *Suetonius*, *Josephus*, and *St. Jerom*, the Emperor deposited there the precious and rich Spoils of the Temple of *Jerusalem*. In this Temple assembled those who professed the fine Arts, to dispute about their Prerogatives, that in the Presence of the Goddess of *Peace*, all Heats might be banished from their Debates. Would to Heaven, says

(1) Plut. in Cam. Ov. Fast. (2) L. 33. c. 1. (3) Pro domo sua.

an ingenious *English* Mythologist (1), that our Divines would follow their Example ! Truth, perhaps, would then reveal herself to their Minds ; or if they did not always go away from their Disputes more enlightened and convinced, they would at least quit them with less Heat and fewer Prejudices. What that Author says of Religious Disputes, may be extended to all others that happen between Men of Letters, where often the foulest Language, at least ill-natured Reflexions, supply the Place of Arguments, and where Truth is less consulted than the Pleasure of exposing an Adversary to Ridicule.

This Goddess had also in the same City an Altar, which was very much frequented. Monuments represent to us *Peace* under the Figure of a Woman crowned with Laurel, Olive, or Chaplets of Roses, holding in one Hand the *Caduceus*, and in the other Ears of Corn, the Symbol of *Plenty*, which she procures. *Aristophanes* gives her *Venus* and the *Graces* for her Companions.

Tranquillity, *Quies*, the happy Effect of *Concord* and *Peace*, had also her Temple at *Rome*, without the *Porta Collina*, as we learn from St. *Augustin* (2). “ I am surprized, says that holy Father, that when they attributed Divinity to every Thing, almost to every Movement, and built Temples within the City to the Goddesses *Agerona*, who incites us to Action, to the Goddesses *Stimula*, who makes us over-act, to *Murcia*, who renders us soft and indolent, as we are told by *Pomponius*, to the Goddesses *Strenua*, who inspires us with Courage ; they should not have received among them the Goddesses of *Repose*, but left her without the *Colline Gate*.” However, as they gave *Orcus*, the God of the Dead, the Epithet of *Quietalis*, to denote the Rest and peaceful State of the Shades, learned Authors will have it, that the Worship of this Goddess was the same with that of the Dead.

F A I T H.

(1) *Eduardus Herbeus de Cherburi, De Rel. Gent. p. 225.*

(2) *De Civ. Dei l. 4. c. 16.*

F A I T H.

Faith, that is, *Fidelity*, (for thus we are to understand the Word *Fides*, the Pagans not having the same Idea of it with us) was also a Divinity among the *Romans*; consequently it is obvious that she presided over Sincerity in Commerce, and Truth in Promises. It was by her, in short, that Security was given against Deceit and Falshood, since she was taken to witness their Engagements, and the Oath made in her Name, or that of *Jupiter Fidius*, who was the same, was of all Oaths the most inviolable. Nothing in Nature was more sacred than this Fidelity, as having for its Foundation Religion itself; take away, says *Cicero*, the Reverence that is due to the Gods, and Faith is at an End (1) *Pietate adversus Deos sublatâ fidem tolli*. The Temple of *Faith* erected by *Calatius* was in the Capitol, near that of *Jupiter* (2). *Festus*, upon the Authority of *Agathocles*, says that *Æneas*, upon his Arrival in *Italy*, also consecrated one to the same Goddess; but I am of Opinion that we ought to adhere to *Dionysius Halicarnassens* and *Plutarch*, who make the first of all to have been built by *Numa Pompilius* (3). That same Prince had likewise ordered the Priests, whom he set over the Worship of this Goddess, to wear white Vestments when they offered Sacrifices to her. The Antiquaries are of Opinion, that a Figure, where two Women are joining Hands, represents this Goddess, which is not improbable, since in this Manner mutual Faith is usually plighted. What induced *Numa Pompilius* to make *Faith* one of the venerable *Roman* Divinities, is thus related by *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (4).

“ In order, says he, to engage his People to mutual Fidelity and Truth in their Contracts with one another, he had Recourse to a Method which the most celebrated Legislators had not as yet contrived. He remarked, that the publick Contracts, and those made before Witnesses, were pretty regularly

K 2

“ ob-

(1) Cic. de Off. l. 3. (2) Pro Marc. (3) In Numa. (4) l. 2. c. 75.

“ observed, and that few who contracted in that
 “ Manner were found to violate their Promises, be-
 “ cause Men naturally have a Regard to those in
 “ whose Presence they have come under Engage-
 “ ments. He observed on the other Side, that those
 “ Sorts of Compacts and Treaties that were made
 “ without Witnesses, and depended merely upon the
 “ Honesty of the Parties contracting, were still more
 “ inviolable than the former ; whence he concluded,
 “ that by deifying *Faith*, he would make these Sorts
 “ of Contracts still more binding. Besides, it ap-
 “ peared to him unreasonable, that while Divine
 “ Honours were paid to *Justice*, to *Themis*, *Nemesis*,
 “ and such like Divinities, *Faith* alone, the most sa-
 “ cred Thing in the World, and at the same Time
 “ the most worthy of Veneration among Men, should
 “ be honoured neither in publick nor private. Big
 “ with so laudable a Design, he was the first who
 “ built a Temple to public *Faith*, and instituted Sa-
 “ crifices, whereof he would have the Charges to be
 “ defrayed by the Publick, as was done with respect
 “ to several other Gods, in Hope that the Veneration
 “ for so fundamental a Virtue, which he propagated
 “ through the City in general, would insensibly com-
 “ municate itself to each Individual.”

“ He was not mistaken in his Conjectures : *Faith*
 “ came to be so revered, and held in such religious
 “ Awe by the *Romans*, that she alone had more Force
 “ than Witnesses and Oaths ; insomuch, that if
 “ there arose any Difference among those who had
 “ contracted together without Witnesses, the Matter
 “ was referred to the Faith of the Defender, and the
 “ Controversy went no farther. It was the common
 “ Method too for Magistrates, in Cases of Intricacy,
 “ to refer the Determination to the Faith of the con-
 “ tending Parties.”

To conclude, it was *Hercules* who presided over
 Faith given in Contracts ; and the Oath taken on
 those Occasions was thus conceived, *Medius Fidius*, as
 much as to say, *ita me Deus Fidius adjuvet*, So help me
Medius,

Medius Fidius, or *Hercules*. Swear to me, says *Plautus* in one of his Comedies (1), by *Medius Fidius* (a).

The same Prince appointed a God to be the Guardian of the Land-marks, and the Avenger of Encroachments which one Neighbour made upon another. In fine, he made several other Regulations in Religion, as shall be said afterwards, all by the Direction of the Nymph *Egeria*, whom he said he went to consult in a Grove not far from *Rome*.

L I B E R T Y.

A People that idolized *Liberty* so much as the *Romans* did, could not choose but make a Divinity of her, and consecrate to her Temples and Altars. Accordingly this Goddess, who was invoked in order to preserve that same Liberty, which was owing to the Extinction of the Regal Power, had several of them in the City (2). *Cicero* makes mention of one of those Temples; *Publius Victor* built one upon the *Aventine* Mount, with a Vestible, which was called the Vestible of *Liberty*. The Ancients, who frequently speak of this Vestible, have not informed us to what Use it was destined. But we may suppose that the public Sales were made there as in the others. *Titus Livius*, speaking of the Temple which *Tiberius Gracchus* had consecrated to the same Goddess, says the Columns thereof were of Bronze, and that it contained several very fine Statues. When *Cicero* set out in his Exile, *P. Clodius* his Persecutor consecrated the House of that great Man to *Liberty*. In short, *Dion* informs us, that the *Romans* by a public Decree raised a Temple to the same Goddess in favour of *Julius Cæsar*: An Action very worthy of those degenerate *Romans*, to raise a Temple in honour of him who made them lose the Remains of that valuable

K 3

Pre

(1) *Asin.*

(a) Those who are persuaded, that instead of *Fidius* we ought to read *Filius*, as if the Words signify'd the Son of *Jupiter*, don't consider, that *Ovid* makes the first Syllable of this Word short, and not long, as it is in *Filius*.

Quærebam nonas sancto Fidiove referrem.

(2) *Cic. l. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

Prerogative which *Marius* and *Sylla* had still left them, and whereof, till then, they had been always jealous.

M O D E S T Y.

Modesty is a Virtue too essential to the Fair Sex, not to have been erected into a Divinity. History therefore informs, that the *Romans* worshipped her under the Name of *Pudicitia*, and this Goddess had Temples in their City, and Altars whereon Sacrifices were offered to her. But, as if the Great were to have other Gods than the Populace, there was a Distinction at *Rome* between the Chastity of the Patrician Ladies, and that of the Plebeians. The Origin of this Distinction is pretty singular. Thus we have it related by *Titus Livius* (1). *Virginia*, of a Patrician Family, having married a Plebeian named *Volumnius*, who was however afterwards Consul, her Sister looking upon this Match to be unworthy her Name, having joined with the other Matrons, would no longer suffer her to partake in the Mysteries of the Goddess of *Chastity*, but drove her out of the Temple. *Virginia*, stung with this Affront, got a Chapel raised in the long Street, the same where was the Goddess's Temple from which she was excluded, and she dedicated it to the *Chastity* of the Plebeian Ladies; where the Wives who were not of the Senatorian Order, convened from that Time to offer Sacrifice to that Goddess. *Chastity* was represented under the Figure of a Woman veil'd, or seeming to point her Right-hand or her Fore-finger to her Face, to signify that she has no Reason to blush.

O C C A S I O N.

The *Greeks* made also a God of *Occasion*, whom they named *Keiros*, who was said by the Poet *Ion* of *Chios*, to be the youngest of *Jupiter's* Sons. As his Name is Feminine in *Latin*, the *Romans* made a Goddess of him. *Possidonius*, and after him *Ausonius*, have given a charming Description, the one of the God, and the other

(1) L. 10. c. 25.

other of the Goddesses of *Occasion*, which the Curious may consult.

F R A U D.

Boccace, in his Genealogy of the Gods, takes *Fraud* also into the Number of the Pagan Divinities. She had, says he, the Looks of an honest Man, the Body of a Serpent, whose Body exhibited different Colours, while the lower Part terminated in the Tail of a Scorpion. This Author adds, that she swam in the Waters of *Cocytus*, and that nothing of her was to be seen but the Head. An allegorical Description of this mischievous and deceitful Divinity!

AGERONIA, or ANGERONIA and PLEASURE.

Silence, or the Art of governing the Tongue, is a Virtue perhaps greater, and more rare than is commonly thought, of which the Antients were so sensible as to make a Divinity of it. This is what the Orientals worshipped under the Name of *Harpocrates*, as has been said in the first Volume; and the Romans, who made her a Goddess, called her *Ageronia* or *Angeronia*. The Feast instituted in honour of her, was celebrated every Year on the 21st of *December*, in the Temple of the Goddess *Volupta* or *Pleasure*, where this Goddess had her Statue (1). For, to mention it here by the Way, *Pleasure* was also promoted to a Divinity. But what could be the Meaning of that Association of *Silence* with *Pleasure*? Was it to set forth that he who knows how to conceal his Grievs, and far more to subdue them, arrived at last at that calm and sedate State wherein the Soul seems possessed of its highest Wishes, a State wherein the wisest Philosophers made true *Pleasure* to consist? This is what I am not able to determine. We learn from *Julius Modestus*, that the Romans, afflicted with the Squinsey, had Recourse to this Goddess of *Silence*, and soon found Relief from her; which gave Rise to the Sacrifices that were regularly offered to her from that Time.

Monuments represent her under the Figure of a Woman, who, *Harpocrates*-like, holds a Finger to her

K 4

(1) Macrobian. Sat. 1. l. c. 10.

her Mouth. Sometimes her Statues are charged with Symbols, as those of that God, which Figures we call *Pantbees*. Thus in that published by M. *Maffei*, she carries upon her Head the *Calathus* of *Serapis*, and holds in her Hand *Hercules's* Club, while at her two Sides she has the Caps of *Castor* and *Pollux*, surmounted with the two Stars of those Gods. *Numa Pompilius* regulated the Worship of this Goddess under the Name of *Tacita*.

A I U S L O Q U U T I U S.

But as it is not practicable, nor indeed is it incumbent on us always to keep Silence, but is no less a Point of Wisdom to speak than to be silent in Season, so there was also the God of *Speech*, whom the *Romans* called *Aius Loquutus*.

After the following Manner was this God known at *Rome*. Not long before the Arrival of the *Gauls* in *Italy*, says *Cicero* (1), a Voice was heard which proceeded from *Vesta's* Grove, declaring, that if they did not rebuild the Walls of the City, it would be taken by the Enemy. The Voice was then disregarded; but when the *Gauls* had made themselves Masters of the City, they began to reflect upon it, and erected an Altar to the God of Speech under the Name of *Aius Loquutus*.

Titus Livius and *Plutarch*, who relate the same Story, alledge, that the Person who said he had heard the Voice, was *M. Ceditius*, and that no Regard was paid to it by reason of the small Authority of him who reported the Fact, but that afterwards the City, to make amends to the God who had given so seasonable Warning to the *Romans*, built him a Temple in the new Street. *Aulus Gellius* (2) speaks of the Statue of the same God.

P R O V I D E N C E.

Tho' the Antients believed Providence to be an Attribute of the Gods, as may be proved by several Medals, upon which we read *Providentia Deorum*, it appears, however, that they had made a particular
Divi-

(1) De Div. l. 1. (2) L. 16.

Divinity thereof, whom they commonly represented under the Figure of a Woman leaning upon a Pillar, holding in her Left-hand the *Cornucopia*, and in the Right a Batton which she points to a Globe, at once to shew, that all Goods are derived from her, and that she extends her Care over the whole Universe. Sometimes she has other Symbols, but this Manner of representing her was the most common.

S E C U R I T Y.

Security was also deified, and worshipped by the *Greeks* under the Name of *Asphaleia*, which is of the same Import. The Inscription of *Securi Dii*, which we find upon an antique Monument, signifies not the Gods who are in *Security*, but who bestow it. The common Legends of *Securitas orbis*, *Securitas Aug. Securitati perpetuæ*, expressed the *Security* which the Emperor, by whose Orders they were struck, enjoyed himself, and at the same time procured to the World. *Security* was represented as a Woman holding her Hand over her Head.

If *Security* itself was not a Deity, there were at least Gods who procured it. But we know no more of them than what we learn from an Inscription, which is still to be seen at *Rome* in the *Ursini* Palace, and is conceived in these Terms: *Deis Securis*.

O P S.

The Goddess *Ops* had also a Temple at *Rome*: This was the Divinity of *Help*, as her Name intimates. To her they used to sacrifice in the Month of *April* a Cow with Calf, and a Hog. *Macrobius* (1) informs us, that those who invoked this Goddess, were wont to sit, and touch the Ground with their Hand. *Philochorus* was the first who dedicated in *Afric* an Altar to *Saturn* and *Ops*. But as this Goddess was the same with *Terra*, I shall say no more of her at present.

J U S T I C E and E Q U I T Y.

Tho' in general the *Greeks* and *Romans* look'd upon *Themis* as the Goddess of *Justice*, as we have said in speaking of that Goddess, yet the latter had their
Justice

(1) Sat. 1. 10.

Justice and *Equity* besides, whom they represented upon their Medals, and on the Monuments that were consecrated to them, the one under the Figure of a Woman sitting with a Cup in one Hand, and her Scepter in the other, as may be seen on the Medals of *Hadrian* and *Alexander Mammeus*: *Equity* again, with a Sword in one Hand, and a Pair of Scales in the other. Farther, this Goddess was confounded with *Astræa*, and with *Dice*, Δίκη, to whom we have an Hymn under the Name of *Orpheus*, wherein the Author, whoever he was, destines Incense to her.

PITHO, or Persuasion and Consolation.

If the Pagans did not make a Divinity of *Eloquence*, they at least deified *Persuasion*, which is the End of it. This Goddess was called by the *Greeks* *Pitbo*, Πειθώ, and by the *Latins*, *Suadela* or *Suada*. *Pausanias* informs us, that this Goddess had a Temple at *Sicyon*, but that there was no Statue there nor Representation, and a Chapel at *Egiale*, which was built upon the following Occasion (1), *Apollo* and *Diana* having slain *Python*, came to *Egiale* to be expiated from this Bloodshed: as the Pestilence then ravaged that City, it was judged necessary to consult the Oracle, who answered, that in order to be delivered from that Calamity, *Diana* and *Apollo* must be appeased, which accordingly they executed, by sending to them seven young Men, and as many Virgins, who appeased them; and in Gratitude they built a Chapel to *Persuasion*. The same Author also informs, that with *Persuasion* they joined another Goddess named *Consolation*, of whom a Statue was to be seen at *Athens* by the Hand of *Praxiteles*.

O G E N U S.

All that we know about *Ogenus*, is, that he was the God of old Men, who were therefore called ὠγενεῖς, for which you may consult *Erasmus's Adagia*.

F R U I T F U L N E S S.

Fruitfulness, which the *Romans* deify'd, is no other but *Juno*, whom the Women invoked to obtain Children, and for that End submitted to a Practice equally ridi-

(1) In Corinth.

ridiculous and obscene. When they were come with this View into the Temple of the Goddess, the Priests made them strip themselves, and lashed them with a Whip made of Thongs of Goat Skin. The Medals of *Lucilla* represent *Juno* sitting upon her Throne, with her Scepter in one Hand, and one of those Whips in the other, with the Inscription *Junoni Lucinae*.

C L E M E N C Y.

Clemency was also ranked among the Gods, and she had a Temple, as appears from a Medal of *Julius Caesar*. Upon other Medals she has also her Symbols, which were a Bough, the Patera, and the Spear, but none of her Temples are now to be seen.

To conclude, I know not whether *Plenty*, *Ubertas*, *Gayety*, *Hilaritas*, *Joy*, *Nobility*, *Security*, *Tranquillity*, and some other Beings of that Nature, which we often find personified upon Medals and Intaglios, were also ranked among the Gods. But as the Antients let us know nothing concerning their Worship, make no Mention of any Temple or Altar erected to them, I shall say nothing of them here: What relates to them being the Antiquary's Province.

C H A P. II.

Of Evil Beings, of Passions, and Vices that were advanced to Divinities.

AS the Fear of Evil is stronger than the Hope of Good, it is easy to imagine that the Pagans having adored the Gods from whom they expected Blessings, would not fail to pay the same Respect to those who were capable of doing them Harm. *Men*, says *Cicero*, were so sunk in Error, that not only did they give the Name of Gods even to things pernicious, but they likewise paid religious Worship to them. Thus we see a Temple to the Fever on Mount Palatin, another to Orbona near that of the Lares, and an Altar to Ill Fortune on Mount Esquiline.

The F E V E R.

The Fever therefore was a Divinity, and we have a Monument

Monument where she is called *The Holy Fever*. Besides the Temple now mentioned by *Cicero*, *Valerius Maximus* (1) says, that she had others, into which they carried the Remedies used in Diseases.

O R B O N A.

Orbona again was a Goddess invoked by the Fathers and Mothers for the Preservation of their Children; and those who had lost them were under the particular Protection of this Goddess, as we learn from *Arnobius* (2).

T E M P E S T.

All that we know of *Tempest*, which was deified by the *Romans*, is, that *Marcellus*, as an Acknowledgment for having escaped a Storm with which he was overtaken at Sea, between the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, built a Temple to her without the *Porta Capena*.

Impudence and *Calumny*, *Murcia*, *Necessity*, and *Violence*.

If some antient Authors did not inform us that the *Greeks* raised Altars to *Impudence* and *Calumny*, we should never have believed it possible for them to worship those two Vices so pernicious to Society. The Goddess of *Indolence*, called *Murcia*, had no doubt her Worship, for this is the favourite Divinity of the fair Sex; but of her, Antiquity gives us no particular Account; *St. Augustin* telling us only that this Goddess who hindered from Action, had her Temple in *Rome*.

S T R E N U A.

To the Goddess of *Sloth* I shall join another who was quite opposite to her, namely *Strenua*, who, according to the same Father, made Men to over-act. She had also a Temple in the same City. But we know nothing more about her.

We are better acquainted with *Necessity* and *Violence*, since *Pausanias* (3) speaks of the Temple which they had in the Citadel of *Corinth*, whose Entrance was prohibited to all, except to those who served the Goddesses.

F A M E.

(1) L. 11. c. 5.

(2) L. 4.

(3) In *Corinth*.

F A M E.

Among the Divinities who are the Subject of this Chapter, *Fame* had also her Place: *Hesiod*, who gives the Description of her, has however omitted her Genealogy. But 'tis certain that she was reckoned a Divinity, and that she had an established Worship, especially at *Athens*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and a Temple, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Camillus*. No Figures nor Statues can have a stronger Expression or greater Likeness to this Goddess than is exhibited in that fine Picture of her drawn by *Virgil* (a). I give here the Translation of it for the Benefit of some Readers.

*Now Fame, tremendous Fiend! without Delay
Thro' Libyan Cities took her rapid Way.*

Fame, the swift Plague, that e'ery Moment grows,
And gains new Strength and Vigour as she goes.

*First small with Fear, she swells to wondrous Size,
And stalks on Earth, and tow'rs above the Skies.*

*Whom, in her Wrath to Heav'n, the teeming Earth
Produc'd the last of her Gigantic Birth,*

A Monster huge, and dreadful to the Eye,

With rapid Feet to run, or Wings to fly.

Beneath her Plumes the various Fury bears

A thousand piercing Eyes and list'ning Ears,

*And with a thousand Mouths and babbling Tongues
appears.*

Thund'ring by Night thro' Heav'n and Earth she flies,

No golden Slumbers seal her watchful Eyes :

On Tow'rs or Battlements she sits by Day,

And shakes whole Towns with Terror and Dismay,

Alarms the World around, and perch'd on high

Reports a Truth, or publishes a Lie, &c.

Pit's *Æneid* IV. 259.

Ovid gives also a very fine Picture of the same Goddess, and some other Poets have likewise exercised their poetical Genius upon the same Subject.

What

(1) In Attic.

(a) Extemplo Libyæ magnas it Fama per urbes, &c. *Æn.* l. 4.

What we may infer from all these is, that *Fame*, like all the *Giants*, was the Daughter of the *Earth*, who, to be avenged of the Gods, and of *Jupiter* in particular, who had thunderstruck her Children, brought forth this Monster to blaze abroad their Crimes, and make them known to all the World: For *Fame* spares neither Gods nor Men.

E N V Y.

Among the Passions deified by the Antients, none perhaps deserved that Honour less than *Envy*. But yet the *Greeks* had made a God of him, his Name being masculine in their Language, and the *Romans* a Goddess. *Plutarch*, who has composed a small Treatise upon this Passion, says curious enough Things upon the Subject, and the Poets have given themselves free Scope in drawing the Picture thereof. Here *Ovid* especially has excelled in those Verses which begin thus,

Pallor in ore sedet, maciesque in corpore toto *, &c.

*Livid and meagre were her Looks, her Eye
In foul distorted Glances turn'd awry ;
A Hoard of Gall her inward Parts possess'd,
And spread a Greenness o'er her canker'd Breast ;
Her Teeth were brown with Rust, and from her Tongue,
In dangling Drops, the stringy Poison hung.
She never smiles but when the Wretched weep,
Nor lulls her Malice with a Moment's Sleep,
Restless in Spite : While watchful to destroy,
She pines and sickens at another's Joy ;
Foe to herself, distressing and distressed,
She bears her own Tormentor in her Breast.*

Garth's Ovid. Met.

The Antients compared her to the *Eel*, from a Notion that this Fish bore Envy to all others.

F E A R and P A L E N E S S.

If a prudent and moderate *Fear* is not Wisdom itself, it is at least the Beginning and Principle thereof; but when it is only a blind Passion which disturbs the Tranquility of the Soul, without furnishing it with the Means to be cured of the Uneasiness it labours under,

* Ovid. Met. lib. 2. 775.

under, then 'tis only a vain and unavailing Terror. Such was the *Fear* or *Dread* which the *Greeks* had deified, and which the *Romans* afterwards adored like them, as also *Paleness*, its inseparable Companion. Men being struck with the View of Events whose Causes were unknown to them, and which infused a Terror into them against which nothing could fortify their Minds, made a Divinity of the disturbing Passion itself, from which they sought to be delivered by addressing to it Vows and Prayers. 'Tis not possible to determine the precise Time when they began to pay Adoration to those two Divinities. They are perhaps of as old a Date as the Disturbance which they create; at least they were known to the earliest Poets of *Greece*. *Hesiod*, after having told us in his *Theogony* that *Fear* was the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, adds in the Description of *Hercules's* Buckler, that this God was thereon represented in his Chariot, accompanied with *Fear* and *Terror*. *Homer* (1) gives those Goddesses the same Original. Accordingly, every Time he makes the God of War appear in Fight, he gives him *Fear*, *Terror*, and *Flight* for his Retinue: He also places the same Divinities sometimes upon the tremendous *Egis* of *Minerva*, sometimes upon the Buckler of *Agamemnon* (2). Here *Mars* orders these two Goddesses to yoke his Chariot, to fly to avenge his Son *Ascalaphus* (3); there these two Goddesses (4) in the midst of Tumult and Consternation occasioned by the Combat between *Heſtor* and *Ajax*, come forth from the *Grecian* Ships to put the *Trojans* to flight.

With that he gives Command to Fear and Flight

To join his rapid Coursers for the Fight: &c.

Pope's *Iliad*, B. XV. 134.

A Divinity so well marked in those two Poets, and so formidable in herself, could not fail to command religious Worship. Accordingly they had Recourse to Gifts and Sacrifices, in order to appease and be delivered from her. The two Sons of *Medea* having
been

(1) L. 4. (2) Il. l. 11. (3) Il. l. 15. (4) Il. l. 16.

been inhumanly murdered by the *Corinthians*, Mortality carried off many of her Children, and upon consulting the Oracle, they learned that they were to offer Sacrifices to the offended *Manes* of those innocent Victims to their Cruelty, and at the same Time to consecrate a Statue to *Fear*. In a Battle fought by *Tullus Hostilius*, the *Albans*, who had declared for him, turned their Backs and went over to the Enemy. At first the Hearts of his Men were dismayed, and all seemed to be lost, when that Prince vowed a Temple to *Fear* and *Paleness* : This Vow produced its Effect ; the Soldiers resumed their Courage, and *Tullus* gained a compleat Victory. This Event, which is the *Æra* of introducing the Worship of these two Goddesses into *Rome*, is marked upon two Medals of the Family of *Hostilia* (1). Upon the one is a Head with the Hair standing on end, the Countenance raised towards Heaven, the Mouth open, and a troubled Aspect, which are lively Figures of the Divinity whom the Medal represented. The other exhibits a meager Face greatly lengthened, the Hair laid flat, and a staring Aspect ; this is the true Portrait of *Paleness* which is the Effect of *Fear*.

The *Lacedæmonians* made greater Advantage of the Goddess we are now speaking of, since, according to *Plutarch*, they had placed her Temple by the Tribunal of the *Ephori*, from a Persuasion that nothing is so necessary as to inspire the Wicked with Fear of severe Chastisement.

Lastly, that *Fear* might want no Proof of Divinity, she was joined in Oaths with the other Gods. *Æschilus* informs us (1), that in the solemn Oath taken by the seven Chiefs of the *Theban* Expedition, in the midst of Sacrifices, all of them holding their Hands in the Blood of the Victims, swore by *Fear*, by the God *Mars* and *Bellona*.

Such were the Virtues, Vices, and Passions that the *Greeks* and *Romans* had raised into Divinities. We might join here some others, whose Representations we find

(1) *Ful. Urs. Patin*, and *Paillant*. (2) Trag. of the Seven before *Thebes*.

find upon Medals, and their Descriptions in the Poets: But as we learn nothing from the Antients concerning their Worship, and have no Mention made of any Temple or Altar erected to them, we leave the Antiquaries to explain the Symbols with which they were represented. It suffices to observe in general, that as the Pagan Theology was not founded upon any certain Principle, so it easily adopted all the Gods whom different Occasions introduced.

A T E or D I S C O R D.

Among the malignant Divinities, we must not forget *Ate*, or *Discord*, that cruel Goddess, who having fought to set the Gods by the Ears, was at length banished from *Olympus*, and came down to this Earth, there to exert all her Fury. *Homer* (1) makes *Agamemnon* thus speak of her in excusing himself for having forced away *Briseis* from *Achilles*, in that fine Speech he makes to the *Grecian* Captains assembled by his Order.

*What then could I, against the Will of Heav'n ?
Not by myself but vengeful Ate driv'n ;
She, Jove's dread Daughter, fated to infest
The Race of Mortals, enter'd in my Breast.
Not in the Ground that haughty Fury treads,
But prints her lofty Footsteps on the Heads
Of mighty Men ; inflicting as she goes
Long fest'ring Wounds, inextricable Woes !
Of old, she stalk'd amid the bright Abodes ;
And Jove himself the Sire of Men and Gods,
The World's great Ruler, felt her venom'd Dart ;
Deceiv'd by Juno's Wiles, and Female Art, &c.*

Pope's *Iliad*, XIX. 91.

Then *Agamemnon* relates how *Juno*, by making *Stelenus's* Wife bring forth *Euristheus* before her Time, and thereby acquire a Right to command *Hercules*, had so provoked *Jupiter*, that the Sovereign of the Gods falling foul of *Ate*, whom he believed to have inspired *Juno* with that Design, seized her by the Head, and

VOL. III.

L

flung

(1) Il. 19.

flung her down from the Top of *Olympus*, after making an Oath that she should never again appear in the Mansions of the Gods.

*From his ambrosial Head, where perch'd she sate,
He snatch'd the Fury-Goddes of Debate,
The dread, th' irrevocable Oath he swore,
Th' immortal Seats should ne'er behold her more ;
And whirl'd her headlong down, for ever driv'n
From bright Olympus and the starry Heav'n :
Thence on the nether World the Fury fell ;
Ordain'd with Man's contentious Race to dwell.*

Ib. 125.

From this Passage it appears to have been their Opinion that *Ate* was the Daughter of *Jupiter*, that she had once been an Inhabitant of *Olympus*, and that for offending her Father, she had been banished from thence, and come down to dwell amongst Men.

Some Fathers of the Church, I know, believed from this Story that the Pagans had some Knowledge of the Fall of the Angels ; S. *Justin* even asserts that *Homer* had got the Substance of this Story from *Egypt*, and that he had read that Passage where the Prophet *Isaiab* speaks of the Fall of those Spirits of Disobedience ; but how could that Poet read the Writings of a Prophet who came not into the World till an hundred Years after him ?

After *Homer*, their great Original, have the succeeding Poets painted this Goddess in the blackest Colours. *Virgil* represents her followed by *Bellona*, having her Head entwined with Serpents :

*Et scissâ gaudens vadit Discordia pallâ,
Quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.*

Æn. l. 8.

- - - - - *Et Discordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.*

L. 6.

But none have given such a finished Description of her

her as *Petronius* (a) in those fine Verses of his Epic Poem upon the Civil War. To this Goddess were ascribed not only Wars, but also Quarrels among private Persons, Broils and Dissentions in Houses and Families ; and we all know it was she who threw in- to the Assembly of the Gods, the fatal Apple which occasioned that famous Contest among the Goddesses, whereof the Gods declined to be Judges for Fear of involving themselves, through partial Views, in De- bates and Wranglings, which seldom fail to be the in- separable Consequences of *Discord*.

'Tis proper to add what Mythology teaches us con- cerning *Good Fortune*, to what we have said of the Gods good and bad, since she was either a good or bad Divinity, according to the Use that was made of her.

C H A P. III.

Of Good and Bad Fortune.

AS Men have always highly valued Earthly Goods, 'tis no Wonder that they adored *Fortune* ; Fools ! who thus instead of acknowledging an intelli- gent Providence that distributes Riches and other Goods, from Views always wise, though dark and placed beyond the Reach of human Discovery, ad- dressed their Vows to an imaginary Being, that acted without Design, and from the Impulse of unavoidable Necessity : For 'tis beyond Question that in the Pagan System, Fortune was nothing else but Destiny. Ac- cordingly she was confounded, as we shall see after- wards, with the *Parcæ*, who were themselves that fatal Necessity which the Poets have reasoned so much a- bout.

L 2

'Tis

(a) *Infremuere tubæ, ac scisso Discordia crine
Extulit ad superos Stygium caput : hujus in ore
Concretus sanguis, contusaque lumina flebant.
Stabant irati scabra rubigine dentes,
Tabo lingua fluens, obsessa draconibus ora,
Atque inter toto laceratam pectore vestem,
Sanguinea tremulam quatiebant lampada dextra.*

Petr. Sat.

'Tis true, Christians sometimes speak of *Fortune*, after the Manner of the Pagans themselves, *to sacrifice to Fortune, to expect all from Fortune, to be devoted to Fortune, &c.* But when they reflect and consider the Meaning of these vulgar Expressions, they refer all to divine Providence.

But to proceed, I know not whether the several Nations that acknowledged this blind and capricious Divinity, had all the same Idea of her; but 'tis certain that she was invoked from the earliest Times, since the first Time that Scripture mentions the Gods of the Pagans, it speaks of *Gad*, invoked by *Leah*; and this *Gad* St. *Augustin* takes to have been *Fortune* (a). But as the present Question is only about the Idea which the *Greeks* and *Romans* had of her, 'tis their Mythology on this Head I am to explain. First, it does not appear that this Goddess was antiently known to those two Nations, since *Hesiod* and *Homer* say nothing of her, and we have remarked that the latter, who uses the Word *Τύχη*, the Name given to this Divinity, meant thereby not *Fortune*, but one of the Daughters of the Ocean, the Companion of *Melobosis*, and of the beautiful *Jante*. That great Poet, as *Pausanias* observes (1), has expressly said that *Pallas* and *Enyo* presided over Battles, *Venus* over Marriage, and *Diana* over Child-bearing; but far from making an almighty Goddess of *Fortune*, as has been since done, a Divinity who exercises her Dominion over all human Things, and who brings them about as she pleases, he does not give her so much as the smallest Function.

The most antient Circumstance we know concerning this Goddess, is, that *Bupalus*, a great Statuary and Architect, was the first who made a Statue of her for the City *Syrna*, and that this ingenious Artist thought fit to represent her with the Polar Star upon her Head, holding in her left Hand the Horn of *Amalthea*, commonly called the *Cornucopia*. 'Tis beyond Doubt that by the first of these Symbols he designed to ex-

press

(a) See what is said above, Vol. I. Book 3.

(1) In *Nic. c.* 30.

press the Power of this Goddess over the World ; and by the second that she was the Dispenser of all Goods. After him came *Pindar*, continues *Pausanias*, who celebrated this Divinity in his Verses, and gave her the Name of *Pherepolis*, as you would say, the Protectress of Cities. This is nearly the Origin of the Worship of *Fortune* in *Grcece*, a modern Divinity not known before *Pindar*.

The *Greeks* erected to her in Aftertimes several Temples, and those of *Corinth* gave her the Surname of *Acreea*, because she had one in their Citadel. This Goddess had also a Chapel at *Egira*, with a Statue having beside it a winged *Cupid*, probably to signify that in Love *Fortune* has a greater Influence than *Beauty*. In that of *Elis* she had in her Hand the Cornucopia ; but the most suitable Symbol was that which the *Beotians* had given her, having represented her in a Temple of theirs holding *Plutus* in her Arms under the Form of an Infant ; and this, says *Pausanias* (1), is an ingenious enough Notion, to put the God of Riches into the Hands of *Fortune*, as if she had been his Nurse and his Mother. The City *Smyrna* in short was not the only one in *Asia*, where *Fortune* was worshipped ; the Inhabitants of *Antioch* held her in extreme Veneration (2), and 'tis not improbable that several other People imitated their Example ; for in general almost all Men are Votaries of *Fortune* ; and tho' they don't always offer Victims to her, yet they but too often sacrifice to her their Honour and Probity.

Among the Encomiums given to this Goddess by *Pindar*, he made her one of the *Parcæ*, and to have the greatest Power of them all ; whence we may conclude, that she was confounded with those inexorable Goddesses, or, to speak more accurately, with Destiny itself, that blind Divinity, who distributed Good and Evil at random : and such was the Idea the *Greeks* had of her.

The *Romans* had much the same Sentiments of her, since their most antient *Fortune* being that which was

L 3

worshipped

(1) In Beot.

(2) Pausanias in Corinth.

worshipped at *Antium*, and which was confounded with the Lots, the Use whereof was so famous in that City (*a*), 'tis evident that they did not distinguish her from *Destiny*, or that Fate which the *Greeks* called *Eimarmene*.

The *Romans*, content at first with consulting the Lots and *Fortune* at *Antium*, adopted at last this Divinity, and established her Worship in their City, where she had afterwards a great Number of Temples. *Servius Tullius* was the first who built one to her, and thence we nearly see the Date of the Introduction of her Worship into *Rome*. This Edifice was consecrated to her under different Names; for the *Romans* gave her several (*b*): Such as those of *Good Fortune*, *Manly*, *Bearded*, of *good Hope*, *Sweet*, *Peaceful*, *Virgin*, *Fortune of the People*, &c. And she had Temples under almost all these different Names, according to *Titus Livius* and *Plutarch*; for *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* mentions only one which was built to her by *Servius Tullius*: *Ancus Martius* was the second who built her one under the Title of *Fortuna Virilis*, she had likewise another under the Name of *Female Fortune*, and none but the new married Persons were permitted to worship her. 'Tis probable that the *Roman Ladies* themselves were at the Charge of building that Edifice; accordingly it was reported that upon the finishing of it the Goddess had uttered these Words, *Recte me matronæ vidistis, riteque dedicastis*.

Fulcius Flaccus raised the most magnificent Temple of all to this Goddess, under the Name of the *Equestrian Fortune*. That which was erected to her by *Q. Catulus*, was dedicated to the *Fortune of the Day*, *Fortunæ hujusce diei*. If that which *Nero* consecrated to her was not the most magnificent, it was at least the most singular and splendid, in regard to the Materials whereof it was built. It was entirely of one Sort of Stone found in *Cappadocia*, called by *Pliny*, *Phingias*,
the

(*a*) See what is said above, Vol. I. in the Article of Divination.

(*b*) *Fortunæ Primigeniæ, Obsequenti, Privatæ, Viscosæ, Masculæ, Barbatae, Bonæ Spei, Averruncæ, Elandæ, Plebeia, Bene Speranti, Virgini, &c.*

the Marble whereof, besides its remarkable Hardness, was so white and glaring, that 'tis said when the gates were shut one saw in it clearly. This Temple was afterwards inclosed within that Emperor's golden House. The same Goddess had another in the new Street, under the Title of *Fortune with Breasts*, who was represented much the same Way as *Diana of Ephesus*, and *Isis*, whose Head-dress she wears upon some Figures which are still preserved. *Domitian* built another to *Fortune of happy Arrival*, *Fortunæ reduci*, an Expression which often occurs upon Medals, and that of *Fortuna Redux*.

Herbert of Cberburi, the Author of a learned Treatise upon the Religion of the *Gentiles*, which I have already sometimes quoted, alledges that neither the *Orientals* nor *Greeks* ever paid any Worship to *Fortune*, and that the *Romans* were her sole Votaries. But was he ignorant that the Inhabitants of *Antioch* had in their City a magnificent Temple to that Divinity; that those of *Smyna* had consecrated to her the fine Statue which *Bupalus* had made; and lastly, that as *Pausanias* tells us, *Greece* was full of Temples, Chapels, Statues, Bas-Reliefs, and Medals of this same Goddess? What clearer Proof can we have of religious Worship?

As to what remains, all the Monuments of *Fortune* now extant (1) represent her almost always under the Figure of a Woman with the Cornucopia, or a Helm, or a Wheel, or Globe; Characters either of her Power or Inconstancy. We find her also pretty often with the Symbols of *Isis*, especially with that odd Head-dress, which we have described in the first Volume, and these Figures are Panthees; sometimes crowned by Victory, to figure some happy Event to the Emperor who represented her so upon Medals: In fine, *Spon* (2) has given us a Statue consecrated by *L. Aurelius Marcellinus*, *Augustus's* Freed-man, which represents *Fortune* under the Figure of a Man in Years, with a Beard, holding in one Hand a Vase, and in the other an Helm, with this Inscription *Fortunæ Bar-*

L 4 *batæ,*

(1) See them in Montfaucon Ant. v. 1, (2) Miscel. Erud. Ant.

batae, To bearded Fortune. Which in short has nothing strange in it, the Pagans having often given both Sexes to their Divinities, as has been said elsewhere.

Tho' Wings were also one of the Symbols of *Fortune*, nothing being more expressive of the Celerity with which she heap'd good Things upon her Favou-rites, or takes them from those who possessed them; we see not, however, any *Roman* Figure of this Goddess with Wings; which probably has some Reference to what *Plutarch* tells us (1), that *Fortune* having quitted the *Persians* and *Assyrians*, first flew swiftly over *Macedonia*, saw *Alexander* perish; passed from thence into *Syria* and *Egypt*; at last, arriving on Mount *Palatine*, put off her Wings, and having thrown away her Wheel, entered into *Rome*, there to fix her Residence for ever.

We are intirely ignorant of the Nature of that Worship which the *Romans* paid to *Bad Fortune*; only, that they did pay Homage to her is certain, since, according to *Cicero* (2), she had an Altar on the *Esquilin Mount*. As the Inhabitants of *Antium*, now *Nettuno*, adored at the same Time two *Fortunes*, called *Fortunæ Geminae*, the *Twin-Fortunes*, 'tis probable that these were *Good* and *Bad Fortune*. *Martial*, who also says they were Sisters, adds, that they gave Oracles upon the Sea-shore (a). *Suetonius* calls the two *Fortunes*, *The Lots of Antium*; because it was by the Lots they were consulted.

C H A P. IV,

Of the Gods of Feasts and Revels, Momus and Comus.

C O M U S.

AS Paganism had Gods who presided over all the Actions of Life, so they could not choose but have some for Feasting and good Cheer, which many People

(1) De Fort. Rom. (2) De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

(a) Hear how that Poet bespeaks the Emperor *Damitian*, L. 5. Ep. 1.

*Seu tua fatidicæ discunt responsa sorores,
Pleza suburbanæ qua cubat unda freti.*

People make their most serious Employments. *Comus*, however, whose Office was to preside there, would hardly be known to us but in Name, had not *Philostratus* mentioned him in one of his Pictures (1). That Author paints this God as at the Chamber of two young Spouses, which communicates with a Hall, where are held an Entertainment and Ball, youthful, and full of Wine, his Face flushed, he sleeps upon his Feet, and reaches forward his Head, which is crowned with Roses, while his Neck is hid. He seems to lean his Left-hand upon a Stake, but Sleep makes him let go his Hold ; and as he staggers, the lighted Torch, which he holds in his Right, seems to drop out of his Hand. The young God, for fear of burning himself, seems to draw in the Left Leg to the Right, turns the Torch towards the Left, and endeavours to shun the Steams of it, by putting away his Hand from his Knees. His Head being down, you see but little of his Face, but the Light that falls upon the Rest of his Body, makes him discernible. A Picture of Fancy, as are all the Rest of this Author's ; but 'tis easy to find out by it the God of Banqueting and Jollity.

Some Mythologists derive the Name of *Comus* from the Word *κωμαζειν*, *Comessari*, to revel, or make merry ; but others, and possibly with more Reason, derive it from a Kind of Song, which the Antients called *Comus*. For as there is eating and drinking at jovial Feasts, so is there usually singing ; and as they had Songs for the different Stations of Life (a), so there were Feasts and Repasts, which were called from the Name now mentioned. *Vigenere*, the learned Commentator on *Philostratus*, has been at the Pains to explain all the Attitudes of the God now in question ; but besides that they are only the Product of *Philostratus*'s Imagination, they are easy to be understood.

M O M U S.

As *Comus* was the God of good Cheer among the Greeks and Romans, so *Momus*, whom *Hesiod* makes the Son

(1) Picture of *Comus*.

(a) See the Diss. of M. de la Nauze upon the Songs of the Antients. *Mem. of the Acad.* v. 9.

Son of *Night* and *Sleep*, was taken by both for the God of Buffoonery and Jests. Satyrical to Excess, he let nothing escape him, but made even the Gods, and *Jupiter* himself, the Objects of his most pungent Raillery. No Body has drawn him in more true and lively Colours than *Lucian*; and we may see, in his Counsel of the Gods, where the Question was about expelling all Strangers, and such as had been improperly introduced into Heaven; there, I say, we may see in what Manner, and with how little Ceremony *Momus* speaks of them. 'Tis, in short, from this Manner of censuring the Vices and Defects of others that *Momus* has his Name (1). It was he who found Fault with the Gods, because, in the Formation of Man, they had not made a little Hole or Window in his Breast, that one might have seen into his Heart what were his Thoughts; tho', to say Truth, *Vitruvius* (2) attributes this Thought to *Socrates*.

C H A P. V.

Of the Gods of Medicine and Health, Esculapius, Hygieia, Thelesphorus, Jaso, Panacæa, &c.

THE Name of *Esculapius*, whom the *Greeks* called *Asclepios*, appears to be a foreign Name, and seems derived from the oriental Languages, as shall be said afterwards; and what confirms this Conjecture, is, that *Esculapius* was actually known in those Countries before he was in *Greece*. *Cicero* (3) says, there were several Persons who bore that Name. “The
“ first *Esculapius*, says he, the God of *Arcadia*, who
“ passes for the Inventer of the Probe and Manner of
“ binding up Wounds, is the Son of *Apollo*. The
“ second, who was slain by a Thunderbolt, and in-
“ terred at *Cynosura*, is Brother to the second *Mercu-*
“ *ry*. The third, who found out the Use of Purga-
“ tives, and the Art of drawing Teeth, is the Son of
“ *Asippus* and *Asinoe*. His Tomb is to be seen in
“ *Arcadia*,

(1) *Mōmus* in *Greek* implies *Censure*. (2) *Præf.* l. 3. (3) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3.

“*Arcadia*, and the Grove that is consecrated to him, “pretty near the River *Lufus*.” But however well acquainted *Cicero* is with the Religion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, he appears to have been ignorant of that of the People from whom they learned it. *Sanchoniathon*, whose Work was not translated in that Author’s Time, names an *Esculapius* yet more antient, since he was the Son of *Sydik*, or, *the Just*, and of one of the *Titanide* (1). He was the eighth of his Sons, and Brother to the *Cabiri*. There had been, as *Marsham* proves, an *Esculapius* King of *Memphis*, Son of *Menes*, Brother to *Mercury* the first, who lived about two hundred Years after the Deluge, upwards of a thousand Years before the *Grecian Esculapius*. In fine, *Eusebius* (2) speaks of an *Asclepius*, or *Esculapius*, whom he surnames *Tosorthrus*, an *Egyptian*, and famous Physician, to whom other Authors ascribe the Glory of inventing Architecture, and of contributing not a little to propagate in *Egypt* the Use of Letters which *Mercury* had invented.

’Tis not therefore in *Greece*, but in *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*, that we are to seek for the true *Esculapius*. Being honoured as a God in those two Countries, his Worship passed into *Greece*, and was established first at *Epidaurus*, a City of the *Peloponnesus*, bordering upon the Sea, where probably some Colonies settled at first. This was a good enough Handle for the *Greeks* to give out that this God was a Native of *Greece*. But as their Mythology was founded upon very uncertain Traditions, they related his History differently; perhaps too this Confusion was owing to the Plurality of Persons who had bore this Name. In short, not to recite here all that we are told of his Parents, I adhere to the Opinion most generally received in *Greece*, which gave him *Apollo* for his Father, that is, some Priest of that God, and for his Mother *Coronis*, the Daughter of *Phlegyas*; for as to the Tradition of his having been born of *Arfinoe* the Daughter of *Leucippus*, this, according to *Pausanias*,

(1) See the Fragment of that Author, v. 1. l. 2. (2) Chron. Dyn. 3. of the Kings of *Memphis*.

nias, is the least probable, and worst supported of any. And indeed *Apollophanes*, to oblige the *Messenians*, of whose Country *Leucippus* was, having gone to consult the Oracle at *Delphos* to know the Place of *Esculapius's* Nativity, and that of his Parents, the Oracle, or more properly *Apollo* himself, answered, that he was his Father, that *Coronis* was his Mother, and that he was born at *Epidaurus*.

Phlegyas, the most warlike Man of his Age, having gone, according to *Pausanias* (1), into the *Peloponnesus*, under Pretence of travelling, but in Truth to spy out the Country, had brought his Daughter with him, who, to conceal her being with Child from her Father, went to *Epidaurus*, where she was delivered of a Son, whom she exposed upon a Mountain, called to this Day, the Mount *Tittbyon*, or, *of the Breast*; whereas, before this Adventure, the Name it went by was *Myrtion*, from the Myrtles that grew there; and the Reason of this Change is, that the Child having been thus abandoned, was suckled by one of the Goats that fed in a neighbouring Wood (a), guarded by the Dog of the Flock. *Aristhenes*, this was the Goat-herd's Name, coming to review his Flock, found a She-goat and his Dog wanting, and, as he was seeking for them, found the Child, and was going to carry him off; but no sooner did he come up to take him, than he perceived him all resplendent with Light, which made him believe there was something divine about the Child, upon which he went home. The Voice of Fame soon published that there was a miraculous Infant born. *Pausanias* adds to the Story now related, that it was also reported that *Coronis*, at the very Time of her being with Child, suffered herself to be debauched by *Ischy* the Son of *Eletus*. It was also given out that she died in Child-bed; and on these two Circumstances has *Ovid* (2) founded his Fable, which imports, that *Apollo* having learned from a Raven the Unfaithfulness of his Mistress, had ripped up her Womb with an Arrow,

(1) In Corinth.

(a) Lactantius, Div. l. 1. says that he was suckled by a Bitch.

(2) Met. l. 2.

Arrow, taken out the Child with whom she was pregnant, and sent him to the *Centaur Chiron*, who took upon him the Care of his Education. The Foundation of this double Fiction is, that an Informer was reckoned a Creature of bad Omen, as was the Bird whose Name *Ovid* gives him, and *Coronis* having died in Child-bed, was therefore said to be slain by the Darts of *Apollo*. But it being a rare Thing to attribute to this God the untimely Deaths of Women, as has been said in his History, another Tradition set forth (1) that it was *Diana* herself, who, to revenge the Infidelity of his Brother's Mistress (2), took away her Life, which is very conformable to the Opinion they had of those Kinds of Death.

As the Name of *Coronis* in the *Greek* Language is the same with that of the Crow, hence another Fable arose upon this Occasion, importing, as we see in *Lucian* (3), that *Esculapius* had sprung from that Bird's Egg under the Figure of a Serpent; but the only Thing that gave Rise to this Fiction, whose Foundation is easy to be traced in the Conformity of the Name, is, 1. That the Serpent was the Symbol of *Esculapius*. 2. From the Story propagated by the false *Alexander*, whom we shall speak of in the Sequel of this Chapter.

Esculapius being removed from the Place where he had been exposed, was nursed by *Trigone*, who was perhaps the very Wife of the Goat-herd who had discovered him; and when he was capable of improving by the Lessons given at that Time by the famous *Chiron*, *Phlegyas*, to whom he had doubtless been returned, sent him to his School. Being, as we are told, by *Diodorus Siculus*, of a very quick and lively Genius, he made such Advances there, especially in the Knowledge of Simples, and in the Composition of Remedies, whereof he invented a great Number of very salutary ones, having joined, according to the Custom of those Times, Surgery with the Study of Physick, that he became at length not only a great Physician, but was

(1) *Pauf. loc. cit.* (2) *P. ibid.* (3) *Dial. of the false Alex.*

was even reckoned the God and Inventer of Medicine.

'Tis true, the *Greeks*, who are not very consistent with themselves in the History of those early Ages, gave *Apis*, the Son of *Phoroneus*, the Glory of having invented that Art; but perhaps, he having left it very imperfect, *Esculapius* carried it to such a Degree of Perfection, as to give Occasion to say that he was the Inventer of it.

Esculapius, being contemporary with *Jason* and *Hercules*, may have had the same Master with them; and *Chiron* being reputed the most sufficient Man of his Time for the Education of Youth, may have very probably educated all the three. This ingenious *Centaur* was Master both of Astronomy, Musick, the Art of War and Physick. Thus, while *Hercules* applied himself to wrestling and other bodily Exercises, and *Jason* to the Art of War, *Esculapius* gave himself wholly to Physick, and therein made great Proficiency. As the Intimacies contracted between School-fellows are usually the most lasting, so *Jason* and *Hercules*, when they set out in their Expedition to *Colchis*, engaged *Esculapius* to be of the Party (*a*), and he did great Service to them in the Capacity of Physician. In fine, he acquired so great Reputation in his Art, that, like *Hercules*, and some others of his Contemporaries, he was deified after his Death, and was accounted the God of *Physick*. And if we may believe *Pausanias*, it was but a short Time after his Death that he received divine Honours. They add farther, that he formed the celestial Sign called *Serpentarius*. His Posterity, according to *Pausanias* (1), reigned in a Part of *Messenia*, and it was from thence that his two Sons, *Machaon* and *Podalirius*, set out for the War of *Troy*.

The *Messenians* even cited the Verses in *Homer* that represent *Nestor* comforting King *Machaon* wounded with an Arrow, as being his Neighbour; for both of them

(*a*) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. See my Diss. upon the *Argonauts*.
Mém. of the Acad. of Bell. Lett.

(1) In Mess.

them reigned in *Messenia*. The same Author tells us, that at *Gerania* was to be seen *Machaon's* Tomb, and at *Pheres* a Temple that was also dedicated to him: For he was advanced to divine Honours, and his Worship was established in *Messenia* by *Epithes* the King of *Andamia*. As for *Podalirius*, we are ignorant of the History of the last Years of his Life. *Tzetzes* however informs us, upon the Authority of the Physician *Soranus* of *Ephesus*, that he had passed over to *Rhodes*, where probably he died.

Esculapius married *Epione* (1), by whom he had two Sons now mentioned, and four Daughters, *Hygieia*, *Eglè*, *Panacea*, and *Jaso*.

I am not ignorant, that some learned Men of the last Age, and of the present, will have it that there never was another *Esculapius* but the *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* whom we have spoke of at the Beginning of this Chapter: But this is to advance an Opinion that will not hold: The History now related is consistent in the Main, and few Accounts of that Time are so coherent, however they may be true. We actually find *Esculapius* in the List of the *Argonauts*, and 'tis very obvious that his Son might be at a War which so soon followed their Expedition. For, in short, tho' we should adopt the ingenious Conjecture of *Bochart* (2), followed by *F. Thomassin*, and other learned Men, that the Name of *Esculapius*, or, to speak more accurately, *Asclepius*, is derived from that of *Kaleb*, which the *Hebrews* gave to a Dog, and that it is composed of these two Words in the same Language, *Isch-Kalibi*, *Vir Caninus*, what will follow from it, but that there had been an *Esculapius* in the oriental Countries long before he was known in *Greece*? A Thing not denied. Let us grant what that celebrated Author alledges, that it was in Allusion to this Name of *Esculapius* Dogs were kept in his Temple, as we learn from *Pausanias*; this Circumstance only proves that it was a Remain of the *Egyptian* or *Phœnician* Tradition brought into *Greece* by the Colonies of *Danaus* and *Cadmus*.

We

(1) Others call his Wife *Lamptia*. (2) Hierof. Pens. 1. 1. 2. c. 55.

We are willing to add with M. *Fourmont* (1), that the Particle *es* or *ex*, which begins the Name of this God, signifies a Goat in the Language of the *Phœnicians*, and with a little Variation, the same Thing in *Greek*, and that this had given Rise to the Fable of *Esculapius's* being nursed by that Animal. We can also admit what is alledged by the same Author, that this God was Brother to *Eliezer*, who, according to him, is the same with *Hermes*, and that both of them were from *Caleb*, or of the City of the *Dog*, upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*; and that this is the true Origin of the Name of this God, whereof *Bockart* had only a Glimpse, without seeing farther; provided however, we take this along with us, that this is one of those Conjectures which one has Liberty to receive or reject, according to the Weight of Argument wherewith it is supported, and which I advise the Reader to consult in that Academic's own Work. They are still of more Force than those which *Huetius* has drawn together (2), to prove *Esculapius* to have been the same with *Moses*. But neither the one nor the other destroy the Existence of the *Greek Esculapius*.

Let us therefore conclude, in order to reconcile so many different Opinions, that it is unquestionable there was one *Esculapius* in *Phœnicia*, and another in *Egypt*; that the Worship of the former was brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus's* Colony, and of the latter by that of *Danaus*, some Ages before the *Trojan War* (a); that this Worship was adopted by the *Greeks*; but that afterwards a celebrated Physician, who lived in the Time of *Hercules* and *Jason*, having obtained divine Honours, his Worship came to be confounded with that which was paid to the antient *Esculapius*; so that, in Process of Time, the Worship of the latter came to be quite forgot, and the new God substituted altogether in his Room.

As the *Greeks* always carried the Encomiums of their

(1) *Refl. Crit.* v. 1. p. 189. (2) *Dem. Evan.* p. 4.

(a) We shall give the precise Dates of the Arrival of those Colonies in the Beginning of the 4th Vol.

their great Men beyond the Truth, so in a high Hyperbole they said, that *Esculapius* was so expert in Medicine, that not content with Curing the Sick, he even raised the Dead (a) ; that *Pluto* cited him before the Tribunal of *Jupiter* (1), and complained to him that his Empire was considerably diminished, and was in danger at length of being entirely desolate : So that *Jupiter* in Wrath slew *Esculapius* with a Thunder-bolt. To which they added, that *Apollo* enraged for the Death of his Son, slew the *Cyclops* who forged *Jupiter's* Thunder, with the rest of that Fable, which I have related in the History of *Apollo* : A Fiction which obviously signifies only that *Esculapius* had carried his Art very far, and that he had cured Diseases believed to be desperate. The Worship of the *Grecian Esculapius* was first established at *Epidaurus*, the Place of his Birth, and soon after propagated through all Greece. “ That this Worship began in that Town, says *Pausanias* (2), can be evinced from more Proofs than “ one. For first, his Feast is celebrated with more “ Pomp and Magnificence at *Epidaurus* than any “ where else. In the second Place, the *Athenians* “ grant that this Feast was derived to them from *Epidaurus*, accordingly they call it *Epidauria*, as well “ as the Anniversary of the Day in which the *Epidaurians* began to worship *Esculapius* as a God.” He was worshipped at *Epidaurus* under the Figure of a Serpent, which did not hinder him however from having the Figure of a Man in his Statues. That which was of Gold and Ivory, the Work of *Thrasmedes* of *Paros*, represented this God seated on a Throne, having a Battoon in one Hand, and resting the other upon a Serpent's Head, with a Dog lying by him. Though *Esculapius* was generally represented bearded, there was however one of his

VOL. III.

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Statues

(a) *Ovid*, as shall be said in the History of *Theseus*, says he raised *Hyppolitus*, and *Julian* says the same of *Tyndarus*.

(1) *Diod.* l. 4. and other Mythol. (2) In Corinth.

Statues without a Beard, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1).

From *Epidaurus* the Worship of this new God pass'd first to *Athens*, and several other Cities of *Greece*. *Archias* having been wounded in the Chace, came to *Epidaurus* (2) to implore the Assistance of *Esculapius*; and when he was cured, he brought his Worship to *Pergamus*, where this God was looked upon as the Patron and Protector of the City.

Accordingly we often find him upon the Medals of the Emperors struck at *Pergamus*. In a Medaillon which was made upon Occasion of the Peace between the *Pergamenians* and *Mytelenians*, this God appears with his Battoon and a Serpent, standing by a Goddess who sits, being probably *Juno* the Protectress of the *Mytelenians*. Upon another Medaillon struck at *Pergamus*, we see *Esculapius* with *Fortune*, to signify, no doubt, that the Prosperity of the *Pergamenians* was owing to the Protection of this God. We also find him upon the Medals of the *Tilineans*, which proves that they had likewise adopted his Worship. From *Pergamus* the Knowledge of him was propagated very soon to *Smyrna*, where a Temple was built to him upon the Sea-shore, which was still subsisting in the Time of *Pausanias*. The Island of *Crete* likewise received the same Worship, witness the Temple which he had there. From *Europe* and *Asia* it was carried into *Africa*, since the Inhabitants of *Balonogrus* in the *Cyrenaium* had also dedicated to him a Temple (3). These even sacrificed to him Goats, which the *Epidaurians* did not.

Besides the Temple built at *Epidaurus* in honour of *Esculapius*, this God had also a sacred Grove there, within the Bounds of which they neither allowed any sick Person to die, nor a Woman to lie in. Whatever was sacrificed to the God was to be consumed in the Grove, which Usage was also observed at *Titana*, where the same God was worshipped. His Statue by *Thrasymedes*, was of Gold and Ivory, like that of *Olympian*

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Id. ib. (3) Id. ib.

lympian Jupiter at *Athens*, but one half less. There *Esculapius* was represented upon a Throne, in the manner already mentioned. Lastly, round the Temple there were a great Number of Columns, upon which were inscribed the Names of those who were indebted to this God for their Cure.

The Inhabitants of *Titana* (1), who paid Homage to *Esculapius*, as has been said, offered to him in Sacrifice the Bull, the Lamb, and the Hog. They did not content themselves with cutting off the Thighs of the Victims, as in other Sacrifices. They roasted them entire, all but the Skins, which they burnt upon the Altars. *Coronis*, *Esculapius*'s Mother, partook also of divine Honours, and had in the Temple of her Son a Statue which was transported every Year into that of *Minerva*. The Cock and the Serpent were also especially consecrated to the same God. *Pausanias* tells us, that they used to feed tame Snakes in his Temple at *Epidaurus*; and he is seldom represented without this Symbol, as shall be said presently. It was even alledged, that he had shewed himself under the Figure of this Reptile. Accordingly the *Romans*, infested with the Plague, having consulted their sacred Books, learned, that in order to be delivered from it, they were to go in quest of *Esculapius* at *Epidaurus*, as we are told by *Titus Livius* (2), *Florus*, *Valerius Maximus* (3), and *Ovid* (4). Accordingly, Ambassadors were deputed to *Epidaurus*, and the Priests having given them a tame Adder, which they said was *Esculapius* himself, they embarked with it, and arrived near the Island of the *Tyber*, where it came out of the Ship, and hid itself under the Reeds. It was believed that the God had chosen this Place for his Residence; and after having there built him a Temple, they lined all the Borders of the Island with a Marble Key, under the Figure of a large Ship: In this Manner was the Worship of *Esculapius* established at *Rome*, *A. U. C.* 462. This Event is represented on a fine Medaillon in the King's Closet, on the Reverse of an

M 2 *Antonine.*

(1) *Id. ib.* (2) *L. 10.* (3) *L. 1.* (4) *Met. l. 15.*

Antonine. There you see the *Tyber* under the usual Figure of Rivers, sitting upon the Water, holding a Bough in his left Hand. By him appears the Island of the *Tyber*, which *Plutarch* calls *Mesopotamia*, because it is in the Middle of that River. It has the Form of a Ship, as it actually had, and some Remains of it still appear, which have escaped the Injuries of Time and the Inundations of the River. Upon the Top of the Ship's Prow, which represents the Island, is in the Medal a wreathed Serpent, which makes Head against the Current of the River (*a*).

To conclude, the Reason why the Serpent is so often represented upon the Monuments of *Esculapius* is, that this Insect, whence he drew excellent Remedies, is of great Use in Medicine, or because it is the Symbol of Prudence, a Virtue so necessary in Physicians. Such another Adventure as that which we have now related, happened, according to *Pausanias* (1), to those who built the City *Limera* in *Laconia*, who sent also to seek for *Esculapius*. The prevailing Opinion, that this God appeared under the Figure of a Serpent, gave Rise to the Trick of one *Alexander*, which *Lucian* pleasantly relates (2).

This Adventurer having found a Way to convey one of these Insects into a Crow's Egg, and having placed it in the Foundations of a Temple which was beginning to be built in honour of *Esculapius*, gave out that he had there found that Egg; and having opened it in Presence of several Persons, averred to them that it was *Esculapius*; then having hid himself for some Time, he appeared again with a large Snake, which he had tamed; and the credulous People imagining it was the God of Physick, were zealous to consult this Impostor, who by this Trade gained a great Deal of Money.

The Sick came in Crowds into the Temples of this God to be cured of their Infirmities; there they usually spent the Night; and whenever they received there

(*a*) This Island is called at this Day *St. Bartholomew*.

(1) In *Lacon.* c. 23. (2) *Dial.* of the false Proph.

there any Ease, they left Representations of the Parts of their Bodies that had been cured.

'Tis highly probable that the Priests who minister'd in those Temples, and who commonly were able Physicians, made the Patients take Remedies, though in a secret Manner, or mix'd up some of them with such Things as the Patients were obliged to take for Sustenance, and then ascrib'd to the God the Cures, which were only owing to those Medicines. What I have here alledged is not without Foundation: We know that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, having passed some Years in the Temple which *Esculapius* had at *Ægæ*, a Town in *Cilicia*, which was one of the most celebrated, drew from thence several Pieces of Knowledge, and learned the Use of a great Number of Medicines, which he afterwards made Use of in curing the Sick, to whom he gave them for nothing; which drew Crowds after him, and gained him a great deal of Reputation.

How much soever *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus* rallies *Esculapius* and the other Gods, yet he shews us in what Manner the Patients used to pass the Night in his Temple in order to be cured; and there are perhaps few Pieces in Antiquity whence greater Light may be drawn as to this Article, than from that same Comedy (a).

The other Gods of Physick, and of Health which it procures, were among the *Greeks*, *Hygieia*, *Thelesphorus*, *Ïaso*, and *Panacea*, who were said to be the Children of *Esculapius*, and *Meditrina*. The *Pergamenians*, as we are told by *Pausanias*, upon the Faith of an Oracle worshipped *Thelesphorus* as a God, whom the *Epidaurians*, who also ascribed divine Honours to him, called *Acesios*, *Health-giving*, and the *Sicyonians*, *Evemerion*. Accordingly this God, properly speaking, was the God of those who were on the mending Hand. *Hygieia* also participated in the same Honours, as well as her Sisters (b) *Panacea* and *Ïaso*.

M 3

The

(a) See the Medal of the *Epidaurians*, quoted in *Spanheim*, and the 76th Page of the third Vol. of the *Theatrum Græcum*.

(b) These two Names have a visible Relation to Physick, the first signifying *universal Remedy*, the second *Medela, Cure*.

The Author now quoted says, that in the Temple of *Esculapius* at *Sicyon*, was a Statue of the first of these three Goddesses, almost wholly covered with a Veil, to which the Ladies of that Town dedicated their Locks; and we find her often represented upon ancient Monuments and Medals, sometimes with her Father, and frequently by herself. The *Romans* especially bore a high Respect to that Goddess, look'd upon her as the Saviour of the Empire, and gave her that Title upon their Medals.

I have no Design to consider all the Monuments upon which *Esculapius* is represented, and the other Gods of Physick, who make the Subject of this Chapter. The Reader may consult the Antiquaries: It suffices to take Notice, that *Esculapius* always appears under the Figure of a grave Man wrapp'd up in a Cloak, having sometimes upon his Head *Serapis's Calatbus*, with a Battoon in his Hand, which is commonly wreathed about with a Serpent; sometimes again with a *Patera* in one Hand, and the Serpent in the other; sometimes leaning upon a Pillar, round which a Serpent also twines. The Cock, an Animal consecrated to this God, whose Vigilance figures that Quality which Physicians ought to have, is sometimes at the Feet of his Statues, and he is once represented holding one of them in his Hand. *Socrates*, we know, when dying, says to those who stood around him in his last Moments, *We owe a Cock to Esculapius, give it without Delay.* *Hygieia*, who often accompanies her Father in the Monuments of him now remaining, appears like a young Woman, commonly holding a Serpent in one Hand, and a *Patera* in the other; sometimes the Serpent drinks out of the *Patera*; sometimes he twines about the whole Body of the Goddess. *Thelesphorus* is always drawn like a young Man, and with a singular Habit. 'Tis a long Robe that covers his whole Body, insomuch that the Arms are not to be seen: He has upon his Head a Kind of Cowl, so that nothing but his Face is left uncovered. This Habit is almost in every Thing like that of the *Camal-*

Camaldoli. This Attire contains, no Doubt, some Mystery : But whether it signified that Patients ought to be well covered, or some other Thing, is what we cannot determine. *Lastly, Meditrina*, whose Name comes from *mederi*, or *medela*, Cure, or, *to cure*, was another Goddess of Physick, whom *Varro* and *Festus* informs us to have been worshipped at *Rome* : The principal Ceremony of her Feast, called *Meditrinalia*, consisted in tasting new Wine, as a Beginning of Health ; the Pontiff of the God *Mars*, called *Flamen Martialis*, recited with a loud Voice this Form, *New Wine is to be drunk, and the old as a Remedy*.

SALUS, or the Goddess of HEALTH.

As *Health* itself is undeniably the principal Blessing of Life, after having spoke of the Gods who were worshipped in order to obtain it, I shall say a Word or two of her. The *Romans*, who had made a Divinity of her under the Name of *Salus*, conferred upon her a particular Worship. *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and others, make frequent Mention of Temples consecrated to this Goddess, and *Titus Livius* speaks of one which was erected to her by *Junius Babulo* the Censor, near one of the Gates of the City ; which, for that Reason, was called the Gate of *Health, Salutaris*. As the Antients speak frequently of the Augury of *Health*, and *Cicero* thus expresses himself to that Purpose, *Salutem populi sacerdotes augurantur* ; 'tis proper to take Notice that the Priests of that College had arrogated to themselves the sole Privilege of supplicating the Gods for the Health of every Particular, and of the whole State, as if every one could not ask it for himself. *Dion* (1) informs us, that the Day set apart for that Ceremony of the *Augurs* was very solemn ; and as it was one of the necessary Conditions, that no Army had set out from *Rome* during the Year, and that they were in the Enjoyment of a profound Peace, it often happened that they were a long Time before they could take the Auguries of *Health*.

C H A P. VI.

Of certain Gods peculiar to the Greeks, and some People in Asia Minor and the Isles.

AMONG the Gods whom I am to speak of in this Chapter, there were some topical, or such as were peculiar to certain Places; and others common, who were adored in several Places. Those were commonly called the *Tutelar Gods*, who were believed to take Care either of a Person, or House or City, and sometimes of a whole People, and who were honoured with a particular Worship. *Servius* upon that Verse where *Virgil* calls *Apollo* the Guardian of *Soracte*, *Custos Soractis Apollo* (1), observes that those topical Gods were appropriated to a particular Country. Each Country had one or two of them. Thus *Astarté* was the topical Divinity of the *Syrians*; *Disares* and *Dionysius* of the *Arabians*; *Maraci* of the Inhabitants of *Minuræ* in *Italy*; *Tibilius* of the People of *Noticum*; *Deventinus* of the *Crustumenians*; *Ancharita* of the *Aſculans*. Such again was *Minerva* at *Athens*; *Juno* at *Samos* and *Carthage*; *Mars* in *Thrace*; *Venus* at *Cythera*; *Paphos* and *Amathus*, &c. *Faunus* to the *Latins*; *Sencus* to the *Sabines*; *Fenelles* to the People of *Aquilcia*; *Laphistius* to the *Archomenians*; *Tenes* to the Inhabitants of *Teredos*; *Vulcan* at *Lemnos*; *Bacchus* at *Naxos*; *Apollo* at *Delphos*; among the *Carians*, *Lagdonia*; *Tuiston* and *Velleda* to the *Germans*; *Esus* to the *Gauls*. The *Romans*, as we are told by *Macrobius* (2), had also their tutelar Gods; and whenever they besieged a City, they were sure, according to *Pliny*, to call forth the Patron God of that City, by a Priest whom they brought along with them for that End, who, with some Forms, exhorted him to quit his Residence, and come into their Camp, and then into their City, where he should be honoured in another Manner than he was in that where he had chosen to reside (a).

As

(1) *Æn.* l. 11. (2) *Satur.* c. 9.

(a) See what has been said of Evocations in the first Volume.

As all these Gods are known, and as I have already spoke of them, I go on to others who are less noted.

S O S I P O L I S,

I begin with *Sosipolis* the God of the *Eleans*, whom *Pausanias* speaks of (1); and as he is the only one of the Antients who informs us of him, I shall copy his Account of him. This Author, after he has told us that *Lucina* had a Temple at *Olympia*, and a Priestess who ministred to her, adds, “ *Sosipolis* had also his, “ who is bound to strict Chastity. ’Tis she that “ makes all the necessary Purifications, and offers to “ the God, according to the Manner of the *Eleans*, “ a Kind of Cake knead with Honey. In the Fore- “ part of the Temple, for the Temple is double, there “ is an Altar dedicated to *Lucina*, and thither the “ Men have free Access; farther in, is the Place “ where *Sosipolis* is adored; no Body enters thither but “ the Priestess, and she too, before she exercises her “ Ministry, covers her Head and her Face with a “ white Veil. The Virgins and Matrons remain in “ the Temple of *Lucina*, where they sing a Hymn, and “ burn Perfumes in Honour of *Sosipolis*; but they “ use no Wine in their Libations. To swear by *Sosipolis*, is to the *Eleans* an inviolable Oath.

“ As for this God, continues the Author, the *Eleans* “ give the following Account of him. The *Arcadians* “ having invaded *Eli*, the *Eleans* marched a- “ gainst them; and when they were upon the Point “ of giving Battle, a Woman presented herself to “ them, having a Child upon the Breast, and told “ them, that Child would fight for them. He was “ set naked upon the Head of the Army, and pre- “ sently was seen to transform himself into a Serpent, “ a Prodigy which terrified the Enemy, and obliged “ them to fly. As by this Adventure *Eli* was saved, “ so they gave the Name of *Sosipolis* to the Child (2), “ and built him the Temple we have now mentioned, “ in that very Spot where, after transforming himself “ into a Serpent, he had disappeared. As *Lucina*, no “ Doubt,

(1) In *Eli*. (2) Saviour of the City.

“ Doubt, had presided over the Birth of this wonder-
 “ ful Child, so they set apart for her a Part of the Edi-
 “ fice, and of the Sacrifices that were therein offered.”

We may reasonably believe that this pretended God owes his Original to some Stratagem of the *Eleans*, who having exposed a Child upon the Head of their Army, and afterwards substituted in his Place a Serpent, reported the Miracle, which put the *Arcadians* into Consternation, and obliged them to fly, in which there is nothing at all surprizing: But what is not a little so, is, that *Pausanias*, the Compiler of it, who did not mind much what he had wrote before, speaks once more, and in the same Book of this God; and without reflecting, or referring to the Account he had given of him just before, says; “ At *Elis* is to be
 “ seen a Temple of *Fortune*, and by it a little Chapel,
 “ where divine Honours are paid to *Sostopolis*: He is
 “ represented from an Apparition in a Dream, under
 “ the Form of a Child with a Habit of divers Co-
 “ lours, and sprinkled with Stars, holding in one
 “ Hand a *Cornucopia*.”

E M I T H E A.

Here again is another Divinity who was only known at *Castabe*, a City in *Caria*; namely *Emithea*, whose History I shall here relate as we have it from *Diodorus Siculus*, the more willingly that I know no other Demi-Goddes in Paganism but herself. All *Greece* was full of Demi-gods and Heroes, and of Temples erected to them; but as for Demi-Goddeses, they had none but the three Sisters I am going to speak of. “ There
 “ is, says the Author now named (1), in the City of
 “ *Castabe* (a), a Temple of *Emithea*, whose History is
 “ variously related: But the Manner most followed by
 “ the Inhabitants of the City is as follows. *Staphilus* and
 “ *Cbrysothemis* had three Daughters, *Malpadia*, *Rboio*,
 “ and *Parthenia*. *Rboio*, with whom *Apollo* fell in Love,
 “ proved with Child, and her Father perceiving it,
 “ shut her up in a Coffer, and threw her into the Sea.
 “ In

(1) L. 5. c. 33.

(a) 'Tis probably *Castabala*. See *la Martiniere*.

“ In the Interim, as the other two Sisters were one Day
 “ keeping their Father’s Wine, a Gift lately conferred
 “ upon Men, they fell asleep, and some Swine having
 “ broke the Vessel wherein it was contained, it was
 “ spilt to the last Drop. These two Daughters fearing
 “ their Father’s Wrath, went to the Sea Shore, and
 “ there threw themselves down headlong. *Apollo*,
 “ who interested himself in them for their Sister’s Sake,
 “ supported them in their Fall, and transported them
 “ into two several Cities: *Parthenia* to *Bubastis*, where
 “ she has her Temple and her Worship, and *Malpa-*
 “ *dia* to *Castabé*, where this Protection of the God
 “ procured her the Name of *Emithea*, *Demi-Goddes*,
 “ and the Veneration of all the Inhabitants of the
 “ Country. In Commemoration of the Wine spilt,
 “ Offerings are made to her of that Liquor mixed
 “ with Honey, and no Man who has ate Pork, or
 “ who has touched it, is permitted to enter into the
 “ Temple of *Emithea*. The Honours of this Tem-
 “ ple grew in Process of Time to such a Degree, that
 “ not only is it in singular Veneration in the Country,
 “ but People even come from a great Distance to of-
 “ fer there certain Sacrifices, and to make rich Dona-
 “ tions. Nay more, the *Persians*, who are Masters
 “ of *Asia*, and who pillaged all the Temples of the
 “ *Greeks*, had a Respect for this. The very Free-
 “ booters, who account nothing sacred, have always
 “ abstained from touching its Treasures, though this
 “ Temple being without Walls might be rifled with
 “ all Security. This Distinction is founded upon the
 “ common Interest of Mankind; for ’tis alledged
 “ that all the Sick who sleep there, are cured upon
 “ their awaking, and that several have been delivered
 “ there from strange and incurable Maladies. We are
 “ especially told that the Goddess is propitious to
 “ Women who have hard and dangerous Labour in
 “ Child-bearing. Accordingly her Temple is full of
 “ Marks of Gratitude that have been brought thither
 “ at all Times: A Depositum better secured by Re-
 “ ligion

“ligion common to all, than it would be by Walls
“and Guards.”

P S A P H O.

Follows a topical God adored in a Part of *Libya*, who owes his Divinity to a Stratagem, namely *Psapho*, who having taught some Birds these Words ; *Psapho is a great God*, let them loose into the Woods, where they repeated these Words so often, that People were induced thereby to deify him after his Death. The famous *Hanna*, the *Carthaginian* General, tried the same Artifice, as we are told by *Eliau*, but the Birds ill-trained were no sooner let fly into the Woods than they resumed their usual Chattering (1), and thus he was baulked of his Hopes.

C A R M E L U S.

The *Syrians* who dwelt in the Confines of Mount *Carmel*, had a God named *Carmelus*, whom *Tacitus* (a) plainly distinguishes from the Mountain. This God, 'tis true, had no Temple, but there was an Altar consecrated to him. It was one of his Priests, named *Basilus*, foretold *Vespasian* that he was to be Emperor.

O G O A.

Ogoa was another God adored by the *Carians*, especially in the City *Mylæssus* : But all we know about him is this single Circumstance which we have in *Pausanias* (2), that the Sea, which was thought to pass under the Temple of this God, overflowed it sometimes ; but that Author says the same of the Temple of *Neptune Hippius*, which was near *Mantineæ*, and of that which the same God had in the Citadel of *Athens*. 'Tis probable that *Ogoa* was the Name which the *Mylæssians* gave to the God of the Sea. As for those pretended Inundations whereof one was so fatal to *Epythus*, the Son of *Hippotous*, that he lost his Sight by it, and within a few Days after his Life too (3), it was the playing of some Piece of Water-work which the Priests had

(1) Var. Hist.

(a) Est inter Judæam Syriamque Carmelus, ita vocant montem Deumque ; nec simulachrum Deo, aut Templum, sic tradidere majores : Aram tantum & reverentiam. Tac. l. 17.

(2) In Arc. (3) Id. ib.

had invented to procure greater Respect to the God whom they served.

A P H E A.

Aphea was a Divinity adored by the *Eginetæ*, and at the same Time by the *Cretans*, as we learn from the same *Pausanias* (1) who thus gives the History of her. In the same Island, says he, we find a Temple consecrated to the Goddess *Aphea*, in Honour of whom *Pindar* has composed an Ode for the *Eginetæ*. The *Cretans* have an antient Tradition concerning this Goddess, and pretend that *Carmanor* had a Son named *Eubatus*, and that of *Jupiter* and *Carmis* the Daughter of this *Eubatus* was born *Britomartis*, who delighting in nothing but rambling and hunting, was beloved by *Diana*, but to shun the Pursuits of *Minos*, who was desperately in Love with her, she threw herself into the Sea, and fell into Fishers Nets. Her Protectress at last put her into the Number of the Gods. The *Eginetæ* to whom she appeared, worshipped her from that Time under the Name of *Aphea*, while in *Crete* she goes under the Name of *Dictynna*, a Name derived from the Nets into which she fell. This Goddess, in short, is the same with *Diana*, worshipped under different Names.

Z A M O L X I S.

The *Thracians* and the *Getes*, as we learn from *Herodotus* (2), had also a God who was peculiar to themselves, and served them instead of all others. This was *Zamolxis* their great Legislator, whose History deserves a Place here. Those who inhabit along the Coasts of the *Hellespont* informed *Herodotus* that *Zamolxis* had been Slave to *Pythagoras* Son of *Mnesarchus*; and that after having obtained his Liberty, he acquired great Riches, and returned into his own Country. His principal View was to polish a rude People, and make them live after the Manner of the *Ionians*. In order to bring this about, he built a stately Palace, where he regaled all the Inhabitants of the City by Turns, insinuating to them, during the Repast,

(1) In Corinth. (2) L. 4. c. 94, & 95.

Repast, that they who lived as he did were to be immortal, and that after having payed the Tribute which all Men owe to Nature, they were to be received into a Region of Delight, where they should eternally enjoy a happy Life: All the while he had People employed in building a Chamber under Ground, and having suddenly disappeared, he shut himself up there, and lived concealed for three Years. His People mourned for him as dead, but in the Beginning of the fourth Year he shewed himself again, and this pretended Miracle struck his Countrymen so, that they were disposed to believe all that he had said to them. He was at last deified, and every one was persuaded that after Death he was going to dwell with this God. They laid before him their Exigencies, and sent to consult him every five Years. The Manner, in short, how they did it, no less cruel than odd, proves that *Zamolxis* at his Death had not civilized them a great deal. When they had singled out the Man who was to go and lay their Wants before the God, one was employed in holding three Javelins upright, while others held the Deputy by the Feet, and threw him up in the Air, that he might fall down upon the Points of those Weapons. If he was pierced by them, the God was thought propitious to them; and if he did not die, he was cruelly reproached, and treated as a Miscreant. Then choosing out another Deputy, they dispatched him to *Zamolxis*, without subjecting him to the same Trial. When the Weather was rough and boisterous, the same People let fly their Arrows against Heaven, as it were to brave him who was the Author thereof, declaring they did not believe in any other Gods but *Zamolxis*. *Herodotus*, from whom I have this Narrative, after having told us that he did not believe all the Circumstances of it, though he could not but assent to the Truth of the Story in general, adds that he was at least persuaded that *Zamolxis* lived long before *Pythagoras*.

A D R A.

A D R A M U S.

If we may give Credit to *Plutarch* (1), *Adramus* was also a God peculiar to *Sicily*; and the City *Adrama*, which bore his Name, was in a special Manner consecrated to him, though this God was likewise in high Veneration through the whole Island.

CONISALUS, ORTHONA, and TYCHON.

All that we know of *Conisalus*, *Orthona*, and *Tychon*, is, that they were three Divinities peculiar to the *Athenians*, whose Worship, as we are told by *Strabo*, resembled that of *Priapus*.

T A N A I S.

The same Author informs us that *Tanais* was also a Divinity peculiar to the *Armenians*; that the Slaves of both Sexes were consecrated to him; that even the People of better Rank offered to him their Daughters, who, so soon as they were consecrated to this God, were authorised by the Law to prostitute themselves to the first Comer, until the Time of their Marriage, and that this Conduct by no Means prevented the Addresses of Suitors.

B E S S A S.

Of all the Antients I know none but *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2), that makes Mention of the God *Bessas*, or *Befas*, worshipped at *Abida*, a City situated in the Extremity of *Thebais*. This God, adds the Author, delivered Oracles, and had a peculiar Worship paid him in that City, of which he was the tutelar Deity.

AUXESIA and DAMIA.

As it is the same *Herodotus* (3) informs us of *Auxesia* and *Damia*, whom *Pausanias* (4) names *Lamia*, possibly through an Error of the Copier, I shall set down the Account of them as we have it in that Author. The *Epidaurians*, whose Territory was grown barren, went to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*, which informed them that the Barrenness would never cease till they had consecrated two Statues to *Auxesia* and *Damia*, that those Statues were to be of Olive-Wood. As no Country in *Greece* but *Attica* cultivated those Trees, the *Epidaurians*

(1) *Parall.* (2) *L. 19.* (3) *L. 5.* (4) *Loc. cit.*

rians treated with the *Athenians*, who granted them what they demanded, on Condition that they would come every Year and offer Sacrifice to *Minerva Polias* and to *Erechtheus*. The Statues were made, the Barrenness ceased, and the *Epidaurians* fulfilled their Paction. But some Time after the *Eginetæ* having carried off those Statues, they would no longer submit to the Necessity of going to *Athens* to offer the wonted Sacrifices, alledging they had fulfilled the Treaty so long as they had the Statues in their Possession, but that now they were to have Recourse to the *Eginetæ*. The *Athenians* sent to enquire at these whether they would fulfil the Condition prescribed to the *Epidaurians*, and upon their Refusal they prepared to carry off by Force the Statues of the two Goddesses, who being pleased with their Situation, resisted all the Efforts of the Ravishers, changed their Attitude, fell upon their Knees, and from that Time have always remained in that Posture. *Herodotus* adds, that he had much ado to believe this last Article, and I suppose he will find many People of his Mind.

As this Historian says nothing of the Origine of these two Goddesses, we must apply for that to the *Trezenians*, who paid them religious Worship. According to them (1) they were two young Virgins, who came from *Crete* to *Trezene* at a Time when that City was divided into two contrary Factions. They were the Victims of Sedition, and the People, who had no Respect for any thing, stoned them to Death. To make some Sort of Reparation for this Crime, they celebrated ever since an annual Festival called the *Lapidation*.

Z O G O N O I.

The *Greeks* had also a kind of Gods they called *Zogonoi*, as much as to say *Animal-born*. *Proclus* is he who makes Mention of them. They were believed to have Power to prolong Life : The Rivers and the running Waters were especially consecrated to them. I know not whether *Jupiter* was of the Number of these Gods,

(1) *Pauf. in Corinth.*

these Gods; since *Hesychius* gives him the Epithet of *Zwoyónov*.

P R O D O M E I.

We find also in the Mythology of the same People the Gods *Prodomei*, who presided over the Construction of Edifices, and were invoked before laying the Foundations. *Pausanias* (1) is he who informs us of them. This learned Writer speaking of the *Megarians* says, “ There you will see the sacred Hearth of
“ the Gods called *Prodomei*, to whom *Megareus* sacri-
“ ficed before he laid the Foundations of the new
“ Walls with which he encompassed his City.”

The Pure Gods.

The *Arcadians* bestowed a peculiar Worship upon the Gods named *Kαθαροί*, the pure Gods. *Pausanias*, who makes Mention of them, and says it was by them the most solemn Oaths were taken among that People, adds at the same Time that he did not know them.

A N T I T H E I.

Arnobius, I believe, is the only one who speaks of the Gods called *Antithei*; these were evil Genii, whom the Magicians invoked, and who were only dexterous at doing Mischief. The same Magicians also invoked the Gods called *Devi*, but these, according to *Hesychius*, were not bad Genii.

The Goddesses P O T N I A D E S.

The *Greeks* had also in Veneration a kind of Goddesses *Potniades*, so called from the City *Potnia*, who were capable only to inspire Madness (2); and we are told to this Purpose that there was a Well in that City of *Beotia*, whose Water made the Horses of the Country mad, if they drank of it (a). The Inhabitants of that City offered at a certain Season of the Year an annual Sacrifice to those Goddesses (3), and let go some sucking Pigs, which were said to be found again the following Year near *Dodona*. But since *Pausanias*, who

VOL. III.

N

relates

(1) In Attic. (2) *Μανιφόροι*.

(a) *Hesychius* thinks the Name of those Goddesses was that of the *Bacchantes* and *Menades*.

(3) *Pauf.* in *Beot.*

relates it, di believes this last Circumstance himself, I reckon every Reader will be of his Mind.

T A R A X I P P U S.

Taraxippus was a mischievous Genius, whose Statue served for no other Purpose in the Stadia of *Olympia*, but to affright the Horses that passed by, and this God was peculiar to the *Eleans* (1); but of him we have spoke elsewhere.

C A B R U S.

The City *Phaselis* in *Pamphilia* had also a peculiar Deity, called *Cabrus*, to whom they offered little salted Fishes as a Sacrifice. *Suidas*, who makes an Island of this City, names this God *Calabrus*, and *Erasmus*, in the Proverb of the Sacrifices of the *Phaselians*, *Caprus*.

A L A B A N D U S.

The Inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a City in *Caria*, paid a peculiar Worship to *Alabandus* their Founder, and he was the first of their Divinities. His Mother was called *Callirhoe*; and when he had won the Prize of the Race, they gave him the Name of *Alabandus*; for as *Stephanus* says (2), the *Carians* call a Horse *Ala*, and Victory *Basida*. *Cicero* (3), who lets us know what Veneration the *Alabandines* had for this God, adds that *Stratonicus* tired of the Praises which the *Carians* were incessantly bestowing on their Founder, to the Neglect of *Hercules*, whom they would not own, answered them: Well! let *Alabandus* be my Enemy, but may *Hercules* be yours.

T E N E S.

Tenes, the Son of that *Cygnus* of whom we have spoke in the History of *Phaeton*, for having built the City *Tenes* in the Island which from him got the Name of *Tenedos*, became the great Divinity of the Inhabitants of that Island, as we learn from *Cicero* (4) in that Passage where he is reproaching *Verres* for having paid so little Respect to the most sacred Things, that he had even stole away the Statue of that God. *Strabo* (5), I know, treats the Account of *Tenes* as fabulous; but

'tis

(1) Paus. in Eliac. (2) In Alab. (3) De Nat. Deor. l. 2.
(4) In Verrem. (5) L. 14.

'tis not the less true that the People of *Tenedos* adored him as a God, as appears by their Medals. As to which the Reader may consult a Proverb of *Erasmus* (1), *Servius* (2); and *Lylio Gyraldi*.

C O R O N I S.

The *Sicyonians*, as we are told by *Pausanias* (3); had a Goddess whom they named *Coronis*. *Lylio Gyraldi* alledges this Author does not let us know whether this was the Mother of *Esculapius*, mentioned by *Ovid*; or some other; that he only says she had no Temple; and when the Season of offering Sacrifices to her was come, she was carried into that of *Pallas*: But this learned Mythologist doubtless had forgot that *Pausanias* having spoke in the same Book of *Coronis Esculapius's* Mother, whom *Diana* put to Death; as has been said in the History of that God; and then making mention of the Temple which *Alexander* built in *Sicyon* in Honour of his Grandfather *Esculapius*; as also of the Statue of *Hygieia*, and that of *Coronis*, there is no Doubt but that he meant it of the Mother of that God.

E V E M E R I O N.

The *Sicyonians* had two other Goddesses; at least a God and a Demi-God; who were peculiar to themselves, namely *Evemerion* and *Alexanor*. *Pausanias* (4) speaking of them lets us know, that every Day after Sun-setting, the first was worshipped as a God, and the other as a Demi-God.

A D E P H A G I A.

The *Sicilians* acknowledged *Adephagia*; the Goddess of Gluttony; and if we may believe *Elian* (5); she had a Temple wherein was lodged the Statue of *Ceres*. *Cicero* tells us, that they also worshipped as a Goddess the City *Himera* (6). We know nothing of *Automatia*, or *Chance*; but that *Timoleon* built her a Temple; nor of *Ergane*; adored as a Divinity by the Descendants of *Phidias*; as we learn from *Pausanias*; nor of the *Gemetyllides*;

N 2

(1) *Tenedon Anspionon*. (2) In *AEn.* 2. (3) In *Corinth*.
(4) In *Corinth*. (5) *Var. Hist.* l. i. c. 27. (6) In *Var.*

des, who, according to the same Author (1), had their Statues at *Athens* by that of *Venus Colias*.

The Good God, or the Good Genius.

They paid Adoration to another God, or rather to a Genius called *Ἄγαθος Θεός*, *the Good God, or the Good Genius*. His Temple, as *Pausanias* tells us (2), was on the left of the Highway that led to Mount *Menalus*. This God was invoked by the Drunkards, which has made him be sometimes confounded with *Bacchus*.

NECESSITY and VIOLENCE.

What we know of *Necessity* and *Violence*, is, that their Temple, according to *Pausanias* (3), was in the Citadel of *Corinth*.

DEUS RISUS.

Plutarch informs us (4), that *Lycurgus* put *Laughter, Risus*, into the Number of the Gods. *Pausanias* too makes mention of him (5), and says that some People in *Thessaly* celebrated his Festival with Gayety perfectly suitable to this God.

FRRIENDSHIP.

Friendship whom the *Greeks* name *Φιλία*, was a Goddess of whom the Antients take little Notice, and we know not whether she had Temples and Altars. Nor has Time preserved any Monument of her. However *Lyllo Gyraldi* (6) quotes a Fragment of some *Hebrew* Sentences translated with the Scholia, where we find these Words: “ The *Romans* represented *Friendship* as
“ a young Woman, with the Head bare, clad in a
“ coarse Attire, and below these Words written, *Death*
“ and *Life*, while upon her Fore-head was this Inscription,
“ *Summer and Winter*: She had her Breast naked,
“ as far as the Seat of the Heart, where her Hand
“ pointed, and these Words were inscribed, *Far and*
“ *Near* ;” Symbols which figured that true *Friendship* never decays, that she is equally the same in all Seasons, in Presence or Absence, in Life or Death; that she exposes herself to every Danger to serve her Friend, and keeps nothing secret from him.

All

(1) In Attic. (2) In Attic. (3) In Corinth. (4) In Lycurgo.
(5) This Author calls him *Γελωτός Θεός*. (6) *syn. 1.*

F A V O U R.

All that we know of the Goddess *Favour*, is that *Apelles* had drawn an excellent Picture of her.

P R A Y E R S, *Αἰταί*.

Prayers, according to *Hesiod* (1), were *Jupiter's* Daughters, moaning Sisters who were repulsed oftner than they were heard. *Homer*, in the Speech of *Phoenix* to *Achilles* (2), gives a charming Description of them :

*Pray'rs are Jove's Daughters, of celestial Race;
Lame are their Feet, and wrinkled is their Face ;
With humble Mien and with dejected Eyes,
Constant they follow where Injustice flies :
Injustice swift, erect, and unconfin'd,
Sweeps the wide Earth, and tramples o'er Mankind, }
While Pray'rs, to heal her Wrongs, move slow behind. }
Who hears these Daughters of almighty Jove,
For him they mediate to the Throne above :
When Man rejects the humble Suit they make,
The Sire revenges for the Daughter's Sake ;
From Jove commission'd, fierce Injustice then
Descends, to punish unrelenting Men.*

Pope's *Iliad* IX. 624.

The Mythologists give several Explications of this Allegory : But it requires no great Penetration to find out that *Homer* calls *Prayers* lame, because they come not always just after the Injury that occasions them ; that they are wrinkled and have downcast Eyes, to denote how apt Men are to defer Repentance, and how humble at last when they want to make their Peace with the offended Party.

P O V E R T Y and the A R T S.

Arrian (3) informs us that the *Gadarians* adored *Poverty* together with the *Arts*, which they joined in the same Worship, because *Poverty* is indeed the Mother of Invention. *Plautus*, in the Prologue to one of his Comedies (4), makes this Goddess one of the Persons in

N 3

the

(1) Theog. (2) Il. l. 9. (3) De Exp. Alex. (4) In Trim.

the Play, and says that she was the Daughter of Debauchery. *Plato*, as has been said elsewhere, makes *Love* to be her Son.

C H A P. VII.

Of some Gods peculiar to the Romans.

BEFORE we come to those Gods who were little known out of *Rome*, 'tis necessary to give a compendious View of the *Roman* Religion, and of the several Changes it underwent from *Romulus* to the last Pagan Emperors. I said at the Beginning of this Volume, that the *Romans*, after having adopted almost all the Gods of the *Greeks*, and of most of the Nations which they had conquered, had also filled up their Kalendar with Numbers of others that were peculiar to themselves ; and that thus the Theology of this People was of all others in the Pagan World the most encumber'd with Ceremonies and Superstition. But at the same Time, we are to remark, that all those Additions were made at different Times, and that if we consider this Religion in its Rise, it was much more simple, and more free from Superstitions than it was in latter Ages.

I begin with considering it in the Time of *Romulus* ; for though that Prince seems to have been taken up in little else but War, and in settling the new City, he did not, however, wholly neglect the Affairs of Religion : My Authority is *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (1), who says, he rejected all the Poetical System of the *Greek* Theology. He found that their Fables contained Things mean, childish, and injurious to the Divinity ; that had a Tendency, in a Word, to corrupt weak and vulgar Minds. Mere Mortals, added *Romulus*, would even blush to be taxed with the Follies they have not scrupled to impute to their Gods ; or were they to be honour'd in such a licentious and dissolute Manner as these Gods of theirs are. Thus that Prince, much more in the Character of a Philosopher

(1) Ant. Rom. l. 1.

sopher than might have been expected from his Education, did accustom his new Subjects to form magnificent Ideas of the supreme Being, and to scorn all those Fictions that nurse up Ignorance, and Credulity its inseparable Companion. Hence, probably sprung that Contempt which the *Romans* had for the *Greeks*, a Contempt which suited both with the Roughness of their Manners, and their inbred Aversion to all Kind of Servitude.

But I shall quote this ingenious Historian's own Words, were it for no more but to give a quite other Notion of *Romulus* than we are apt to conceive of that first King of *Rome*. “ I cannot sufficiently admire, “ says *Dionysius*, that the Characters of so extensive “ Wisdom should dwell in one Man. *Romulus* was “ persuaded, that the Prosperity of States depended “ upon those great Principles, whereof most Politicians take Advantage, but few know how to carry them “ into Execution. Above all Things, he said it was “ necessary to be in Friendship with the Gods, because Prosperity was the usual Result of their Favour and Protection. Thus *Romulus* bent all his “ Care towards the Execution of this great Scheme, “ and began with the Worship of the Gods. He “ built them Temples and Altars, set up their Statues, exposed their Images, which he adorned with “ Marks of their Power, and Symbols proper to keep “ up the Memory of their Benefits. He instituted “ Feasts in honour of each God, Sacrifices and various “ Ceremonies proportioned to the Manner in which “ they would be worshipped. He appointed public Solemnities, where all the People, laying aside “ their Work, were obliged to give Attendance : “ But that he might do nothing but in Conformity “ to the antient Usages, he consulted what was most “ sacred, and most universally received in the Religion of the *Greeks*. As for the Fables that are full “ of infamous Detractions, making the Gods the Authors of the most foul and enormous Crimes, he “ rejected them all with Abhorrence ; not only as fri-

“ volous and impertinent, but also as so many Impi-
 “ eties, which subjected the Gods to Passions where-
 “ of Men ought to be ashamed. By this Means he
 “ accustomed the *Romans* never to think or speak of
 “ the Divinity but with Reverence, instead of believ-
 “ ing the Gods capable of shameful Actions, with
 “ which some Fables have charged them.”

“ We don’t find in the Books of those Times, that
 “ the Sons of *Cælus* made their Father impotent ; that
 “ *Saturn* devoured his Children for fear that they
 “ should ravish his Crown from him ; that *Jupiter* de-
 “ throned *Saturn*, and kept him confined in the Pri-
 “ sons of *Tartarus* : No Mention there of the Battles
 “ of the Gods, nor of their Wounds, their Chains,
 “ and Exile : No mournful Feasts are there to be
 “ seen, nor doleful Ceremonies, where is nothing but
 “ Lamentation, shedding Tears, and disconsolate
 “ Mothers, complaining of the Cruelty of the Gods.
 “ As degenerate as the *Romans* are at present, we
 “ find not among them a Representation of the *Co-*
 “ *rybantes* : Those secret Assemblies, those nocturnal
 “ Ramblings of the Bacchanals, those shocking Free-
 “ doms of both Sexes, in Places of the greatest Sancti-
 “ ty and Veneration, are absolutely banished from
 “ their Manners.”

The same Historian owns, however, that in his Time they gave greater Indulgence to those *Grecian* Fables ; they alledge, says he ironically, that under enigmatical Figures they conceal the most surprising Wonders, and comprehend Things of a very profound Meaning. I shall not examine, continues he, whether this Opinion is founded upon good Grounds, or if they who propagate it, don’t endeavour to blindfold themselves. All I shall say here is, that every one is not able to find out that mysterious and hidden Meaning. Is it to be thought, that the Populace have a Talent of divining ? When the History of the Gods worshipped in *Greece* is delineated before them, they either despise them, when they see the Miseries and Weaknesses with which they are encompassed, or en-

encouraged by their Example, they give Way to the greatest Irregularities. St. *Augustine* (1) names among the Gods adopted by *Romulus*, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, *Tyberinus* and *Hercules*. Further, that Prince was assisted in what he did in favour of Religion, by the *Tuscan* Priests, whom he had brought to *Rome* and consulted, undertaking nothing in that Affair but by their Decisions.

The peaceful *Numa*, in the long Quiet he enjoyed during his Reign, turned all his Views towards Religion, and added to it a great Number of Ceremonies which he had learned from the *Sabines*, among whom he was born. As the Principles upon which he founded them were much the same with those of *Pythagoras*, he is reckoned by some to have been a Disciple of that Philosopher. But this is a Mistake. *Pythagoras* came not into *Italy* till about the End of the Reign of *Tarquin* the Proud, and consequently, 'tis more reasonable to think, that both the King and the Philosopher had taken several of their Notions from the People that inhabited *Latium*, which will account for the Resemblance we have now mentioned. But whatever be in that, *Numa* had juster Sentiments about the Divinity than those who came after him, and being himself convinced of the Existence and Necessity of an infinite and unchangeable Being, he easily brought his Subjects to the same Conviction. He even persuaded them that this Being had no corporeal Form, and that nothing was more absurd than to attempt a Representation of him by Statues or by Paintings, there being no Proportion between Things Spiritual and Material. He also prohibited them from profaning his Altars by bloody Sacrifices, adding, that nothing was more unseemly than to approach him with Hands embrued in the Blood they had been shedding. Persuaded, as we have it in *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (2), that a State subsists and flourishes only by Industry and Religion, what he did in this last Article was as follows. First, he made no Alteration in the Ceremonies which *Romulus* had wisely instituted, adding to them

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 23. (2) L. 1. c. 67

them only what he thought his Predecessor had omitted. He consecrated several Places to Divinities who had not till then been the Objects of Worship, erected Altars to them, built Temples, appointed Festival Days, and established Priests to take Care of their Worship. He made Laws to point out the Duties of those Ministers, and the sacredness of their Profession, to regulate the Usage of the Ceremonies, the Practice of Expiations, and the different Sorts of Worship that were to be paid to the Gods. As *Romulus* appeared to him to have had something in him superior to Man, he raised a Temple to him, and ordered the Founder of *Rome* to be worshipped, under the Name of *Quirinus*, by solemn Sacrifices. The Priests named *Curii*, because they were to be fixed in each *Curia*, had the Charge of the Sacrifices of the first Order that were offered publicly in behalf of those *Curiae*. Those of the second Order were committed to the Priests whom the *Greeks* called *Stephanophori*, or *Crown-Bearers*, and the *Romans*, *Flamines*, so called from a Kind of Bonnet and fire-coloured Veil with which they covered their Heads. The Care of the Sacrifices of the third Order was given to the *Celeres*, created to serve the King as Life-guards; and at the same Time commissioned to offer Sacrifices on certain Days. Those of the fourth Order were committed to such of the Priests as by their Stations were Interpreters of the Signs of the Heavens, and who applied them to Purposes for which they believed them to be sent by the Gods. Those Priests were by the *Romans* called *Augurs*, from one Part of their Profession, relating to the Flight of Birds. The Vestal Virgins destined for the Preservation of the sacred Fire, composed the fifth Order in this Hierarchy. The sixth was filled up by the *Salii*, or the Priests of *Mars*, whom I have spoke of elsewhere (1). The seventh was for the Heralds at Arms, or the *Peace-makers*. These Ministers were chosen from the best Families, and their Priesthood was during Life. As they were sent in Time of War to bear the Words of Peace, *Numa* did not institute them

(1) Vol. 1. B. 3. and V. 3. B. 1.

them till he was obliged to take up Arms against the *Fidenates*, who had often insulted the *Romans*, and made vast Devastation of their Lands.

The Power of these Priests was very great, if we may give Credit to the Historian from whom I have these Particulars, since neither Peace nor War could be made but by their Determination. In fine, the last Part of *Numa's* Regulations concerning Religion, comprehended the Sacrifices and Ceremonies that belonged to their Province who had the High-priesthood united with the sovereign Power, that is the Pontiff's. Ministers and Umpires of the most important Affairs, they gave a final Decree in all Differences that arose on Points of Religion among private Persons, Magistrates, and the Officers, who by their Priesthood took Care of the Worship of the Gods. In like Manner in all that concerned divine Service, when there was nothing written in the public Registers, nor received by public Usage, they had Power to pass new Laws, to examine into the Conduct of all those who meddled with the sacred Ministration, and especially to watch over the subaltern Ministers, that they might do nothing in their respective Functions contrary to Rule. Such were the Laws which *Numa* made for regulating divine Service ; not to mention a vast many more, whence he found great Assistance in inspiring the *Romans* with the Love of Religion and Piety.

The other Kings, *Numa's* Successors, being wholly engaged in War, made but few Alterations in Religion, and new Divinities were only introduced upon particular Occasions, as shall be said afterwards.

This primitive Simplicity was but of short Duration ; and *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* were only seventy Years without having either Statues or Images of their Gods ; *Varro* however reckons near two hundred Years (a). The other Changes happened successively,

(a) *St. Augustine*, in his Thirty first Chapter of his fourth Book *de Civ. Dei*, says, that *Varro* computed the Space of upwards of an hundred and seventy Years, and adds these remarkable Words of that learned Roman : *And if the same Thing were observed at this Day, the Worship which we pay to the Gods would be more pure and holy.*

cessively, and at last led those Conquerors of the World to adore so many Gods, that *Varro* makes them amount to thirty thousand, and *Bruxilus* the Philosopher (1), to two hundred and eighty thousand, which makes *Petronius* say (2) *Italy is now so holy, that 'tis easier to find there a God than a Man.*

Not but there were now and then High Priests, or other Persons of Discernment, who made vigorous Opposition to the Introduction of new Worship; but the invincible Bias of the People towards all Novelties in Religion prevailed over the wise Vigilance of the Magistrate.

At the Beginning of Christianity (3), the *Romans*, in order to preserve themselves in Peace, which was the dear Purchase of so many Conquests, took it into their Heads at last to explode all Sorts of new Superstitions and foreign Divinities. They considered the Works of Art and Industry as unworthy to do Honour to Religion. They even prohibited the Oracles from being consulted, especially those of a dubious Original, and which were capable of being corrupted by Money. But at length *Rome* relapsed into the same Vices which she endeavoured to guard against, and with such Violence, that *Titus Livius* owns (4), there was no longer a Spot in the City, but was consecrated to some Divinity, nor any Day that was not distinguished by some religious Ceremony.

Seneca, in *St. Augustine* (5), enters into a Detail very proper to make us acquainted with the Religion of his Time, when after having spoke of the strange Gods adopted by the *Romans*, and the Absurdities to which they obliged those who served them, as to mangle their Flesh, to mutilate themselves, &c. “ However, “ adds he, that Madness has a limited Time; People “ may play the Fool once a Year; but go up to the “ Capitol, you shall be ashamed of the Extravagancies there daily committed, and to see Folly grown “ so public and universal. There the same Offices “ are

(1) Sat. (2) In his last Har. to the Senate. (3) Tertull. in Apol. (4) Dec. 1. l. 5. (5) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 2.

“ are performed to a Statue of Stone, that would be
 “ done to a living Man. One tells *Jupiter* the Names
 “ of the Gods who are coming to make their Court to
 “ him; another informs him what ’tis a clock; one
 “ serves him for an Usher; another for his Perfumer.
 “ There you see Women putting on *Juno’s* and *Mi-*
 “ *nerva’s* Head-dress; and tho’ they are far from their
 “ Statues, and even from the Temple, they move
 “ their Fingers as a Milliner would do, or hold to
 “ them the Looking-glass. Some are praying the
 “ Gods to be present at the pleading of their Causes,
 “ laying their Petitions before them, and intrusting
 “ them with their Affairs. In the same Capitol a Buf-
 “ foon performed daily, as if the Gods had taken
 “ Delight in seeing him whom Men could no longer
 “ endure. In fine, there you might meet with Ar-
 “ tists of all Kinds, each of them in his own Trade
 “ at work for the Gods; but what is worse than all
 “ these, there are Women who never stir from
 “ thence, because they believe *Jupiter* is enamoured of
 “ them, without being in the least over-awed by *Ju-*
 “ *no*, who, according to the Poets, was a jealous, cho-
 “ leric, and revengeful Goddess.”

We marry the Gods, says he, in another Place, and observe therein less Decency than in the Marriages of Men, joining together Brothers and Sisters.

But let us pursue the History of this Religion. The Worship of *Mithras*, which was propagated to *Rome* in the Time of *Pompey*, or which had been there pretty much neglected, acquired then new Vigour, and the infamous Ceremonies with which it was loaded, were there practised with all possible Apparatus. The *Egyptian* Divinities, those Monsters which the *Romans* had so long detested, began to spread every where among them. There *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Harpocrates*, *Anubis*, *Serapis*, &c. had Temples, Altars, and Priests. ’Tis true they were introduced into *Rome* not without some Shew of Decency, since the Priests ushered in the Ceremonies peculiar to the Worship of those Gods, by asking Permission of the antient Divinities of the Commonwealth;

monwealth; but this same Usage, which at Bottom was meer Farce, was soon abolished, and every Place became infected with this strange Worship, Worship the most indecent that Man, abandoned to his own Frailty, was capable of founding! Some Efforts were once more used to suppress it. *Agrippa*, Son-in-law to *Augustus* and Governor of *Rome*, permitted those Ceremonies to be practised only without the City, at the Distance of 500 Paces from the Walls. *Tiberius* did more: He banished (1) from *Rome* all who would not renounce the superstitious Ceremonies that were used towards those strange Gods. But whether it was that he changed his Mind afterwards; or that he did not continue to put his Decree in Execution, all the Ceremonies were renewed in the following Reigns. There were even Emperors who intruded themselves among the Priests of *Isis*, and partook in the Mysteries that were celebrated in Honour of her; others got themselves initiated into all the *Egyptian* Rites, and Magic especially suited with the Taste of *Adrian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and others.

Last of all, the *Roman* Religion put on a new Face, at least among the Platonic Philosophers, who, to make it more rational and supportable, invented those intermediate *Genii* between the Supreme Being and Man, by whose Means their Vows and Prayers were presented to him, for which I refer to what has been said in the fourth and fifth Books of the second Volume.

Long before the wiser *Romans* had declaimed against that Multitude of Gods adopted among them, and against the Excesses which arose from thence; *Varro*, as we learn from St. *Augustine* (2), had observed, with respect to those Gods, so many Things, ridiculous, mean, even shocking, that he plainly shewed he had not a very favourable Idea of them. That learned *Roman* distinguished civil from fabulous Theology, and commonly rejected the last, tho' it was the most general, being the Religion of the People. We know what
Senti-

(1) Tac. Annal. l. 5. Suet. in Tib. (2) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 31. & l. 6. c. 2.

Sentiments. *Cicero* had of all those Gods, whom vain Superstition had made the Objects of Worship; and for this we need but read his three Books upon the Nature of the Gods. *Seneca* in St. *Augustine* (1) censures that civil Theology yet more severely than *Varro* had blamed the fabulous. We confine the Gods, said he, to vile and senseless Matter; we represent them under the Figure of Beasts and Fishes, and we give the Name of Gods to Things that would be Monsters if they were animated. This much as to the popular Theology; then speaking of the civil, Why then, said he, do we take the Dreams of *Titus Tatius*, or *Romulus*, or *Tullus Hostilius*, to be more rational? One of them has consecrated the Goddess *Cloacina*, the other *Picus* and *Tyberinus*, and the last, *Fear* and *Pale-ness*, two pitiful human Passions; one of them a Motion of the Soul when aghast, the other of the animal Spirits, and rather a Colour than an Indisposition.

After this Preliminary, which I thought necessary, I shall come to a particular Detail of those Gods, who I said were peculiar to the *Romans*. We have already spoke of some of them; such as those of Marriage, under the Head of *Juno*; those for the Fruits and Fields, in the History of the terrestrial Gods. But, that we may omit nothing of Moment upon this Subject, I shall also make Mention of several others, who were hardly known but by the *Romans*, and mostly relate to the different States of Life. *First*, they acknowledged a great Number for Big-bellied Women and for Children. The Goddess *Partunda* presided over their lying in; and *Egeria*, whom they invoked with great Devotion, employed all her Endeavour to procure them a happy Delivery; while the Gods called *Nixii*, eased the Pains of Child-bearing. *Prosa* averted the Danger of bringing forth, and *Post-verta* stood by them in hard Labour. The Child was hardly conceived, when the Gods *Viturnus* and *Sentinus* gave the one Life, and the other Sensation (2). The Goddess *Nascio*, or *Natio*, presided over the Birth,

(1) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 10. (2) August. de Civ. Dei, l. 7.

Birth, and *Nondina* over the Ninth Day, when the Parents gave it a Name. *Vagitanus* (1) was invoked for the Cries and Wailings of the Child, and the Goddess *Cumina* (2) to take Care of the Cradle. As it was the Practice to lay down the new-born Child naked upon the Ground, as we learn from *Pliny* (a), *Macrobius*, and *Seneca* (b), so they implored Favour for it from the Goddess *Levana*, as it were to lift it up again: When it began to suck, the Goddess *Rumina*, or *Rumia* (3), as *St Augustine* tells us (4), presided over this Operation. When it became capable to eat and drink, the Goddesses then employed were *Edufa*, or *Edufia*, and *Potina*, whose Names express their Functions. When it began to speak, or rather to stutter *Fabulinus*, the God of *Speech*, was invoked; and the Goddess *Paventia*, to avert from them frightful Objects. In fine, when the Child was grown up to an Age fit for Education, the Gods, *Statilius* and *Statanus*, were addressed to. *Ossilago* strengthened their Bones, as we learn from *Arnobius* (c). There were also other Divinities for Marriage and its Concomitants, such as the Goddesses *Virginicuris*, *Prema*, &c. whose Functions I must be excused from explaining.

C H A P. VIII.

The Continuation of the same Subject.

FOLLOW three Divinities whom I find no where but in one Passage of *Seneca*, quoted by *St. Augustine* (5). These were the three Goddesses, *Populonia*,

(1) So called from the *Latin Vagitus*, which signifies the Cries of an Infant. (2) From *Cunæ* the Cradle.

(a) Omnes infantes terra nudos excipit. *Plin.*

(b) Natura hominem tantum nudum, & in nuda humo natali die obijcit. *Senec.*

Tellure cadentem

Excepi, foveique sinu. &c. Stat. in Sylv.

(3) *Ruma* in old *Latin* signified the Breast. (4) De Civ. Dei.

(c) Namque durare & solidare infantibus parvis ossa *Ossilago* memoratur.

(5) De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 2.

nia, Fulgora, and Rumina. We leave some of our Goddesses, says that Philosopher, in Celibacy, as if they had not been able to get a Match ; tho' we have made Widows of others, as *Populonia, Fulgora, and Rumina,* and I am not at all surprized at their not having been courted a second Time. I know as little about those Goddesses whom the *Romans* called *Fetriæ Deæ,* among whom *Macrobius* names *Semoria,* nor the Gods whom *Plautus* terms *Patellarii Dii,* and whom he seems to place in the lowest Class : *Dei me omnes magni minutique, & Patellarii ; As I hope for Favour from the Gods, whether great or small, not forgetting even the Patellarii.* *Horace* has the same Notion of them with *Plautus,* calling them the little Gods. It will give but little more Light to this Subject, to inform the Reader that the Learned derive this Name from the *Patera,* an Utensil made use of in the Sacrifices : For the Question still remains, Whether they had made a God of the Utensil itself, or what else he was ?

I shall do little more than name a Multitude of other Divinities, whose Worship was established at *Rome* ; such as *Juturna,* as much as to say, *Goddess of Aid,* who is said by *Varro* and *Servius* to have been invoked in any Enterprize of Danger. The Gods *Novensiles,* which imports *Gods newly arrived.* Of this Number were reckoned *Hercules, Vesta, Salus, Fortune, and Faith.* As the *Romans* received those Gods from the *Sabines,* they therefore called them the new Gods, for which you may consult *Varro* (1) and *Titus Livius,* who make Mention of them. The Gods called *Divipotes,* who were spoke of according to the same *Varro,* in the Books of the *Augurs,* and are confounded by the Learned with the Gods of *Samotheace.*

Lactantius informs us, that the *Romans* had taken into the Number of their Goddesses *Caca* the Sister of the celebrated *Cacus,* because she had given *Hercules* Notice of the Theft he had committed upon his Oxen ; and (2) *Servius* tells us, that she had a Chapel served by the Vestals themselves, who offered up Sa-

VOL. III.

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crifices

(1) De Lin. Lat. (2) Upon the eighth Book of the *Æneid.*

crifices to her. *Virgil*, who in the eighth Book of his *Æneid* has so finely described the Adventure of *Cacus*, instead of speaking of his Sister, says only, that the Theft of that famous Robber was detected by Means of one of the Oxen in the Cave that fell a lowing at the Approach of those which *Hercules* was leading along.

Q U I E S.

Rest, *Quies*, a Goddess, as her Name denotes, was invoked for obtaining Repose and Tranquillity. She had a Temple without the *Colline-gate*, and another, according to *Titus Livius* (1), in the *Labican-street*.

MURCIA, STRENUA, and AGERONIA.

Murcia was the Goddess of Sloth, and disposed her Votaries to Indolence: Her Temple, according to *Festus*, was upon the *Aventine Mount*. We must distinguish this Goddess from *Murtia*, the Surname of *Venus*, as has been said. As *Murcia* disposed to Indolence, so *Strenua* and *Ageronia*, other Roman Divinities, inspired with Vigilance and Courage. The Chapel of the former, as we are told by *Varro* (2), was near the *Via Sacra*. We know the God *Minutius* only from *Festus*, who says he had a Chapel near the Gate, which from thence had its Name (a).

PELLONIA and FESSORIA.

Just so *Arnobius* is the only one who gives us the Knowledge of *Pellonia*, to whom they had Recourse to be delivered from their Enemies, and *Fessoria*, to preside over the Repose which was the Effect of that Deliverance after the Toils they had suffered.

N E M E S T R I N U S.

To the same Author solely are we indebted for preserving to us the Name of another God called *Nemestrinus*, who presided over Forests called *Nemora*. He was probably the Sovereign of the *Dryads*, *Hama-dryads*, *Fauns*, *Satyrs*, and other Gods Inhabitants of the Woods; as *Lætantius* is the only one who has taken Notice of the Goddess *Faula*, *Hercules's* Mistress.

C A T I U S.

(1) L. 4. (2) De L. Lat. L. 4.

(a) Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. Minutia porta Romæ appellata, eo quod proxima esset sacello Minutii. Festus.

C A T I U S.

Catius was a God who bestowed Wit (1) ; or, if we read with others, *Cautus*, he made Men cautious and prudent.

Adeona and *Abeona*, *Vacana* and *Numeria*.

Adeona and *Abeona*, according to St. *Augustine* (2), were the Gods invoked for going and coming ; *Vacana*, the Goddess of Vacation, or rather of Cessation from Business, from *Vacare* ; and *Numeria* assisted in acquiring the Art of Numbers ; she was the Goddess of Arithmetick.

P O P U L O N I A and F U L G O R A.

Populonia and *Fulgura*, mentioned by *Seneca* in St. *Augustine*, were invoked to hinder the Devastations of Thunder and Lightning : But we are not to distinguish them from *Jupiter* and *Juno* taken for the Air, the first of whom had the Surname of *Fulgur*, and *Juno* that of *Populonia*, from the Havock made by Winds and Storms.

L A T E R A N U S.

The God *Lateranus* presided over the Hearths ; and his Name, according to *Arnobius*, came from the Brick, *Latercula*, whereof they were made.

P A N D A.

The Goddess *Panda*, according to the same *Arnobius*, was so called, because she opened the Way to the Capitol to T. *Tatius*.

Arculus, *Forculus*, *Limentina*, and *Cardea*.

The God *Arculus* was set over Citadels and Fortifications, as *Forculus* and *Limentina* were over the Gates of Houses, and *Cardea* over the Hinges of the same Gates. *Ovid* informs us (3) that this last Goddess was called *Crana*, and that *Janus* having offered Violence to her, would needs have her afterwards to take Care of the Gates.

V I R I P L A C A, the *Appiades*.

When there happened any Scuffle between Husband and Wife, they addressed *Viriplaca* to reconcile them ; For that Purpose *Valerius Maximus* tells us (4), it was

O 2

usual

(1) Aug. l. 4. (2) Ib. & l. 7. (3) Fast. l. 6. (4) L. 2.

usual to repair to her Temple, which was on the *Palatine Mount*. The Mythologists reckon this Goddess one of those whom the *Romans* called *Appiades*, of whom *Ovid* makes Mention in his *Art of Love*, and in his *Cure of Love*. Most of the Learned name among those Goddesses *Venus*, *Pallas*, *Peace*, *Concord*, and *Vesta*; but *Cicero* plainly distinguishes them from *Pallas* at least, when he says, *Non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiadas nominabo*; I shall name not only *Pallas*, but also the *Appiades* (1). However that be, those Goddesses had a Temple at *Rome*, and they were represented on Horseback like *Amazons*.

C L O A C I N A.

A Statue found accidentally in a common Sewer at *Rome*, gave *Titus Tatius* a Handle to consecrate it under the Name of *Cloacina*. *Lactantius* (2), *St. Cyprien*, and *St. Augustine*, make Mention of this Goddess, upon whose Account they have not failed to ridicule the *Romans*.

C R E P I T U S.

They had full as good a Handle for Ridicule from their God *Crepitus*, as to whom you may read a Dissertation in the Continuation of the Miscellanies of Literature by *F. Desmolets*. Time has preserved to us a Figure of this ridiculous Divinity, which represents a young Child in the Posture of that indecent Action, whence this God has his Name.

M E P H I T I S.

The Goddess *Mephitis*, or of ill Savour, naturally comes in here. *Servius* upon that Passage in *Virgil* (3), *Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim*, says that this Goddess may possibly be *Juno* taken for the Air, because it is by Means of the Air that bad Smells are communicated.

S A L A C E R.

The most ingenious Mythologists know not what to make of the God *Salacer*. *Varro*, who gives him the Epithet of *Divus Pater*, informs us only (4),
that

(1) L. 3. Epist. ad Famil. (2) De Jus, l. 1. (3) Æn. 7.
(4) De Lin. Lat. l. 4.

that this God had a Priest called *Flamen Salacris*.

H E R E S.

We know little more about the Goddess *Heres*, who received the Thanks of those who entered upon any Inheritance. Accordingly her Name imports that she was the Divinity of Heirs.

S T A T A M A T E R.

Mother, or Goddess *Stata*, was worshipped at *Rome* in the public Market-place; but as this obliged them to kindle great Fires in the Night-time, which might have occasioned some burning, every private Person contented himself with paying his Devotion to her in his own House.

R I D I C U L U S.

The God *Ridiculus* derived his Original from a pan- nic Fear with which *Hannibal* was struck when he was advancing to besiege *Rome*, a Terror, with which, said they, the Gods Protectors of *Rome* had smote him; and to eternize the Memory of this Event, which obliged the *Carthaginian* General to return back, they erected a Temple to the God *Ridiculus*, without the *Porta Capena*.

F E R O N I A.

Feronia, whose Name comes from the Verb *Fero*, to bring Relief, or from the Town *Feronia*, near Mount *Soraacte*, was, according to *Servius*, the Patroness of the enfranchised Slaves, who had a great many Offerings presented to her; this Goddess being in high Veneration thro' all *Italy*. The Grammarian now quoted, will have her to be the same with Virgin *Juno*, which indeed is countenanced by an antient Inscription quoted by *Fabretti*, and conceived in these Terms, *Junoni Feron*.

The *Romans* appropriated to this Goddess the Care of the Woods and Orchards. She had a Temple at the Foot of Mount *Soraacte* now mentioned, where an annual Sacrifice was offered to her; and they tell us, it was such as were filled with the Spirit of this Goddess, that walked bare-footed upon Coals without being burnt, or suffering any Harm. *Horace*, in one of

his Satyrs (1), mentions the Homages that were paid to this Divinity, in washing the Face and Hands, according to Custom, in the sacred Fountain which flowed near her Temple.

Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ.

F U R I N A.

We are altogether Strangers to the Functions of the Goddess *Furina*, tho', if we may rely upon *Cicero*, she was the same with the *Furies*.

C A M Æ N A.

St. *Augustine* places also among the *Roman* Divinities *Camena*, the Goddess who presided over Songs ; but as this is an Epithet given to the *Muses*, it is probable that she was not distinct from them.

C A R N A.

Cerna was thought to preside over the vital Parts, and therefore they invoked her to preserve the Entrails sound. She had a Temple upon Mount *Celius*, where a Sacrifice was offered to her, consisting of boiled Beans and Lard.

C Æ L E S T I S B O N A D E A.

The good celestial Goddess of *Africa* occurs upon an Inscription ; and *Fabretti*, who quotes it, justly reckons that it was *Juno* herself, worshipped particularly at *Carthage*.

We know nothing of the God *Favor*, *Favour*, but that *Apelles* had made a fine Picture of him.

C O L L A T I N A and V A L L O N I A, &c.

Collatina, according to St. *Augustine* (2), was the Guardian of the Mountains, and *Vallonia* of the Valleys. For nothing was left upon the Earth without some tutelar Divinity. Thus *Educa* and *Edule* took Care of the Meat and Drink ; *Fructulea* of the Fruits ; *Intercidona* of those who wrought with the Hatchet, that they might not be wounded thereby ; *Peta* (3) over Demands ; *Putia* (4) over those who pruned the Trees ;

(1) L. 1. Sat. 5. (2) De Civ. Dei, l. 1. (3) From the Word *Petere*, to demand. (4) From *Putare*, to lop.

Trees; *Rutina* (1) and *Rutor* over the Fields; *Sentia* over good Thoughts and lawful Desires.

M A N A or M A N I A.

We must not forget another Goddess peculiar to the *Romans*, whom they called *Mana* or *Mania*: She presided over the Maladies of Women, and young Whelps were offered to her in Sacrifice, as we learn from *Pliny*; *Genitæ Manæ catulo res divina fit* (2). *Plutarch* (3) asks the Reason why these young Dogs were offered to this Goddess; but *Pliny* would seem to have answered this Question beforehand, when he said in the Place now quoted, that the Flesh of those Animals was reputed so pure, that it was offered to the Gods in Sacrifice (a); and that Dogs-flesh was made use of in the Repasts prepared for the Gods (b).

St. *Augustine* (4) calls this Goddess *Mana*, and the most known Mythologists confound her with that *Mania* the Mother of the Gods *Lares*, to whom *Macrobius* (5) says young Children were sacrificed, to make her propitious to the Family of those who offered that barbarous Sacrifice.

But if it be asked now why the Epithet of *Genita* was joined to this Goddess, the Answer is, that she likewise presided over the Nativity of young Children, and was among the *Romans* one of those Gods called *Genitales*, as *Lucina* was among the *Greeks*. We have in the first Volume of *Tristan* a Medal of the Empress *Crispina*, with this Legend; *Genitalibus Diis*.

A N C U L U S and A N C U L A.

The *Romans* had also among their Gods *Anculus* and *Ancula*, whom *Festus* makes to have been the tutelar Deities of the Servant-maids, whence no doubt their Name *Ancilla* is derived. For as there were Gods for every Station in Life, the Men-servants and Maid-servants must needs have had theirs.

O 4

The

(1) From *Rus*, the *Fields*. (2) L. 29. (3) Q. Q. Rom.

(a) Catulos lactentes adeo puros existimabant ad cibum, ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur, Plin. loc. cit.

(b) Et in cænis Deum etiamnum ponitur Catulina. Ibid.

(4) De Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 11. (5) Sat. l. 1. c. 7.

The Gods of Money.

Men have always had too great an Attachment to Gold and Silver, not to have imagined Divinities who presided over the Coinage of Money. We have seen in the Article of *Juno*, that Authors antient and modern believed the Epithet *Moneta*, which was given her, denoted that she was the Goddess of Money, though this is what all are not agreed in. But besides *Juno*, the *Romans* had several other Divinities, whose Province was to watch over the Coinage of Specie. As the most antient Symbol which has been found upon Money, was some Animal, *Pecus*, whence it had the Name among the *Latins* of *Pecunia*; so they made a Goddess, according to St. *Augustine* (1), of that same Word, which they invoked in order to procure it in Abundance.

But as the Specie was coined of different Metals, especially of Gold, Silver, and Brass, and as one Divinity would have had too much ado to take Care of the different Coinages, hence a particular one was appointed for each.

Three Goddesses represented upon some Medals of the Emperor *Commodus* and his Successors, with a Pair of Scales, the Cornucopia, and a Heap of Money by them (a), prove that there was at least that Number, and the Antiquaries agree that they presided over the Coinage of three Metals. Besides these three Divinities, there was also *Æs*, or *Æsculanus*, for the Brass Coin.

These three Goddesses, as has been now said, had each of them for their Symbol a Pair of Scales, and some Antiquaries even think they observe these Scales to be of an unequal Bigness, as the three Metals employed in coining are of different Weights; But can one be sure of such an Observation from the small Field of a Medal?

'Tis even alledged that there was for the last Metal the Goddess *Æres*. The curious M. *de Pyresc* having examined

(1) De Civ. Dei.

(a) The ordinary Legends of these Medals are, *Moneta Aug.* *Moneta nostræ urbis Romanæ*, *Moneta Jovî & Herculi Augg.* *Moneta sacra Augg.* & C. C. &c.

examined a Medal of *Petavius's* Study, whereon was represented a Goddess who may be presumed to be this *Æres*, in regard that the Name was a little defaced, chose rather to conclude it to be *Ceres*; but the Balances which she holds in her Hand, ought to determine for the other Opinion. The Thing is now put out of Doubt. A Medal of the King's Cabinet, of middling Bronze *, of the Emperor *Titus*, presents on the Reverse a Woman standing, with the usual Habit of the Goddesses, leaning her left Hand upon the *hasta pura*, and holding a Balance, with these Words: *Æres Augusti, S. C.*

'Tis true, the Word *Æres* is hardly in the Analogy of the *Latin* Tongue, and it might be interpreted, *the Coin of the Emperor*. But as the Figure bears the Symbols of Divinities, the *hasta pura*, and the Robe called *Peplum*; 'tis probable that this Figure was designed to represent the Divinity, who with the God *Æs* or *Æsculanus* presided over the Coinage of Brass Money.

We even see upon a Medal of *Commodus* a naked *Apollo*, with this Legend, *Apollini Monetæ*: And to be sure it was but just that the God of Arts and Sciences should preside over the Beauty and Elegance of Coins.

We find also Inscriptions in *Gruter's* large Collection, whereby it appears that the Coiners invoked *Vulcan*, and 'tis easy to find out the Reason; but why did they also invoke *Hercules*, as is proved by other Inscriptions copied from the same Author? As to that I own myself quite at a Loss.

H E R E S.

There was also in the *Roman* Kalendar a Goddess for those who entered Heirs, whom they called for that Reason *Heres*, as has been already said. But why was this Goddess, according to *Festus*, called *Marteia*, and ranked among the Companions of *Mars*? I can see no other Reason for it, but that this God, more than any other, makes vacant Inheritances.

The

* The Antiquaries distinguish three Sizes of Medals, the Great, the Small, and the Middle Size.

The Goddess R O M E.

The City *Rome* shared also divine Honours, and she was one of the greatest *Roman* Divinities; and though this was not the only City which received divine Honours, since Medals make us acquainted with several others whose Deification is not to be doubted of, yet the Worship of none was either so much celebrated, or so extensive. For to her were Temples erected in several Places of the Empire, especially in *Nicea*, in *Ephesus*, *Alabanda*, and several other Cities. But the *Romans* especially signalized themselves in the Worship they paid this Goddess, who owed to them her Original. Temples, Sacrifices, annual Festivals, were all employed to do her Honour. She was become the most common Figure on Medals, where we see her often crowned with Turrets, holding in her Hand a Victory. In other respects she was drawn so like to *Minerva*, that she can only be distinguished from her by some particular Symbols. A fine *Roman* Statue represents her as a big Woman sitting upon a Rock, having Trophies of Arms at her Feet, and her Head covered with a Helmet. When she has by her a Sheep and a Goat, she figures the Peace and Tranquillity enjoyed by the Nations which she has conquered. When she is accompanied, as she is in a Figure published by *M. de la Chaussée*, with an old Shepherd and with the Wolf which suckled *Romulus* and *Remus*, 'tis obvious that this denotes her Original, and the Shepherd *Faustulus* who took Care of those two young Princes. Lastly, other Monuments exhibit to us *Rome* triumphant, crowned by Victory, with some other Symbols; for which I refer to the Antiquaries.

R O M U L U S.

The *Romans* having put their City into the Number of the Gods, we need not doubt but they would raise *Romulus*, the Founder of both their City and Empire, to the same Rank.

In the Year of *Rome* 37, on the 7th of *July* (1), as *Romulus* was haranguing his Soldiers in a Plain near the
Goats

(1) *Dion. Hal.* l. 1. *Plut.* in *Rom.*

Goats Pond, whither the Senate had accompanied him, there arose a Storm mingled with Hail and Thunder, so terrible, that almost all retired, except the Senators, who, taking Advantage of this Consternation, tore their Prince in Pieces; and whether they had carefully concealed him, or had each of them taken one of his Members, which they concealed under their Robes, so it was that *Romulus* appeared no more, nor was any Vestige of this Parricide to be found. The Storm being over, those who had withdrawn returned, and asked the Senators about their King, by whom they were told that he was suddenly carried away in a fiery Whirlwind, and that Heaven had snatched him from the Earth; that in short they had Reason to console themselves under this Loss, since instead of a King, who ought indeed to be very dear to them, they would have among the Gods a Protector who was never to abandon them. The more Credulous appeared satisfied with a Story which supposed their Founder in the Rank of a God; but those of deeper Penetration beginning to murmur against the Senators, whom they suspected to have assassinated their King, they were forced to engage *Julius Proculus*, who passed for one of the most honest Men in the City, to speech it to the People in the following Manner, after he had by a solemn Oath taken the Gods to Witness the Truth he was going to relate: “ As I was in my Journey, says
“ he, all of a sudden *Romulus* presented himself to
“ my View; his Stature was higher than that of other
“ Men, and his Armour reflected a dazzling Light.
“ Seized with a religious Consternation, I thus address
“ myself to him: Why have you then left us so soon?
“ To what wicked Suspicions have we given a Han-
“ dle? We are taken for the Authors of your
“ Death. - - - The Gods, answered *Romulus*, have
“ recalled me to Heaven, whence I derived my Ori-
“ ginal, and have given me a Place among them-
“ selves. - - - Go therefore, dear *Proculus*, and
“ put my *Romans* in mind to study Temperance and
“ the Exercises of War. - - - As for me, I shall
“ always

“ always be propitious to them under the Name of
 “ *Quirinus*.”

This Speech, delivered by a Man of an unblemished Character, calm'd their Minds, and their only Concern now was to do honour to the new God under the Name of *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, a Sirname of *Mars*, which they thought fit to bestow upon his Son (*a*). In honour of him they instituted the Feasts called *Quirinalia*, which were celebrated annually on the 17th of *February*, and some Time after *Numa Pompilius* created a High Priest, called *Flamen Quirinalis*, who was to be of the Patrician Order, to overlook the Worship of this God. This Institution, and the Name of *Pontiff*, prove the gross Mistake of those who reckon there was no other God at *Rome* called *Quirinus* but *Mars*, since the Priest of *Mars* was called *Flamen Martialis*. *Herfília*, *Romulus*'s Wife, received the same Honour with her Husband, and was revered under the Name of *Horta*, or the Goddess of Youth.

The *Romans*, satisfied with seeing their Founder seated among the Gods, did not think of raising their other Kings, nor any of their great Men to the same Dignity for several Ages ; till at length, upon the Loss of their Liberty under *Julius Cæsar*, they suffered *Augustus* his Successor to give him Deification, spreading a Report that *Venus* had come, as we read in *Ovid* (1), into the Middle of the Senate, at the Time of that great Man's Assassination, and placed her Kinsman among the Stars. A new Star, or rather a Comet, which appeared that Year, as *Suetonius* tells us (2), favoured the Apotheosis, and it was easily believed to be the Mansion of the Soul of that Prince. Temples were built to him, wherein Sacrifices were offered, and his Statue has always been represented

(*a*) There are various Opinions about the Word *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, the Epithet of *Mars*: Some are of Opinion, that in the Language of the Country it signified a *Spear*, others, that it was the Name of an ancient God, worshipped by the *Sabines*; but whoever he be, *Romulus* took his Place, and was the new *Mars* of *Rome*.

(1) *Met.* l. 15. (2) In *Cæs.*

presented since with a Star over its Head (*a*). But to say the Truth, this Deification came somewhat too late ; the Times were not now so fertile in Divinities as of old.

Whatever Veneration was paid to the Grand-Nephew of *Cæsar*, this Deification did not fail to provoke some to rally him ; some called him the Puppet-maker (1) ; others said, he took Care to fill up the Vacancies in Heaven, which had received no new Colony for a long while. But *Augustus* made a Jest of those Scoffs, not doubting but he himself should one Day receive the same Honours. For the great Affair is once to establish a new Fashion. His Hope was not vain ; they did not so much as defer the Ceremony till his Death ; and, according to *Appian*, he was hardly of the Age of eight and twenty when he was acknowledged a tutelar God in all the Cities of the Empire. The deifying Spirit raged afterwards to such a Degree, that they gave a Place among the Gods, not only to the most wicked Emperors, as *Tiberius*, but also to the most stupid of them, as *Claudius*. Several Empreſſes had the same Honours ; and the Folly of *Adrian* went even so far, that he would needs have the infamous *Antinous*, who was drowned in the *Nile*, to be deemed a God, having erected in the City *Antinopolis* in *Egypt*, which he built in honour of him, a magnificent Temple, where he also founded an Oracle. But it must be owned that those new Gods and their Oracles, did not rise to great Vogue, whatever Pains were taken to advance their Credit. The Eyes of People came at Length to be opened as to an Usage equally impious and ridiculous, and we find no new Divinities since that Time. *Alexander*, who to be sure was as justly intitled to that Honour as any other, according to the Terms on which it was conferred, had in vain aspired to a Place among the Gods, upwards of three hundred Years before *Augustus* : In
vain

(*a*) The Apotheosis of *Julius Cæsar* is liable to some Objections, which I have taken Notice of in my *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, l. 15.

(1) *Plin.* l. 2. c. 15.

vain did the Orator *Demades* use all the Force of his Eloquence to persuade the *Athenians* to reckon that Conqueror the thirteenth of the Great Gods. *Alexander* was disobeyed, and the Orator fined.

To conclude, the *Romans*, as superstitious in Religion as they were famous for the Wisdom of their Policy, for fear of having omitted in their Kalendar any God, whether Friend or Foe, sacrificed to the unknown Gods, as well as the *Greeks*, as has been said in the first Volume. Accordingly *Aulus Gellius* (1) tells us, that in the Time of a dreadful Earthquake, which shook the whole City of *Rome*, not knowing what God they should address themselves to, they sacrificed a considerable Number of Victims to him who was the Author of that severe Calamity, without knowing or giving him a Name. The fatal and ridiculous Effect of Superstition, which refusing to acknowledge the only GOD, Creator of all Things, set up new ones every Moment, and made a Collection of them from all the Countries of the World, least any should have escaped them! Such was the Origin of the unknown and anonymous Gods, which was a Kind of Supplement to the public Creed.

C H A P. IX.

Of some Gods peculiar to Italy.

AS *Italy* had at different Times received several Colonies, which were planted there by the *Greeks* and other Nations, as may be seen in the curious Dissertations composed by *Theodorus Ryckius* upon this Subject, those Colonies, like all others, brought with them their Gods, and the Ceremonies of their Religion. I might cite a great many particular Examples, but this is not the Place for treating of that Subject (2). I shall content my self with that of the Feasts called *Lupercalia*, which *Evander* the *Arcadian* had founded there. As most of these Gods were the same with those of the Nations that had planted the Colo-

(1) L. 2. (2) See Vol. 2.

Colonies there, 'tis needless to repeat here what we have said ; but there were some peculiar to each Canton, whom 'tis proper, at least, to name here. The antient *Tuscan*s had their *Tages*, the great Artist of the *Tuscan* Divination, whom we have mentioned in the Article of *Divination* (1). The *Sabines* acknowledged for their principal Divinity *Semo Sangus*, who is thought to be *Hercules*, as shall be said in the History of that Hero. The *Albins* paid a peculiar Worship to *Jupiter*, and to *Æneas*, whom they confounded with that God (2). *Evander* and *Carmenta* his Wife attained to divine Honours in the Place where the Colony planted by that Chief had settled ; that is, near to Mount *Aventine*, and the Confines. *Hercules*, who had passed that Way, when he was returning from *Spain* with *Geryon's* Oxen, received there the same Honours. *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Picus*, *Canens*, and some others of whom we have already spoke, became the *Indigetes* and Topical Gods of the Places where they had reigned.

The Inhabitants of *Antium* and *Præneste* bestowed a particular Worship upon *Fortune*, and for consulting her had those Lots so famous in Antiquity.

Lastly, the Inhabitants of *Brescia* in *Italy* had several Divinities who were peculiar to themselves, whereof *Rossi*, in his *Brescian Memoirs*, has given the Figures. The first of those Gods represents a Woman sitting, leaning upon an Urn, holding in her right Hand a Scepter. This Figure has the Head radiant, and crowned with Laurels, and at its Feet is to be seen a Wheel and a Compass. The Author of the Memoirs now quoted, takes this Statue for a *Fortune* : But not to mention here, that the Wheel was also a Symbol of *Nemesis*, the Scepter and the Compass agree still better to that Goddess than to *Fortune*. Perhaps it is *Justice*, to whom the Scepter and Compass are perfectly applicable. I am however of Opinion, that no other Conclusion can be drawn from this Monument, but that it represents a Divinity peculiar to the

(1) Vol. 2. B. 4. (2) See the History of *Æneas*, Vol. 7.

the *Brescians*, among whom there were others besides, which are no where else to be found.

Another Figure found in the same Country, represents a young Man wrap'd up in a Drapery which covers his whole Body, with this Inscription, *Bergino M. Nonius, M. F. Senecianus, V. S. Marcus Nonius Senecianus, the Son of Marcus, of the Favian Tribe, has accomplished the Vow which he had made to Berginus*: The *Roman Toga* which this Figure wears, induced *Montfaucon* to believe that it represented the same Person who had performed the Vow; which would be pretty extraordinary. 'Tis true, the Family of this *Nonius Senecianus*, was one of the most considerable in *Brescia*; and there was found in that same City, a Statue of another *Nonius*, with this flattering Inscription, *M. Nonius, a Youth, the great Hope of the Brescians*. However, I cannot persuade myself that a Man who discharges a Vow made to a Divinity, would assume the Figure of the same, upon a Monument which he has raised to that God as an Act of Thanksgiving for the Benefit which he believes he has received from him. We know nothing indeed of this *Berginus*, who undoubtedly was worshipped as a God by the *Brescians*, since he had an Altar, of which the Historian of the Antiquities of *Brescia* has given a Print, and a Priestess who had the Charge of his Worship. The same Author accordingly quotes an Inscription, which proves that *Nonia Maxima* had discharged that Priesthood. *Berginus*, no doubt, was some Hero of the Country. This is all that we can say of him, and his *Roman Habit* has nothing in it that ought to surprize us.

Tyllinus was another God whose Figure was also dug up near *Brescia*. His Statue, which according to *Rossi* was taken to Pieces in the Year 840, by *Rampat* Bishop of *Brescia*, and which had no Inscription but the Name of the God to whom it was consecrated, *Tyllino*, was of Iron, the Head crowned with Laurel, resting the right Foot upon a dead Scull, and holding in the left Hand an Iron Pike, terminated at the Top by a Hand open and extended, upon which is
to

to be seen, between the Fore-finger and the Thumb, an Egg which a Serpent wreathed about the Hand was coming to bite; Symbols as obscure as mysterious, about which we learn nothing from Antiquity. *Mont-faucon* is of Opinion, that the Foot resting upon the dead Scull, and the Laurel, figured that *Tylinus* triumphed over Death, and was immortal: But whether he is in the right or not, I leave others to determine, What Antiquary or Mythologist, says one, will take upon him to explain the Import of the Serpent falling upon the Egg which is in the Hand at the Top of the Spear? Must we not own, that especially among the Topical Gods, who were hardly known but in some particular Cities that had chosen them for their Patrons, there often occur Symbols inexplicable?

However, I presume we may say, and that with a great deal of Probability, that this was a Mystery borrowed from the *Gauls*, in relation to the Egg *Anguinum*, of the Serpents, which those People eagerly sought after, and hastily carried off, when they had found it, lest the Insect which had formed it should look upon them, as shall be said at more Length, in the History of the Religion of that ancient People (1). The *Brescians* were too near the *Gauls*, and had too much Commerce with them not to be acquainted with this Article of their Religion.

This is what I had to say of the Gods of the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and some other People in *Italy*. It must not, however, be imagined, that I have exhausted the Subject. There were so many Gods known but in one single City, or at most in some little Cantons, that it would be impossible to name them all. Some too are dug up every Day, who are entirely unknown. I thought it sufficient to take Notice of those who were of some Note, and of whom the Antients have made mention.

(1) B. 6.



PART SECOND.

*Of the Gods of other European Nations,
those especially of the Gauls and
Germans.*

AS the History of other Gods of *Europe* is far from being so interesting as that of the Gods of *Greece* and *Rome*, as it has less Connection with the *Belles-Lettres*; and as those Gods are often the same, under other Names, with those already spoke of, I shall therefore be much shorter in this second Part than I have been in the first. I shall endeavour, however, to give an exact Idea of those Gods, to relate whatever is most curious in relation to them, and to place under one easy Point of View what lies scattered in a vast many Authors who have spoke of them before me: Let us begin with the Gods of our Ancestors.



BOOK VI.

Of the Gods of the Gauls.

THERE are hardly any of the Antients but *Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*, who have left us any Lights as to the Religion of the *Gauls*; and not only is what they say of them inconsiderable, but we are further to observe, that they speak of the Gods of that People con-

conformably to their own Ideas ; that is to say, whenever they observed in any of those Gods, either some Attribute or Symbol resembling those of their own Divinities, they were sure to give them the same Names. Thus, according to them, such a one was *Hercules*, or *Apollo*, or *Mercury* ; because he had something of Affinity with their *Mercury*, *Apollo*, or *Hercules* ; for after all, the antient Gods of the *Gauls* must needs have been quite unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, since *Lucian* (1), in one of his Dialogues, makes *Mercury* say, that he knows not what Course to take in inviting those Gods to the Assembly of the others, because, being unacquainted with their Language, he could neither understand them, nor make them understand him.

If, as a Supplement to the short Hints on this Subject given us by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we should have Recourse to some *Gallic* Authors, we might there trace out the Origin and Foundations of their Religion : But the *Druids*, the sole Depositories of their Mysteries, wrote nothing, and industriously concealing from the People the Ground of their Religion, they contented themselves with instructing those who aspired at the same Dignity, whereof they were extremely jealous.

True it is, that several Monuments dug up from Time to Time, have excited the Curiosity of the Learned ; but they have only given a bare Explication of them, without attempting to dive into the Religion of the People who had erected them in Honour of their Gods. *Schædus*, who has composed a Treatise of the Religion of the ancient *Germans*, has indeed drawn together all the Passages of the Antients where that of the *Gauls* is made mention of ; but bating the long Commentary he has made upon those Authorities, where he almost always deviates from his Subject, he has said little or nothing upon their Religion, it not being the principal Subject of his Book. *Montfaucon*, who explains Antiquity by Figures, has

(1) Jup. Trag.

given us the greatest Number of Figures of the *Gallic* Gods ; but the Reflections he has added to them are but few. Lastly, one of his learned Fellows (1), making Use of the same Figures, undertook some Years ago to give a compleat Treatise of the Religion of that People, which he published in 1727, in two Volumes *in Quarto* ; and we may say, that no Body before him entered so far into the *Gallic* Mysteries ; but it were to be wished he had observed more Order, and made fewer Repetitions.

C H A P. I.

Of the Religion of the Gauls.

IN order to give an exact Idea of the Religion of this People, we are to consider it under two different Periods of Time ; namely, before, and after the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar*, when the *Gauls* began to have any Commerce with the *Romans*. Not but that they were known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* long before that Prince carried the Seat of the War into the Heart of their Country, since they once became Masters of *Rome* itself, and on the other Side, had overrun and plundered *Greece*. But those sudden and transient Irruptions, instead of having settled any Commerce between those Nations, served only to make them be reckoned Barbarians, whose Power could only one Day prove fatal to them ; and the *Gauls* hardly ever dreamed, in those Irruptions, of informing themselves in the Religion of a People whom they only wanted to pillage, and enrich themselves by plundering their Temples and Houses. When *Cæsar*, after a ten Years War, had at last made himself Master of the *Gauls*, and that fine Country became a *Roman* Province, he made vast Alterations in the Religion of that People, who adopted most of the *Roman* Gods, and at length abandoned almost all their own antient Ceremonies, to follow those of their Conquerors.

As

(1) Don James Martin.

As *Julius Cæsar* had a long Time to be well acquainted with their Country, where he remained so many Years, 'tis from the Relation he gives of the *Gallic War*, and from some other *Latin* Authors, we are to seek for the History of the antient Religion of the *Gauls*; but, as has been already observed, those Writers say but little about it: They often contradict one another; and what is still more perplexing, they all speak of it according to their own Prejudices, and seem only to endeavour to identify the Gods of that antient People with those whom they themselves adored. The Historian *Josephus* even reproaches them for having spoke of a Religion wherein they neither were nor could be well informed. For the *Druids* wrote nothing, contenting themselves with charging their Memories, and afterwards that of their Probationers, with a prodigious Number of Verses, containing their Theology, Verses barbarous with respect to the *Romans*, which, to be sure, they hardly understood; and probably would have had no great Value for, though they had understood them: Add to this, that these same *Druids*, concealed in the Hearts of the Woods, whence they seldom came abroad, were far from being communicative: And instead of revealing their Mysteries to Strangers, they kept them hid from the *Gauls* themselves.

However as *Cæsar*, of all the Antients, has undoubtedly given most Light into the Religion of this People, it will not be disagreeable to give here all that he delivers upon the Subject. “ The *Gauls*, says he
 “ (1), are a very superstitious People. Those who are
 “ sick, or in any Danger, offer up Victims, or make
 “ Vows so to do, in performing whereof, they use
 “ the Ministration of the *Druids*. Being persuaded
 “ that there is no Way to obtain from the Gods the
 “ Life of a Man, but by sacrificing another in his
 “ Place: In the following Manner do they perform
 “ their publick Sacrifices. They fashion Osier Boughs
 “ into Human Figures of a monstrous Bigness, whose
 P 3 “ Cavity

(1) De Bell. Gall. 1. 6.

“ Cavity they fill up with living Men, whom they
 “ burn together. As they believe the Execution of
 “ Robbers and other Criminals to be well pleasing
 “ to the Gods, 'tis from among them they choose
 “ out their Victims, but when they fall short, they
 “ sacrifice innocent Persons.”

“ Of all their Gods, he to whom they pay the
 “ highest Veneration, and of whom they have most
 “ Statues, is *Mercury*, whom they take to be the In-
 “ ventor of all Arts, the Guide of Travellers, and he
 “ who gives most Assistance in carrying on Trade,
 “ and in acquiring Riches by Means thereof: To *Mer-*
 “ *cury* they join other Gods, such as *Apollo*, *Mars*,
 “ *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, of whom they have much the
 “ same Sentiments with other Nations. They be-
 “ lieve, for Example, that *Apollo* averts Diseases;
 “ that *Minerva* was the Inventress of Manufactures
 “ and other Arts; that *Jupiter* has for his Lot the
 “ Empire of Heaven; that *Mars* makes War; and
 “ therefore, when they go to Battle, they make a
 “ Vow to offer to him the whole Spoil. — All the
 “ *Gauls* pretend to be descended from *Pluto*, which
 “ they say they learned from the *Druids*.”

Cæsar is very far from having named all the Gods of the *Gauls*, as we shall see afterwards; he has even omitted some who are mentioned by other Historians. The Religion of this People, as we are told by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (1), was a Religion of Philosophers, like that of the Primitive *Persians*; which makes *Pliny* say (2), that notwithstanding the Distance of Countries, and the Impossibility of knowing one another, they practised the same Ceremonies so exactly, that one would have said they had communicated them to one another.

In the first Place, as to the Origin of this Religion, *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* contradict one another; the first alleging it came from *Britain*, and the second, that the *Gauls*, in peopling that Island, had introduced their Mysteries thither: And what would seem to make

(1) In Protrep. (2) L. 30.

make for *Tacitus* is, that in all Probability the *Gauls* were peopled before *Britain*, which may be understood in general of all Islands, into which none would readily venture to pass over, till the Continent was quite peopled. However, to reconcile these two Authors, we may say that the *Gauls* indeed passing over into *Britain*, established their Religion there; but that those Islanders, who kept more at home than they, preserved it in all its Purity, while among the *Gauls*, who by their frequent Wars were led into Commerce with other Nations, it underwent some Alteration. Accordingly we see that in later Times, the *Gallic Druids* had a high Veneration for those of *Britain*, and often sent thither their Pupils to be by them thoroughly instructed in their own Religion.

But whether the *Britons* got their Religion from the *Gauls*, or whether these brought it into *Britain*, it will still remain a Question whence it was derived at first; and as this Point is very obscure in itself, 'tis no Wonder that we find such Diversity among those who have considered it. All are agreed however, that before the Conquest of *Cæsar*, the Difference between it and that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was too wide to have been derived from them; and the generality are of Opinion, that it came from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*. In support of this Sentiment, they alledge,

1. Some Kind of Resemblance they find between the Worship of the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, and that of the *Gauls*, which supposes that they, as all the other Western Nations of *Europe*, had received it from those two People who trafficked, especially the former, on all the *Gallic* Coasts, as far as *Cadiz*, where so many Footsteps of their antient Religion have been found.
2. The Figures of *Isis*, and some other *Egyptian* Divinities, dug up from Time to Time in *Gaul*, some of them even a few Years ago.

Some modern Authors (*a*) are persuaded that this Religion came from no other Country, but was peculiar

P 4

(*a*) Don *James Martin's* Treatise of the Religion of the *Gauls*, Tom. 1.

liar to the *Druids*, and that they themselves were the Founders of it. But to support this Allegation, it would be necessary to prove that those who came to people this Country, were without Religion and without Worship, which is not very credible. For my Part, I am of Opinion that it was derived from the *Asiatics*, but that it was propagated to *Gaul* from the North. The *Celtæ*, from whom our *Gauls* were descended, were extremely powerful, and possessed most Part of the North of *Europe*, whence they spread themselves at last Southward, and took Possession of the Country which now we inhabit. Their Empire, if indeed one might give that Name to a Domination such as that of the antient *Celtæ*, extended from the Northern Parts of *Asia Minor* (a), to the Western Coasts of the *Gauls* : They might have learned their Religion from the *Cappadocians* and the *Persians*, their Neighbours ; and the Resemblance which this actually has to the other, led *Pliny* to say, that the Difference was so small, that, as has been already remarked, one would be apt to think it had been derived from thence, were it not that the Distance and Impossibility of Commerce between those two People stood in Opposition to this Notion. But this Distance does not now a-days imply the same Difficulty. The World in the Beginning, was reduced to one Family and one Belief ; and all the Worships that have spread since, are but a Corruption of the true one. Men removed by Degrees to a Distance from the Place of their Original, peopled the Earth, and in various Manners corrupted the Purity of Primitive Religion. Some came by Land towards the North, and under the Name of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and *Celtæ*, peopled those vast Countries that separate us from *Asia* ; others more adventurous, braved the Dangers of the Ocean ; and we have a hundred Proofs to evince that, first the *Phœnicians*, and then the *Carthaginians*, penetrated to the very Extremities of the West.

Hence,

(a) See what has been said above in the History of the *Tians*. B. 1.

Hence, no doubt, that Resemblance of Worship and Religious Ceremonies between Nations, separate by so many Seas, and such a vast Tract of Land. Hence, likewise, we can account for that Affinity which has been so often traced between the *Magi* and the *Druids*: For since the *Gauls* and the *Celtæ* had received their Religion from the *Persians*, or at least from the People who lay near them upon the North, to whom they had communicated it, no Wonder that those Priests, or, if you please, those Philosophers, had so much Resemblance to one another. They were both of them in high Repute in their own Country, and were consulted upon all important Occasions; being the sole Ministers of Religion, all other Persons were prohibited from intermeddling with it. In fine, both of them led a very austere and very retired Life.

The *Magi* opposed themselves with all their Might to the Opinion which gave the Gods a human Original, and which divided them into male and female Deities; just so it was with the *Druids*, especially in the Beginning. Both of them governed the State, and the King never failed to advise with them in all critical Conjunctions. Their Garb being the same, namely white, at least in the Ceremonies of Religion, all Ornaments of Gold were prohibited to them. Being great Lovers of Justice, they either administered it themselves, or took Inspection of their Conduct who were vested with that Office. The Immortality of the Soul was, both in *Persia* and among the *Gauls*, an essential Article of Belief. Antiently neither the one nor the other had Temples nor Statues, and 'tis thought that this Usage was still kept up among the *Gauls*, even when *Cæsar* conquered them, and that the Temples, whereof some Remains are yet to be seen in several Places, belong only to the second Period of the Religion of the *Gauls*. Their only Temples therefore at first were the Woods and Forests, as shall be said in a Chapter by itself. The *Persians* worshipped the Fire as the Symbol of their first Divinity; the *Gauls*, as we are told by *Polyhistor* cited by *Solinus*,

Solinus, preserved upon their Altars a perpetual Fire, and *Mithras* was a God equally revered by the one and by the other.

The *Persians* gave peculiar Worship to the Water, as has been said in the second Volume; History informs us that the *Gauls* paid the same Honour to that Element, as we shall see afterwards. But what we have farther to add upon this Subject, in drawing the Parallel at greater Length between the *Magi* and the *Druids*, will, I presume, fully convince the most Sceptical, that the *Gauls* received their Religion and Tenets from the North.

'Tis true, there were some Rites wherein those two Nations were quite different from one another; but not to repeat what has been said elsewhere, that the Religion of the *Persians* itself underwent several Alterations by Time, there is no Doubt but that same Religion, by being propagated from the *Celtæ* into Countries so remote from one another, would suffer still more considerable ones. This antient Religion of the *Gauls* was at first of great Purity; that People, especially the *Druids*, had much more just and spiritual Apprehensions of God than either the *Greeks* or *Romans*. *Tacitus*, *Maximus Tyrius*, and others inform us, that the *Druids* were persuaded that the supreme Being was to be worshipped no less by the silent Veneration of the Heart, than by external Sacrifices.

But that primitive Simplicity was not of long Duration, and the *Gauls*, even before their Subjection to the *Romans*, had altered their Religion so far that it could not be known. The *Druids* themselves, so esteemed for their Wisdom and Knowledge by all Nations that had heard of them, became devoted to Divination, Magic, and all Sorts of Superstition; and were there no more but the human Sacrifices which they offered to their *Esus*, *Teutates*, and *Saturn*, as we learn from *Tacitus* (1), *Lactantius* (2), and *Lucian* (a),

(1) De Mor. Germ. (2) Div. Inst.

an(a), a Practice which was still subsisting in the Time of *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, this same would be sufficient to convince us that the Religion of that People came short at length of no other in Superstition and Cruelty.

I reckon the second Period of the *Gallic* Religion, that which elapsed from the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar* to the Establishment of Christianity among the *Gauls*. Now in that Interval the same Religion underwent several Alterations. First, it adopted most of the Gods of their Conquerors, their *Vulcan*, *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*. The Monument erected in the Time of *Tiberius*, which we shall speak of afterwards, upon which the Names of those Gods are inscribed, as it proves this Truth, so it shews that it was not long after the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar* that those Gods were introduced into the Country. In short, they conformed themselves almost in every thing to the religious Rites of the *Romans*. They began to follow their Example in building Temples, Chapels, and in making Statues of the Gods.

But to come to a particular Detail with respect to the antient Religion of the *Gauls*, I believe I may assert that they had a purer Idea of their Gods than other Idolaters, since they believed it impossible to represent them under any Figure, or to confine their Majesty within Temples; and that they had preferred for the Exercise of their Religion solitary and solemn Woods, whose very Aspect inspires with something of a religious Awe.

I am persuaded too that after the Example of the *Persians*, from whom they had received a Part of their Tenets, they began with the Stars and Elements as the sole Objects of their Adoration. Accordingly, we shall see afterwards that they gave a particular Worship to the Sun, distinct from that of

(a) *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrenique seris altaribus Esus.*

of *Apello*, that they paid Homage to the Moon, whom they plainly distinguished from their *Diana*; and that they likewise paid a religious Worship to the Earth, whom they looked upon, like other idolatrous Nations, as the Mother of Gods and Men.

The eternal Fire which they preserved in their Forests, which served them for Fire-Temples, and the Veneration which they had for *Mithras*, shew that they paid to that Element the same Worship with the *Persians*.

They had also a religious Regard for the Lakes and Marshes, which they looked upon either as so many Divinities, or at least as the Places which they made Choice of for their Residence. They even gave those Lakes, as well as Trees, the Names of some particular Divinities. The most celebrated of those Lakes was that of *Toulouse*, into which they threw either in Specie, or in Bars and Ingots, the Gold and Silver which they had taken from their Enemy. There was also in the *Gevaudan*, at the Foot of a Mountain, a great Lake consecrated to the Moon, under the Name of *Elanè*, where, according to *Gregory of Tours*, they assembled every Year from the Neighbourhood, to throw in thither the Oblations that were made to the Goddesses. *Strabo* (1) again speaks of a famous Lake of the *Gauls*, which was called *the Lake of the two Ravens*, because there were two Fowls of that Kind that haunted them, of which they told a thousand ridiculous Stories; but this much is certain, that in Quarrels that happened, the two Parties repaired thither, and threw each a Cake to them: He whose Cake the Ravens ate up, only nibbling at the other, gained the Cause.

To the Worship of the Lakes and Marshes the *Gauls* joined that of the Rivers, Floods, and Fountains, which they believed to be so many Divinities; and what has been said in the IVth Vol. of the Honours paid to the Water, belongs to this People at least as much as to any other. They sacrificed to it
like

(1) L. 4.

like the other idolatrous Nations, threw Cloaths and other things into the running Waters, and drowned in the Gulphs the Horses which they had taken from their Enemies. 'Tis needless to multiply here the Testimonies of the Antients in Proof of this Proposition: They are all unanimous as to this Article, and those fine Verses are well known which *Ausonius* has made in Honour of the celebrated Fountain of *Bordeaux*, which was called *Divona*, or *The Divine Fountain*.

As the *Egyptians* worshipped the *Nile*, and the *Indians* the *Ganges*, so the *Gauls* had a greater Respect for the *Rhine* than for the other Rivers: From a Persuasion that he animated them in Battle, they depended a great deal upon his Assistance.

But what was most sacred and revered in the Religion of the *Gauls*, was the Woods and Forests; and the *Oak* was the Tree for which, of all others, they had the greatest Veneration, as we shall see in the following Chapter.

C H A P. II.

Of the Temples of the Gauls.

THE *Gauls* in antient Times had no other Temples but the Woods and Forests, as we have now said, nor other Statues of their Gods, nor other Altars but the Trees of those Woods: Their Woods were so sacred among them that it was not permitted to cut them down, nor to approach them but with a religious Awe, and only to adorn them with Flowers and Trophies, and hang upon them the Remains of the Victims offered to the Gods whom they represented. It was not even allowable to make Use of certain Trees, even when they had fallen down through Decay, or by any other Accident. In a Word, the Forests and Trees were their Temples, their Altars, and the Statues of their Gods. It was in the middle of those Groves that they offered Sacrifices, and kept all their religious Assemblies.

'Twas

'Twas very late before they gave into the Usage of other Pagan Nations as to this Article. *Cæsar* accordingly says nothing either of their Temples or of the Statues of their Gods; we have an hundred other Proofs of this Truth, and the Fact is incontestable. However, some antient Historians speak of the Temples of the *Gauls*, at the very Time of the Conquest of *Julius Cæsar*. *Suetonius* (1) says, that Conqueror pillaged and sacked those Temples which were full of Treasures; *Strabo*, to cite no other, makes Mention likewise of the Temples and Oratories of the *Gauls*; but we may answer that these Authors speak the Language of their Nation, and according to their own Prejudices.

The *Gauls*, 'tis true, had Places set apart and especially consecrated to the Worship of their Gods; which were the Places where they performed their religious Ceremonies, offered Sacrifices, &c. But those Temples, if we will call them so, were not Edifices like those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: They were the Woods and Groves; and at *Toulouse*, in particular, it was the Banks of a Lake, consecrated by Religion, that served for a Temple. These were the Places where they laid up their Treasures. Thus the Author now quoted had Reason in one Sense to say; that *Cæsar* had pillaged their Temples; namely the Places that they used as such. 'Tis according to this Distinction we are to understand what *Strabo* says, that it was in their Temples the *Gauls* crucified the Men whom they offered up to their Gods, namely in those same Forests which served them for Temples. For suppose Edifices ever so spacious, how would those Colosses of Osier have entered into them, within which they lodged either the Criminals or Captives, and what Disorder would have been there occasioned by the Fire that consumed them?

But further, nothing is so celebrated in the History of the antient *Gauls* as the Woods of *Chartres**, which
were,

(1) In *Cæf.*

* Antiently of the *Carnutes*.

were, if I may use the Expression, the Metropolis of the Country, where they assembled from all Quarters, as well for the Ceremonies of Religion, as for Affairs of State, as shall be said at more Length in the History of the *Druids*; and the Forest which was near to *Marseilles*, where was the second College of those Priests, and the most frequented next to the Country of *Chartres*.

Tacitus (1), speaking of the *Semnonēs*, *Celtæ* by Original, who followed the same Religion with the *Gauls*, confirms what has been now said. “ Those People, “ says he, have no other Temple but a Forest, where “ they discharge all the Duties of Religion. No Bo- “ dy enters into this Wood unless he brings with him “ a Chain, as a Badge of his Dependance, and of the “ supreme Dominion which God has over him.”

’Twas not therefore till after the *Romans* had invaded *Gaul*, that they began to build Temples there, nor was the Use of them at first general. They continued, notwithstanding those new Temples, to sacrifice in the Forests, and even to make use of Trees to represent the Gods; and this Usage lasted a long Time, since *Maximus Tyrius* says the Statue of their *Jupiter* was nothing else but a very tall Oak.

This Worship paid to the Trees was very antient in this Nation, and consequently so difficult to be abolished, that notwithstanding the Canons of several Councils, and the reiterated Admonitions of Prelates, who used all their Endeavours to suppress it, it still subsisted in some Province of *Gaul*, long after Christianity had triumphed over Idolatry, and some Remains thereof were still to be seen in the Time of *Charlemagne*. Church-history makes frequent Mention of the Trees which holy Persons caused to be cut down, because they were still the Objects of public Veneration; and it informs us in particular, that *St. Severus* of *Vienna* made one be rooted up, which represented an hundred of their Gods, as appeared from the Inscription they set up in the Church that was built
in

(1) De Mor. German.

in the Place where that Tree stood. But the *Gauls* were so habituated at last to the Manners and Customs of their Conquerors, that they erected every where Temples in great Numbers, where were deposited the Statues which represented both the antient Gods of the Country, and those of the *Romans*. The Antiquaries, and especially *Montfaucon*, have given Figures of the Remains of several of those Temples, which may be seen in their Works: 'Tis observed, that almost all of them are of a round Figure, or octogonal, as if they had believed the Sovereigns of the World were only to be lodged in Places that resembled it in Figure.

The Learned have carefully enquired whence came that Regard the *Gauls* had for Trees, and especially for the Oak, which they had in so much Veneration, that it may be said to have been both their Temple and their God; and the Generality are persuaded that it took its Rise from the Oak of *Mamre*, under which *Abraham*, as we read in the Book of *Genesis*, invoked the Name of the LORD. And indeed it cannot be denied that this Oak became very famous; and it would be but lost Time to heap up Testimonies to prove it. In after Times they kept a Fair there, where Merchants from several neighbouring Nations assembled, with a great Concourse of People. This Oak, which the Father of the Faithful consecrated, having been so well known, 'tis probable, say they, that the Colonies which came from *Syria*, and the other neighbouring Provinces, to people the West, preserved the Memory of it, and made Choice of that Tree in the Places where they came to settle, preferably to all others, to celebrate there the Mysteries of their Religion. In like Manner it cannot be disowned, say they, that the Religion of the *Gauls* had, in its Beginnings at least, a great Deal of Affinity with that of the *Jews*. *Porphyry* laid hold on this Affinity, and improved it as a Ground of Reproach against the Christians, opposing the Antiquity of the *Druids* to the Novelty of the Christian Religion. But I believe it is in vain to seek for Mystery here. The Earth of old was quite covered
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ed with Woods; and they who came and settled in any uninhabited Country, clearing only so much of it as was necessary for sowing their Grain; were necessitated to take the Woods and Forests for celebrating their Mysteries. Besides, dark and solitary Places seem to inspire a Kind of sacred Awe, which makes them more venerable. We may judge of the old World as of the new. Now, all Relations inform us that *America* was but one large Forest; and the Savages, without knowing any Thing of the Oak of *Mamre*, performed in the Woods, and at the Roots of Trees, their religious Ceremonies.

But not to insist on this, nothing is so antient in the Pagan World, as this Respect for Woods and Forests, which served for Temples to primitive Mortals; insomuch, that even when they began to build real ones, they seldom failed to plant Groves around them. Hence, no doubt, the Origin of those sacred Groves; *Luci*, so universally celebrated in Antiquity, and whose Use continued so long.

At the very Time that the whole Earth was full of Temples, to take this Word in its proper Signification, not only the Poets designed them still by the Word *Lucus*, a Grove, but also the Historians; and which is yet stronger; the very Architects. Thus, *Vitruvius* speaking of the Proportions that ought to be observed in Structures of the *Tuscan Order*; and giving for Example the Temple of *Diana Aricina*, calls that Building, *Aricina nemori Dianæ*, *The Grove of Diana*.

As the Exercise of Religion was in the Hands of the *Druids*, 'tis necessary to give some Account of these Priests so famed in Antiquity.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Ministers of Religion among the Gauls;
and especially of the Druids:*

OUR antient *Gauls* had at first; as has been said; a great Deal of Religion; and as the *Druids* treated it in a Manner grave and serious; they had

inspired a vast Veneration for it. Let us not therefore expect to find in the Religion of this antient People, those absurd and impious Fables with which that of the *Greeks* and *Romans* was stuffed, far less a lascivious *Venus*, an incestuous *Jupiter*, and those impure Mysteries which profane Authors durst not even reveal.

Tho' the *Druids* were the principal Ministers of the Religion of the *Gauls*, yet they were not the only ones, but there were different Degrees in their Hierarchy. The Antients reckon among those several Ministers the *Bardi*, the *Eubages* *, the *Vates*, and the *Druids*. The latter were the Chief, and the others only Subalterns, who assisted them in their Ministration, and in every Thing were much inferior to them. The *Bards*, whose Name in the *Celtic* Language imports, according to *Festus*, a *Soneteer*, celebrated in Verse the immortal Deeds of great Men, and commonly praised them upon musical Instruments. Their Verses were in such high Esteem, that they were sufficient to immortalize the Memory of those whom they undertook to praise; and the *Bards* themselves were so esteemed, that if they presented themselves when two Armies were ready to engage, or tho' the Battle was even already begun, both Parties presently laid down their Arms to hearken to what they had to propose. Besides their ordinary Employment of celebrating the Praises of their Heroes and Benefactors, they took upon them to censure the Actions of private Persons, especially when their Conduct did not correspond to their Duty.

The *Sarronides* instructed the Youth, and instilled into their Minds virtuous Sentiments. The *Vates*, or *Eubages*, had the Care of the Sacrifices, and applied themselves to the Contemplation of Nature; but those three Sorts of Ministers were in every Thing inferior, and subject to the *Druids*, who, in Process of Time, united in their Body almost all the Functions of the others,

* Thought to be derived from the *Persian* Word *Bach*, *Sanctus*, whose Province it was *scrutari seria & sublimia Naturæ*. *Amian.* 15. 9.

others, those especially that regarded Religion, leaving to them only the Care of other Things. The Functions of the others now named are but little known, and *Diodorus Siculus* even confounds the *Sarronides* with the *Druids*. But the latter were so far superior to the others, that not only were they invested by their Station with the Care of every Thing that concerned Religion, but they also had the absolute Command of those subaltern Ministers, who could not exercise their Office but by their Permission, and were obliged to withdraw whenever they appeared; unless they had Leave from them to stay.

The *Druids*, whose Name is certainly derived from the *Celtic* Word *Deru*, signifying an Oak, which the *Greeks* call *δρῦς*, were therefore among our antient *Gauls* the chief Ministers of Religion. The Antients design them sometimes by other Names; but such as always express their Functions. Thus *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of them at considerable Length under the Name of *Sarronides*; others under that of *Samothæi*; and *Diogenes Laertius* (1), as also *Suidas*, informs us that they were also denominated *Samothæi*, a Name which designed their Profession of worshipping the Gods, and of being consecrated to their Service, as that of *Sarronides* alluded to the Oaks, near which they spent their Lives (a). In fine, the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, to be mentioned afterwards, give them the Name of *Senani*, which shall be explained in its own Place.

The Origin and Antiquity of the DRUIDS.

I shall not amuse myself long in examining into the Antiquity and Origin of the *Druids*. Those who have enquired most narrowly into this Article, are forced to own that they have come at no Certainty about it; but must content themselves with Conjectures. Shall we say with some Authors that the *Druids* were descended from the antient *Indian Gymnosophists*? But what Traces have we left in History of any Commerce

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between

(1) In *Præm.*

(a) See the Author of the *History of the Gallic Religion*, Tom. i. p. 175.

between People so remote from one another? Were they Disciples of *Pythagoras*, whose Doctrine has so much Affinity with that of those *Gallic* Priests? For, in short, it was in *Italy*, at *Crotona*, that Philosopher published his Doctrines, and the *Gauls* are near enough to *Italy* for those Doctrines to have passed to this Side of the *Alps*. But, 1. 'Tis much more probable that *Pythagoras* himself had adopted several Opinions of the *Druids*. 2. 'Tis not true that the Doctrine of that Philosopher has so much Affinity as is believed with that of the *Druids*; and as to the principal Article, that of Transmigration of Souls, which *Pythagoras* had fetched from *Egypt*, and which even in his Time was diffused over all the *Indies*, it does not appear, as we shall see by and by, that they had copied one another. 3. Tho' the Distance of the *Gauls* from *Italy* is not very considerable, yet the *Italians* had little or no Commerce with the *Gauls*, whom they accounted Barbarians, and only fought to defend their Frontiers against them.

As I have already proved it to be very probable that the northern *Celtæ*, the Fathers of our *Gauls*, had derived a Part of their Doctrines from the *Persians*, or their Neighbours, so we may presume that the *Druids* had formed themselves upon the Model of the *Magi*; and to be sure they have a more remarkable Resemblance to them than to all the other Philosophers in the World. Accordingly several of the Antients were of this Opinion, without troubling themselves to consider by what Way the *Persian* Religion might have penetrated into the Extremity of the West. After all, the Origin of the *Druids* is lost in the Darkness of Antiquity; and all that we can know, is, that the *Greek* Philosophers, *Aristotle*, *Sofion*, and others before them, by whom they are mentioned, for they were known in the earliest Ages, speak of them as of a wise Sort of People, very knowing in Matters of Religion, and as consummate Philosophers in Speculation. So high a Notion had they of their Knowledge, that *Cicero* says it was by them Mythology was invented,

ed, and consequently they ought to pass for the Teachers of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

But it will appear but too evident hereafter ; for Truth obliges me to tell their Bad as well as their Good, that all their Wisdom was but Folly, that they were addicted to Studies equally frivolous and pernicious, to Magic, to Divination, and to childish and superstitious Rites ; and what made them pass for the wisest of Men, is, that Mankind commonly admire those who are most dextrous at imposing upon them.

Of their Manner of living, their Habit, their Authority, &c.

The *Druids* led a very recluse and austere Life, in Appearance at least. Being shut up in the Heart of the Woods, they came seldom abroad, but confined themselves to their wild Recesses, where the whole Nation came to consult them. This austere Life of theirs struck *Julius Cæsar* with Admiration, even *Cæsar* who hardly admired any Thing but ostentatious Virtues ; and he was struck with them to such a Degree, that he could not but esteem them.

Tho' the *Druids* formed several Colleges in *Gaul*, yet that of the Country of *Chartres*, as we have said, was always accounted the most considerable, and the Head of that College was the High Priest of the *Gauls*. It was in the Woods of this Country that the great Sacrifices were offered, and all the grand Ceremonies of Religion performed. There, in short, it was that the Grandees of the Country assembled, and held the Convention of Estates.

Next to this College that of *Marseilles* was the most considerable, and nothing is more celebrated than the Wood where their *Druids* assembled. The Description given of it by *Lucan*, when he relates how *Cæsar* ordered the Trees of it to be felled, inspires one with a Kind of religious Awe and Horror (a).

Tho' the *Druids*, both old and young, had all one and the same Spirit, it appears however from the Monuments

Q. 3

(a) See what has been said on this Subject in the first Vol. B. 3. c. 7.

numents which represent them, that they had not all the same Kind of Garb. Whether they were permitted to follow the Mode of the Province, or if the different Habits expressed the different Degrees to which the Candidates arrived before they were Professed, is what I cannot determine. Only this much is certain, that after the Ceremony of Admission, for it was by receiving formal Admission from the *Druids* that the Novices became Professed, the Candidate laid down the secular Habit, and put on that of a *Druid*, which consisted in a Sort of Tunic that reached no farther than the Mid-leg. Further, this Habit, as well as the Robe that was under it, was open before, and the Candidate, before his Admittance, was obliged to throw it aside, lest there should be an Imposture in the Case, and the Priesthood, through Mistake, vested in a Female.

So great was their Authority, that no Affair of Importance was undertaken till they were consulted. They presided in the Estates, determined Peace or War as they pleased, punished Delinquents, and their Power sometimes went the Length of deposing the Magistrates, and even the Kings, when they did not observe the Laws of the Country. They were the first of the Nobility of whom the Commonwealth was composed, and all bowed before them. As they formed a Body distributed thro' all the Provinces of the *Gauls*, by Means of their Colleges, so they were entrusted with the Education of the Youth of first Quality in the Kingdom.

To them belonged the Right of creating an annual Magistrate to govern in every City, sometimes even with the Name and Authority of King, or *Vergobret*; who could do nothing without them, not so much as assemble his Council: So that, strictly speaking, it was they that actually reigned, and the Kings were but their Ministers, or rather Slaves.

Justice was administered only by them. Umpires in all the Differences and Interests of the Nation, they equally decided public Affairs and those of private Persons,

sons, punished Crimes, and in Processes they adjudged a controverted Property to him whom they thought intitled to it: Those who refused to yield to their Decision, were anathematized; they were interdicted from all Sacrifice, and accounted profane by the rest of the Nation, none daring so much as to frequent their Company.

Their Functions.

The *Druids* had the Charge of the whole of Religion, which also gave them an unlimited Power. Thus Sacrifices, Offerings, Prayers, public and private; the Privilege of predicting future Events, of consulting the Gods; of giving Responses in their Names; of knowing their Attributes, their Number; of studying Nature; the Right of rejecting or establishing new Ceremonies; of seeing to the Observance of antient Laws; of making Additions to them according to Occurrences; of declaring War, and making Peace; of confirming or annulling the Election of Kings and *Vergobrets*; that is, those who in certain Provinces of *Gaul* were like the *Archons* of *Athens*, but only with an annual Power; all these were their Province.

Add to this, that by their Station they had a Dispensation from going to War, and were exempt from all Sort of Tribute, which invited a great Number of Candidates, for all were capable of Admission into their Body, of whatever Rank or Profession; and their Number would have increased still more, had it not been for the Severities of a long State of Probation, and the Necessity which the young Candidates were under of learning that prodigious Number of Verses, which contained their Maxims of Religion and political Government.

In old Times the *Gallic* Women enjoyed a Part of these Prerogatives, and were still in the Possession of them when *Annibal* passed through the *Gauls*, since one of the Articles of the Treaty he made with that People, bore, that if a *Gaul* had any Matter of Complaint against a *Carthaginian*, the offended Party should lay his Complaint before the General, or the Magistrate

strate whom the Senate of *Carthage* had established in *Spain*; and that when a *Gaul* did any Injury to a *Carthaginian*, the Cause should be brought before the Tribunal of the *Galli* Women. In succeeding Ages the *Druids* intirely usurped that Authority; but the precise Date of that Usurpation is not known.

The Doctrine and Science of the Druids.

All the Maxims of the *Druids* tended to make Men wise and just, religious and valiant. The fundamental Points of their Doctrine were reduced to these three: To adore the Gods, to injure no Body, and to be brave and couragious. *Pomponius Mela* (1), speaking of their Philosophy, says they professed to know the Form and Magnitude of the Earth, and in general of the whole Universe; as also the Course of the Stars, and their Revolutions; and that their retired Life in the Caves and Woods, where they had their Habitation, allowed them full Time to meditate upon all these Points.

'Tis not to be doubted but the *Druids*, and in general the *Gauls*, believed the Immortality of the Soul; and it was this Persuasion made them rush upon Death, as a sure Means of attaining a more happy Life. 'Tis true they made a great Distinction between those who died a natural Death in the midst of their Friends and Relations, and those who sacrificed their Lives in the Service of their Country. The first were silently interred, without any Encomiums, or such Funeral Songs as were composed in Praise of the Dead: As for others, on the contrary, who had sacrificed themselves to the common Interest, they were believed to survive their Bodies, and to be gone to enjoy eternal Felicity in the Mansions of the Gods. In short, it was only for them that the Priests durst raise Tombs, and compose Epitaphs. But we are not to conclude from thence, that they did not believe the former to be immortal. The Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul is not to be believed by Halves, and there are
few

(1) De Sylv. Arb. l. 3.

few Philosophers who taught it more clearly than the *Druids*.

The Reason of their putting so much Honour upon Warriors, was owing to the Genius of that valiant Nation, and to the Value they had for those who followed the Profession of Arms. The others, according to them, having nothing that merited their Esteem, seemed to die altogether; that is, they left no Memorial of themselves. *Strabo* however informs us, that the *Druids* taught that all Things were one Day to be destroyed by Fire and Water.

This, according to some Authors, was the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*; but as *Cæsar*, *Diodorus*, *Lucan*, *Valerius Maximus*, and some others, alledge that the *Druids* believed it, and taught it to their Disciples, I am more inclined to be swayed by those Authors, who had better Opportunity than we to be informed in the Sentiments of those *Gallic* Priests, especially the first who dwelt so long among them, than by the Arguments of modern Writers, who don't appear so convincing as they pretend.

I am fully persuaded, in the first Place, that it was not from *Pythagoras*, and far less from his Disciples, that the *Druids* had learned this Doctrine, (which was known long before him in *Egypt*, and in almost the whole East) since they taught it in the *Gauls* long before the Birth of that Philosopher; but 'tis not the less true that it was a Part of theirs, tho' perhaps with some Variations: For how many Forms and Shapes did this Doctrine assume? The strongest Argument of those Authors, is, that the Antients, except those whom I have named, take no Notice of it; but besides that they speak of the *Druids* very superficially, were they as well informed in what concerned them, as *Cæsar*, not to mention others; besides, do those Authors say any Thing that destroys what the others relate to us on this Subject? 'Tis true, they tell us, especially *Pomponius Mela* (1), that the *Gauls*, in burying their Dead, or the Ashes of those whom they

(1) *De Situ Orbis*, l. 3.

they burnt, put into their Tombs their Moveables, their Accounts, and the Bills of Money which they had lent, to serve them in the other World; that they even wrote Letters to their dead Friends; Customs, say they, which they never would have observed, had they not been persuaded that their Souls passed into new Bodies. But is it not well known, that the Partizans of the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* taught that it was not always immediately after Death that the Soul was introduced into a new Body; that it first went to Hell to expiate its Faults; that from thence it often passed into the *Elysian Fields*, where, after some Stay, as to the Duration whereof they varied a great Deal, it drunk of the Water of *Lethe*, which obliterated the Memory of all that had passed, and then it returned into this World to inhabit a new Body, more or less honourable, according to the Merit of its Actions. Nothing is more celebrated among the Antients than those Expiations, whereof *Virgil*, as has been said, in speaking of the infernal Regions (1), fixes the Time to a thousand Years. 'Twas therefore to be of Use to them in this Interval, that the *Gauls* put Cloaths, Moveables, and Bills, into the Tombs of their Dead, and Letters, which they had full Time to deliver to those to whom they were addressed.

What *Valerius Maximus* says, that the *Gauls* frequently lent Money to be payed in the other World, makes as little against the Belief of Transmigration; to this we may apply the same Answer, and say, that in that Case the Money would serve the Lender against the Time of his Expiation; that negative Proofs and Inferences, however they may appear necessary, are weak against the positive Proofs of contemporary Authors of good Credit.

Such were the Sciences and Doctrines which the *Druids* endeavoured to inculcate upon their Candidates, whose Time of Probation was very long. When any of those Candidates had a more happy Genius for Speculative Sciences than their Companions, the Masters
sent

(1) B. 6.

sent them into *Great Britain*, for their Improvement and further Advances : For the *Druids* of that Island were accounted the most accomplished of all ; whether it was that their being less taken up than the *Gauls*, gave them more Time to Study, or for the Reasons we have given above. Notwithstanding this Distinction, they maintained regular Correspondence together, and consulted one another upon all important Emergencies.

As the *Druids* wrote nothing, and all their Knowledge was digested into Verses, they obliged their Novices to learn them by Heart, and these Verses were so numerous, that sometimes fifteen or twenty Years were necessary to learn them. *Julius Cæsar*, who relates this Fact, gives two Reasons for it : The first is, that the Doctrine of the *Druids*, might not be known to any, and that it might appear the more mysterious ; the second is, that the young People who were obliged to learn those Verses, might be the more careful to improve their Memory.

Their Superstitions.

Besides the Study of Religion and Philosophy, the *Druids* also applied themselves to Medicine ; but they owed all their Reputation in this to the Notion People had of their knowing perfectly the Influence of the Stars, and that they had Insight into Futurity : For as every Thing in Man has a Mixture of Good and Evil, so those Sages who were so much revered, addicted themselves to Astrology, Divination, and Magic ; Sciences so much to the Taste of the People, that though always deluded, yet they never recover from their Prejudices. The *Druids*, 'tis true, made some Use of Botany ; but they mixed with it so many superstitious Rites, that it is easy to see they were no great Proficients therein. And indeed what Notion are we to have of the Knowledge of those pretended Sages, when we consider what *Pliny* tells us (1), that they taught, and accordingly they practised, that in order to gather the Plant called *Selago*, which is thought to

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(1) L. 24. c. 11.

be the *Black Hellebore*, a Knife was not to be used, and that it was to be plucked up with the right Hand, which was to be covered with a Part of the Robe, then to be conveyed secretly into the left Hand, as if it had been stole; and lastly, that a necessary Preparation for it was, to be clad in white, to be bare-footed, and to offer before-hand a Sacrifice of Bread and Wine.

As the *Druids* were especially conceited of the pretended Virtues of *Vervein*, that Plant so much in use in magical Operations; we find they never gathered or employed it without mixing with it many superstitious Rites. In the first Place they said (1), it was to be gathered at the Rising of the Dog-Star, and that at break of Day, before the Sun was up, and after offering an expiatory Sacrifice to the Earth, wherein Fruits and Honey were employed. And then what Virtue did they not ascribe to that Plant? By rubbing themselves with it they obtained every Thing they desired; it banished Fevers, cured all Sorts of Maladies, and which is more, reconciled the Hearts of those that were at Enmity; in fine, being sprinkled by way of Asperision upon their Guests, it had Virtue to make those who were touched with it more gay and better pleased than the rest; as if the bare Persuasion of the Influence of the Plant had not been sufficient to produce such an Effect.

We may also reckon among the Superstitions of the *Druids*, the Opinion they maintained, that at the Death of great Men there always happened some considerable Change in Nature, and that their Souls hardly ever failed to raise Storms, extraordinary Winds and Tempests; that they produced the dreadful Noise of Thunder, the menacing Flashes of Lightning, and fiery Meteors that infected the Air, and caused epidemical Distempers. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of the Cessation of Oracles, makes them reason on this Subject in a Way that will convince but few. The Soul of great Men, say they, is as a Candle, which while it burns produces only good Effects, but being extinguished raises an offensive Smell. Were there any
Truth

(1) Plin. l. 25.

Truth in this Reasoning, the Souls of the Wicked ought to occasion the greatest Evils.

'Tis true, and we ought to observe it by the way, that sometimes great Men have been flattered with the Notion, that Nature went out of its ordinary Course to do them Honour; and they have not been all so rational as Cardinal *Mazarin*, who being told that the Comet which appeared some Days before his Death was undoubtedly a happy Prognostic for him, said in a laughing Way, "The Comet did him a great deal of Honour." We might also rank among their Superstitions what they affected to think as to those miserable Victims which they offered up to their Gods, did I not reckon this rather an Effect of their Policy than Persuasion. They made them believe that this Sacrifice had a purifying Virtue, to divest them of all that was mortal in their Natures, and to raise them to a Conformity with the Gods.

Another Superstition of those pretended Sages, regards the Egg which they called *Anguinum*, produced, as they say, from the Slime of Serpents, which in great Numbers meet together for Copulation at a certain Season of the Year. So soon as this Egg was formed, the *Druids* gave out that upon the Hissing of the Serpents, it rose up into the Air, and that, in order to preserve its Virtue, it was necessary to catch it before it fell again to the Ground, then mount on Horseback and get away as fast as possible, because the Serpents, jealous of their Production, would be sure to pursue the Person who carried it off, till some River stopped their Pursuit.

When any one was so happy as to get one of these Eggs, and catch it in the Air on a certain Day of the Moon, an Experiment was made with it by throwing it into Water, encompassed with a small Circle of Gold; and in order to be reckoned genuine, it was to swim upon the Surface.

If the Experiment succeeded, which probably never failed by some secret Means or other we know not, the *Druids*, present at this Ceremony, declared, that it had

had the Virtue of making a Person gain his Cause in all Pleas he might have, and that by its Means he would obtain free Access to the King. *Pliny* (1), who asserts what will easily find Credit, that this whole Management was but a Piece of vain Superstition, informs us that the Emperor *Claudius* put to Death a *Roman* Knight in *Dauphiny*, merely upon Account of his carrying in his Bosom one of those Eggs, with a View to gain a Process which he had depending.

The Ceremony of catching this mysterious Egg is thought to be represented upon the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, which we shall examine afterwards: This at least is certain that it occurs upon a Tomb, a Print whereof is given by *Montfaucon* (2), upon which you see two Serpents, one of them holding an Egg in its Mouth, which the other fashions with its Slime.

The *Druids* were also very much addicted to *Magic*, and to all the Delusions that accompany it: They were willing to have it believed that it was in their Power to transform themselves into different Figures; to walk through the Air when they had a mind, and to perform all the ridiculous Things which the most expert *Magicians* pretend to. But of all their Superstitions, the most cruel was that which led them to sacrifice human Victims to some of their Gods; a barbarous Custom which lasted a long Time among them, and was with great Difficulty abolished.

In vain have some Authors alledged that we are imposed upon as to this Article, and that the *Romans* themselves were deceived, taking for real Sacrifices the Death that was inflicted upon Criminals. But nothing is more certain than what I here advance: All Antiquity gives Testimony to it, and it would be superstitious to heap up Authorities to prove it. In vain did the *Roman* Emperors endeavour by bloody Edicts, to banish so barbarous a Custom; it still continued, at least in some Provinces of the *Gauls*, until the entire Destruction of *Druidism*.

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(1) Loc. cit. (2) Ant. Tom. 2.

The Ceremony of the Mistletoe of Oak.

Of all the Ceremonies that were performed by the *Druids*, the most solemn was that of gathering the *Mistletoe*, which they believed the Gods had brought down from Heaven for the Felicity of Men (*a*). The *Mistletoe*, which the *Latins* call *Viscum*, is a parasitical Plant, which is not produced by the Tree to which it adheres; *Quod non sua seminat arbor*, as it is in *Virgil*, who has given a fine Description of it, comparing it to the Golden Bough (*b*).

*As when bleak Winter binds the frozen Skies,
Push'd from the Oak her foreign Honours * rise;
The lofty Trunk th'adopted Branches crown,
Grac'd with a yellow Offspring not her own:
So with bright Beams, all beauteous to behold,
Glow'd on the dusky Trees the blooming Gold;
The blooming Gold, by e'ery Breath inclin'd,
Flam'd as it wav'd, and tinkled in the Wind.*

Pitt's *Æn.* VI. 290.

This Plant, which is not to be found upon the Surface of the Earth, grows upon Oaks, upon Apple-trees, Pear-trees, Plum-trees, the Beech-tree, and others: 'Tis commonly thought that the Thrushes, which are greedy of the *Mistletoe* Seed, after eating of it to Excess, throw out some of it upon the Trees which they frequent, and that this Seed, being fat and viscous, takes Root there, and puts forth a Tuft green and yellowish, which rises to no great Height, but does a great deal of Harm to the Trees upon which it ingrafts itself. The Fruits of this Shrub are oval Berries, soft, fat, and covered with a very delicate Membrane of a Silver Colour, which contains a viscous Substance. For this *Mistletoe*, especially when it grows upon the Oak, the *Druids* had an infinite Value; and

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(*a*) Pliny, l. 16. c. 44. gives a full Description of this Ceremony, much the same with what we have here.

(*b*) *Quale solet sylvis brumali frigore viscum,
Fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbor,
Et croceo fœtu teretes circumdare ramos.* *Æn.* l. 6.

* The *Mistletoe*.

as they had a small Skill in Botany, they undoubtedly knew that it was a specific against the Epilepsy, and that it is also of Use in the Apoplexy and Vertigos. They also extracted from it a Water which they reckoned a sovereign Remedy against all Sorts of Maladies. But as Superstition entered into all the Practices of those Priests, (for there had been nothing extraordinary in employing a medicinal Plant) at first they had no Value for any but that which grows upon the Oak, believing as *Pliny* says (1), that God had made a particular Choice of this Tree to bear that Plant. They therefore sought after it with great Assiduity in the Forests which they inhabited; and as it was then probably less common upon Oak than it is now, they blessed themselves, when after immense Labour they had the good Luck to meet with some Plants of it, as if they had really found a Treasure. However, the Time of gathering it was not indifferent, it was in the Month of *December* alone, which among them was a holy Month, and on the sixth Day of the Moon, that it was allowable to pluck it.

They assembled therefore for this Ceremony, which was performed with vast Parade, and marched in Procession to the Place where this precious Plant had been discovered. The Soothsayers went foremost, singing Hymns and Songs in Honour of the Gods. Next came a Herald, with a Rod in his Hand, who was followed by three *Druids*, bearing the Things necessary for the Sacrifice. Last of all, appeared the Chief of those Priests cloathed in a white Robe, and followed by a Crowd of People. When they were come up to the Place appointed, the Chief of the *Druids* got up upon the Oak, and cut the *Mistletoe* with a golden Sickle. The *Druids* received it with great Reverence into the *Sagum*, or a white Cassock. Then followed the Sacrifice of two white Bulls, to which succeeded a Feast, and Prayers were put up to the Gods, as *Pliny* tells us, to make this Plant a Mean of communicating Prosperity to those who should partake of it. On the
first

(1) Loc. cit.

first Day of the Year, after having blessed and consecrated the *Misseltoe*, they distributed it to the People, promising and wishing them a happy Year. The Form made Use of for that Purpose, has been very long preserved by these Words, *The New Year to Misseltoe*.

As nothing is more difficult to root out than Customs founded on Superstition, they have still the same Cry in *Picardy*, adding *Plant, Plant*, when they wish for a plenteous and fruitful Year. In *Burgundy* and other Provinces; the Children; that have a Custom on the first Day of the Year of asking their New Year's Gift, make Use of the same Cry. There was even established in several Places, a Quest; or Kind of Begging on the first Day of the Year, where they made Use of the same Phrase, *The New Year to Misseltoe*; in asking People to give Alms.

Though *Pliny* gives a pretty full Account of this Ceremony, yet he has said nothing of the Place where it was performed; but the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls* is of Opinion, that it was in the Country of *Chartres*: *1mo*, Because, according to the Naturalist now quoted; it was performed during the Assembly of the Estates General; now 'tis known, that this is the Country where those Meetings were held, and that once a Year. *2do*; Because the Ceremony in question having been the most solemn of all, 'tis very probable that it was performed in the great College which was at *Chartres*. *3tio*; As *Cæsar* observes that the *Gauls* repaired thither with a vast Concourse at that Time, so 'tis probable that they improved that Conjuncture, to make those who were then upon the Place, Partakers of the most sacred of their Ceremonies.

As to what remains, I know not what was the Foundation of the religious Respect which the *Druids* had for the Number Six; but 'tis certain that they preferred it to all others. 'Twas on the sixth Day of the Moon that they performed their principal Acts of Religion; that they begun the Year; they went six of

them in Number to gather the *Misseltoe*; and among the Monuments now extant, we often find the same Number of them.

The Maxims of the Druids.

The *Druids* not writing any Thing, as has been said, Tradition has preserved to us few or none of the many Maxims contained in that vast Number of Verses which they made their Pupils learn; however, *Gollut* (1) has collected for us some, which I shall quote from him, without laying more Stress upon them than they deserve, being persuaded that they have been only taken from the Accounts we have of their Doctrine in Antiquity.

The first Maxim. *'Tis necessary to be taught in the Groves by the sacred Priests.*

2. *The Misseltoe ought to be gathered with great Respect, and if possible, at the sixth Moon; a Golden Sickle is to be used for that Purpose.*

3. *Every Thing that is born, derives its Origin from Heaven.*

4. *The Secret of Sciences is not to be committed to Writing, but to the Memory.*

5. *Great Care must be taken of the Education of Children.*

6. *The Misseltoe beat to Powder, makes Women fruitful.*

7. *The Disobedient ought to be removed from Sacrifices.*

8. *Souls are immortal.*

9. *Souls pass into other Bodies after the Death of those which they have animated.*

10. *If the World perishes, it will be by Fire or Water.*

11. *On extraordinary Occasions, a Man must be sacrificed. According as the Body falls, or according as it moves when fallen; according as the Blood flows, or according to the Opening of the Wound, shall future Events be predicted.*

12. *The Prisoners of War are to be slain upon the Altars,*

(1) Mem. of Franche Comté.

tars, or to be shut up within Apartments of Osier, to be burnt alive to the Honour of the Gods.

13. *Foreign Commerce must not be permitted.*

14. *He who comes last to the Assembly of the Estates, is to be punished with Death.*

15. *Children are to be educated to the Age of fourteen Years, at a Distance from their Fathers and Mothers.*

16. *Money lent in this World, shall be repaid to Creditors in the next.*

17. *There is another World; and they who kill themselves to accompany their Friends thither, shall live there with them.*

18. *The Letters given to the Dying, or thrown into the Funeral Pile of the Dead, are faithfully delivered in the other World.*

19. *The Moon cures all, as her Name in Celtic implies.*

20. *Let the Disobedient be cast out; let them have no Justice done them; let them be received into no Company, nor admitted into any Office.*

21. *All Heads of Families are Kings in their own Houses: They have Power of Life and Death over their Wives, their Children and Slaves.*

C H A P. IV.

Of the Druidesses.

THOSE who have read *Cæsar's Commentaries*, *Tacitus*, and some others of the Antients; know what Regard the *Germans* and *Gauls* had for their Wives. Those of the *Druids* especially, shared the Authority with their Husbands, though with some Dependance; and intermeddled, like them, not only in Political Affairs, but also in those of Religion. As there were in the *Gauls*, even from the Time of the Conquest of the *Romans*, Temples into which all Men were denied Access, in them the *Druidesses* presided, and regulated all that belonged to the Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies of Religion: All this,

however, is to be understood, Regard being had to different Times.

We may distinguish three Sorts of *Druideſſes* : The firſt lived in Celibacy, as thoſe of the Iſland of *Sain* ; others, though married (1), dwelt regularly in the Temples which they ſerved, except one Day of the Year, when they were permitted to have an Interview with their Huſbands. Laſtly, the *Druideſſes* of the third Order lived conſtantly with their Huſbands, and took Care of the private Affairs of their Family.

We may divide them again into two Claſſes : In the firſt were the Prieſteſſes, while thoſe who were but Miniſters under the Orders of the firſt, compoſed the ſecond.

As nothing gives more Reputation than the pretended Knowledge of Futurity, ſo we may judge of that of thoſe Prieſteſſes, who were believed to be poſſeſſed of that Gift in an eminent Degree (2). Accordingly this Reputation was not confined within the *Gauls* : It was alſo diffuſed through foreign Countries. People came from all Quarters to conſult them with great Confidence, and their Deciſions were reckoned Oracles. The Emperors themſelves (3), when they were Maſters of the *Gauls*, did not diſdain to conſult them ; and tho' 'tis certain that they were not the only ones, Hiſtory however informs us only of their Conſultations, as if thoſe of private Perſons had not deſerved to be tranſmitted down to Poſterity.

True it is, as has been ſaid in the preceeding Chapter, the *Druids* took upon them the ſame Profeſſion ; but whether their Wives were more expert in it, that is, knew better how to deceive, they had abandoned it almoſt wholly to them.

I may add, that the *Druideſſes* were eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the Iſlands that are upon the *Gallic* Coaſts, and upon thoſe that lie near *England* ; yet ſo, that
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(1) See Don James Martin, tom. 1. p. 206. (2) See Tacitus, l. 4. Dion. &c. (3) Lamprid. Vopifcus, &c.

in those where *Druids* were, there were no *Druidesses*, and these again possessed the others.

Further, all those Islands were consecrated to some particular Divinity, whose Name they bore. The Ministers of either Sex performed there the same Functions as in the rest of *Gaul*. 'Tis thought too, that they applied themselves more particularly there than elsewhere to Magical Operations; and it was an Opinion spread through all the *Gauls*, that they, as Masters of the Winds, raised Storms and Tempests when they had a Mind.

I said before, that only such Predictions of the *Druidesses* have been preserved as were addressed to the Emperors. I shall give here three or four pretty remarkable ones. *Alexander Severus* setting out on that Expedition, which was the last of his Life, one of his Priestesses came up to him, and said: *My Lord, don't hope for Victory, and be on your Guard against your own Soldiers.* Accordingly that Prince was assassinated in that same Campaign.

The Emperor *Aurelian* intending to consult some of them, to know if the Empire would be long in his Family, they answered him simply, that the Family of *Claudius* was to be one Day the most illustrious; and indeed that of *Aurelian* did not subsist long.

Dioclesian, when he was but an Officer in the *Gauls*, was amusing himself one Day in casting up his Accounts, when his Hostess, who was a famous *Druidess*, thus addressed him, *In Truth, Sir, you are too covetous. Well,* replied *Dioclesian*, *I shall be liberal when I come to be Emperor. You shall be so,* answered the Hostess hastily, *when you have slain a Boar* (1), *cùm Aprum occideris.* *Dioclesian*, struck with this Answer, applied himself from that Time a great deal to the Killing of those Animals, without arriving, however, at the Empire; but at last, bethinking himself that the equivocal *Latin* Word *Aper*, which signifies a Boar, might refer to *Aper*, *Numerian's* Father-in-law, he put him to Death, and so became Emperor.

R 3

In

(1) Vopiscus in Numer.

In fine, to conclude what relates to those Ministers of the Religion of the *Gauls*, 'tis proper briefly to examine at what Time they were abolished. *Suetonius* (1), *Aurelius Victor*, and *Seneca*, maintain that it was under the Empire of *Claudius*, which is absolutely false, since we find they still subsisted a long Time after ; and 'tis probable that they mean only the Human Sacrifices, from the Use whereof they were absolutely prohibited by that Emperor, and this is the most natural Sense can be put upon the Words of the former of these three Authors (a).

Tiberius had passed a Decree against them, but it was no better executed than that of *Augustus* had been. *Adrian* too made an Edict to abolish the Human Sacrifices that were offered up to *Mithras* and *Jupiter* ; but this Edict had no more Relation to the *Druids* than to the other Priests of the Empire. The *Druids* were still subsisting in the Time of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, who reproaches the *Gauls* with these Sacrifices of theirs, as also in the Time of *Ausonius*, who praises some of them who were his Contemporaries. Lastly, there were of them still remaining, at least in the Country of *Chartres*, to the middle of the fifth Century ; and 'tis probable that their Order was not quite abolished till Christianity had triumphed fully in the *Gauls* over the Superstition of the Pagan World, which happened but late, at least in some Provinces.

C H A P. V.

Of some Gallic Superstitions.

THE abolishing of the *Druids* did not draw after it that of the Superstitions which they had diffused through all *Gaul* : They had taken so deep Root there, that the Introduction of Christianity itself was not able to stop the detestable Practice. That of the first of *January*, which consisted in covering themselves with the Skins of several Animals, and in running

(1) In Claudio.

(a) Druidarum Religionem apud Gallos dire immanitatis, & tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit. *Suet. ibid.*

ning thus through the Streets, lasted to the seventh Century of the Christian *Æra*, in spite of all the Efforts of the Bishops, the Prohibitions of the Fathers, and the Canons of Councils, which tended to abolish them. This abominable Rite, at least in its Beginnings, is what was called *Cervoles* and *Vetula* (*a*). There, to the Disgrace of Nature, you might have seen People transform themselves into Beasts, counterfeited in their mad Rambles the Stag, the Fawn, the Deer, and other Animals. But in vain was it to remonstrate against that Usage, they still went on in their usual Way, and with much ado were those ridiculous Masquerades at length abolished.

The Worship of some Divinities that were peculiar, and dearer than others to our antient *Gauls*, continued even a good Time after the Establishment of Christianity, especially that of *Diana* or *Arduina*, to be spoke of afterwards, she whom that People, passionately fond of Hunting, took for their Protectress. Not long ago, there was discovered a small Statue (*1*), thought to represent that Goddess, and which probably was the Household God, or particular Genius of some famous Hunter. This Idol represents a Woman half covered with a Kind of Cuirass, in one Hand holding a Bow unbent, and having a Dog near her.

The abominable Practice of Magic and Enchantments subsisted likewise a long Time. As it was brought into Vogue by the *Druideesses*, the Women, after the Extinction of those Priestesses, continued to observe their Rites, and hence it is obvious how difficult it must have been to abolish them. Those Women actually believed they went to nocturnal Witch-Meetings, and that *Diana* furnished them by Night with Vehicles to carry them swiftly through the Air; and 'tis well known how long that fond Credulity lasted, if indeed it may be said to be abolished even yet among some Women of the meaner Sort. When

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(*a*) See the Ninth Letter of *M. le Beuf*, in the Work intitled, *Diverse Writings*, &c. T. 1. p. 280.

(1) *Id. ib.*

the Masquerade we have been speaking of came to be destroyed, the Feasts of the first of *January* did not entirely cease : They only changed the Object, and instead of running about under the Skins of Beasts, as used to be done formerly, they introduced the Custom of telling Fortunes on that Day, and of employing for that Purpose several superstitious Rites of Magic and Divination. 'Tis not to be doubted, in short, but all those Magical Rites, as well as the Notions of *Sabbath*, and the Nocturnal Expeditions, are derived from our antient *Gauls*, and from the *Druideſſes* who had practiſed them firſt.

Another very ſingular Piece of Superſtition was that which the *Gauls* practiſed towards the *Rhine* : When they ſuſpected the Fidelity of their Wives, they obliged them to expoſe upon the River the Children which they doubted to be theirs, and if they were ſwallowed up in the Stream, the Wife was puniſhed with Death as an Adultereſs : If, on the contrary, they floated above, and came back to their Mother, who followed them along the Bank, the Huſband, perſuaded of her Chaſtity, reſtored to her his Confidence and Love. The Emperor *Julian*, from whom we learn this Fact, ſays this River-God, by his Diſcernment, avenged the Injury that was offered to the Marriage-Bed.

Again, another Superſtition, at leaſt as barbarous : Before they conſulted about the Affairs of State, thoſe People, as we are told by *Strabo* and *Diadorus Siculus*, pierced a Man behind with a Poinard, and drew their Omens from the Manner in which he fell, and from the Form of the Wound.

The *Gauls*, addicted to the Science of Auguries, particularly by the Flight and chirping of Birds, as much, at leaſt, as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, conſulted likewise the Entrails of Victims, and were in general ſo infatuated with every Sort of Divination, that they paid an infinite Deal of Reſpect to all who profeſſed to know and foretel future Events. Different Councils held in the *Gauls*, a Treatiſe by S. *Eloi*, and the
Authors

Authors of Ecclesiastic History, inform us of several other Sorts of Superstitions practised by our antient *Gauls*, and which lasted most of them a very long Time after they had embraced Christianity ; for in short nothing in the World is so difficult to be abolished as those Sorts of Customs.

We see by those Authorities that they still consulted the Auguries, that they were attentive to observe the Flight of Birds ; the lucky and unlucky Days ; the Days of the Moon ; that they still masqued on the first of *January*, and continued to practise a part of the Fooleries which we have spoke of ; that they observed the Solstices, from thence drew Omens, and at that Time sung loose Sonnets ; that they still invoked the Names of some Pagan Divinities ; celebrated the Days of the Dedication of Cities ; went with lighted Tapers to the Land-Marks as it were to do Honour there to the God *Terminus* ; practised several Sorts of Lustrations ; cast Charms upon the Herbs and Fruits ; swore by the Names and Surnames of the Sun and Moon, which were called the *Lord* and *Lady* : That in Diseases they put less Faith in the Physicians than in Spells, Talismans, &c.

Though the *Gauls* did not carry superstitious Rites in Funerals so far as several other idolatrous Nations, yet they did not fail to perform some pretty singular ones upon that Occasion. Thus, for Instance, they put the Arms and Bucklers of the Dead into their Tombs, as also several other Utensils which they thought would be of Use to them in the other World, a Circumstance which was discovered upon opening some of those Monuments. They were even wont to intrust the Dead with Letters for their deceased Relations. But as these Particulars belong more to the Antiquary than the Mythologist, I content myself with observing that in all Appearance the Tombs, and Inscriptions engraved upon them, are not of greater Antiquity than the Conquest of the *Romans*, since these practised the same Superstitions with those.

We see in those of the *Gauls* as well as in those of
their

their Conquerors, the ordinary Form, *D. M. to the Gods Manes, Diis Inferis, to the infernal Gods*; and there, in short, we find the celebrated Form *sub Ascia*, which has and still continues to rack the Brains of the Learned, who have attempted to explain it, and who all of them almost contradict one another.

After having spoke of the Religion of the *Gauls*, of their Ministers and Superstitions, 'tis Time to give the History of their Gods. I shall begin with those who are upon the Monuments dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, where we find some who were unknown to the *Roman* Historians. Several Authors, 'tis true, have already explained those Monuments; but I reckon a compendious History of this Discovery, and of the Works that have been composed upon this Subject, joined with some new Reflections, will not be displeasing to my Readers.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Bas-reliefs dug up in the Choir of the Cathedral at Paris.

WHILE *Lewis* XIV. to execute the Vow of *Lewis* XIII. was setting about the building of the magnificent Altar of the Cathedral at *Paris*, it was found necessary to change the Burial-Place of the Archbishops, and in raking up the Earth there was discovered a Wall (1) near three Foot thick, and a little deeper, another Wall, which was partly formed of Stones, upon which were perceived Letters and Figures; Those Stones were quickly taken up, and it was judged that the Figures engraven upon them, represented *Gallic* Divinities, and that they had antiently served for a Base to some Altar. Whatever Injuries they had suffered, both by Time and by the Workmen, who, to adapt them to the Wall where they were employed, had made no Scruple to cut and deface them, and sometimes even to divide them; yet the Discovery of them made a great Noise, and invited our Anti-quaries,

(1) March 16, 1711.

quaries, who came to examine them. From their examining to the making of Dissertations upon them but a short Time intervened. M. *Baudelot*, Member of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, had those Bas-reliefs engraved, and together with their Figures published a Dissertation in order to explain them. M. *Moreau*, Member of the same Academy, soon followed his Brother, and happened to be as different from him in the Figures as in the Explications of them, which he published in his Turn. But it must be owned that those two Dissertations betray a little the Precipitancy of their Authors to bring them to Light. F. *Daniel* too made a Dissertation on the Subject, which is printed in the Memoirs of *Trevoux* for that same Year: But that learned Writer, who might, if he had pleased, have cast a great Light upon this Monument, applied himself only to clear up what concerned the Company of Watermen, or rather of Traders, who had erected it. M. *Leibnitz*, not to mention other Foreigners, having entered the Lists, vigorously attacked the Dissertation of M. *Baudelot*. *Montfaucon*, without entering into a Detail of Particulars, contented himself with giving Draughts of those Monuments in his *Antiquity explained* (1), with all possible Exactness. F. *Lobineau* having no mind to leave his History of *Paris* without so considerable an Ornament, got also Prints of the same Bas-reliefs, and joined to them his own Conjectures. In fine, *Don James Martin*, in his History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, published the same Figures with Explications, which, in my Opinion, are of all others the most satisfying: The Conjectures of others, though often not very well founded, yet open and enlarge their Minds, and sometimes carry them farther than those had arrived who went before them in the same Enquiry. As this Monument is of great Value, and makes us acquainted with *Gallic* Gods, who are mentioned by no History, I thought proper to set out with it, and begin the History of the *Gallic* Religion with the Explication of this Monument.

Those

(1) Vol. I.

Those Stones which are now deposited in one of the Halls of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, exhibit first an Inscription conceived in these Terms :

TIB. CÆSARE.
AUG. JOVI OPTUM.
MAXIMO ARAM
NAUTÆ PARISIACI
PUBLICE POSUERUNT.

Under the Reign of Tiberius Cæsar, the Society of Watermen, or of Traffickers upon the River, erected this Altar to Jupiter, supremely good and great (a).

The Stones which compose the four Faces of this Altar exhibit, 1. Some armed *Gauls*, (they were always so) and these are probably some of the leading Men in this Dedication. 2. Some *Druids* without Arms, distinguishable by their Garb ; they having the Direction of whatever concerned Religion, as has been already said. 3. Figures of several Divinities, among whom are named, *Eurises, Senani, Veilo, Volcanus, Jovis, Esus, Tarnes, Trigaranus, Castor, Pollux, Cernunos*, and the last Letters of the Name of another God, OS. The *Oak* so venerated by the Antients, as well as the *Misseltoe* that was sometimes found upon it, appear upon two of those Stones ; namely upon that where is *Esus*, and upon that where is the Bull: The whole very roughly engraved, and exceedingly damaged.

E U R I S E S.

First of all presents the Stone upon which, as I have remarked, are represented several *Gauls* armed with Spears and Bucklers ; and the foremost of them wears a Circle, the Matter whereof we cannot know : These unquestionably are the principal Traders who attend the Dedication that is carried on at their Expence. Upon this Stone is inscribed the Word *Eurises*, it must needs therefore express their general Name. Now this Word, as is fully proved by the learned Benedictine, whom

(a) The Authors whom I have cited. vary a little in the Translation of this Inscription ; but this here is the true Sense of it.

whom I have named above, is of *Celtic* Original, and composed of *Gier*, *Good Luck*, and *Reiser*, *Waterman*. The *Greeks*, adds he, have a Word like it, composed of the same Letters, and that has the same Signification; namely, that of *εὐπεῖρος*, and signifies *one who has the Waves favourable to him*. Now, we know that *T*. was often put for *S*. and that so commonly, that *Lucian* in his Dialogue of the Judgment of the Vowels, introduces the last of these two Letters, complaining that the other had banished him from all Words. These People in Arms, who first offer themselves after the Inscription of the Dedication, are therefore the Leaders of the Enterprize. The Arms which they bear, denote, what is true, that the *Gauls* never were present at the Performance of any Act of Religion, nor in the Management of any public Affair, but in Arms, which they seldom or never laid aside. The great Circle which one of those *Gauls* wears, was a Crown, or a kind of Diadem for *Jupiter*, to whom the Altar was consecrated.

Upon the Face of the Stone which follows that of the Traders on the *Seine*, we see again other Men, but different from the former, in regard that instead of Arms they are clad in a grave and majestic Habit, having Crowns upon their Heads. These unquestionably are *Druids*; and tho' their Garb, different from that of the other *Gauls*, did not prove it, yet we have now seen that they were the sole Ministers of Religion, or at least, that the others whom we have mentioned after some Antients, as the *Bards*, &c. were intirely subject to them. They must needs therefore have been present at this solemn Dedication, and 'tis by no Means surprizing to find them there.

The Words *Senani Veilo*, that are at the Foot of the same Stone, ought then to design them; but it must be owned that they are hard to be explained. M. *Baudelot* says, that the Word *Senani* is the same with *Se-quani*, and likewise denotes the Watermen; but what Appearance is there, that after having designed them by the Word *Eurises*, which is above them, they
would

would again design the same Thing in using the Word *Senani*, which is upon the Face where are the Men without Arms? 'Tis therefore the *Druids* that are designed by this Word, and I readily embrace the Opinion of the Author whom I have now quoted, who says that the Word is the same with *Seniones*, the old Men; a Term apposite to those Ministers of Religion, for whom the *Gauls* had so much Veneration. The same Author thinks, that from this Word had been formed *Senatus* and *Senatores*; the Curious may read his Proofs of it in the Work itself of that learned Benedictine. I also adopt his Conjecture as to the Word *Veilo*, which, according to him, was the Name which the *Gauls* gave to the *Misseltoe* of Oak which we have spoke so much of in the third Chapter: And what proves it, is, that the *Greeks* expressed in the proper Sense, Glass, and in the figurative, what is bright and shining by the Word *ὑελος*. Now the *Misseltoe* has these two Qualities, as we have said from the Description given of it by *Virgil*, who compares it to the golden Bough.

If I be asked why the *Misseltoe* is named in this Ceremony, I answer, that it was in so great Veneration among the *Gauls*, that not content with distributing it to the People, and extracting from it a salutary Water, they undoubtedly mixed it in all their religious Rites. This barbarous Word, 'tis true, is joined to that of *Senani*, upon a Face where this Plant does not appear, but besides that, we are certain of its being represented upon two Places of the same Monument, namely, upon the Side where is *Efus*, who appears to hold a Branch of it in his Hand, and upon that where is the *Bull*, *Tervos Trigaranus*, it may also be very probably upon that where the Word *Veilo* is written, the Stone being very much damaged.

'Tis also owing to the bad Condition the Stone is now in, that it is hard to say how many *Druids* were designed upon the Face in question. *M. Baudelot* sees six of them, others cannot find so many. But is this only Prejudice, or had *M. Baudelot* really better Eyes than
the

the other Antiquaries who have explained this Monument? This is what I cannot decide. It would indeed be very lucky, if six of them could be found there; that Number, as has been said in the preceding Chapter, being sacred among the *Gauls*.

V U L C A N.

Vulcan, who appears upon the second Row of Stones, is drawn quite in the *Roman* Manner, with a Habit which reaches only to the Knees, a Bonnet upon his Head, holding in one Hand his Hammer, and in the other his Pincers. We must not, however, imagine, that the *Gauls* had received the Worship of that God only from their Conquerors: They paid Adoration to him 150 Years before *Julius Cæsar* had entered into the *Gauls*. *Plutarch* accordingly informs us (1), that those People having declared War upon the *Romans*, their King, *Viridomarus*, made a Vow to consecrate to that God all the Arms he could take from them. The Success, 'tis true, did not answer his Desires, since his Army was put to the Rout, and himself slain by the Consul; but 'tis not the less true that they then acknowledged that God in *Gaul*. Their Skill in working Metals, the Art of tinning over so curiously the Vessels of Copper, that they were apt to be mistaken for Silver, as we are told by *Pliny*; and that of Varnish and enamelling, which they applied to Gold and Silver; all these had made them adopt the God of Smiths, though we could not know by what Way they came to be acquainted with him.

We may remark, in finishing this Article, that the *Gallic* God *Volcanus*, who is known to us only by an Inscription found at *Nantz*, and by a Manuscript, is not *Belenus*, as several learned Men pretend, but *Vulcan*: As to which you may see, in the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, *Tom. 11.* the Proofs thereof given by the Author.

C A S T O R and P O L L U X.

Upon the two first Faces of the third Row of Stones are *Castor* and *Pollux*, with their usual Habit and Bonnet;

(1) In *Marcello*.

net, holding in the right Hand a Pike, and their left resting upon a Horse's Head: Hence 'tis plain that these two Heroes were worshipped in the *Gauls*; but are they there; in a Dedication made by the Watermen, as the Gods who favoured Navigation? This is what cannot be thought, since the Horses that accompany them; have no Relation thereto; and it would rather be in Quality of Wrestlers that they are here represented, the *Gauls* having chose them to preside over the Exercises and Games that were to accompany this Dedication. But whatever be in this, we know not whether their Worship had passed into the *Gauls* only since the Conquest of the *Romans*, or if they had received it before. I should be much inclined to think, that the Knowledge of those Gods, originally of *Greece*, had come to them from that Country, and that it was by such of the *Gauls* as had escaped the Dangers to which their Army was exposed under *Brennus*, the Knowledge of them and their Worship was brought into *Gaul*. This Conjecture is at least as plausible as that of Authors who alledge that the *Gauls* had known the *Argonauts*, who are said by *Timæus* and *Apollonius Rhodius* to have reembarked upon the *Tanais*, and so to have entered the Ocean; whence passing through the Straits of *Cadiz*, they had coasted along the *Gauls*, and that our two Heroes, who then made themselves known to that People, were deify'd by them. Is there in all this the finallest Degree of Probability, and is not the Return of the *Argonauts* by the Ocean a meer Chimera (1)?

Reinesius quotes (2) an Inscription found at *Seissel*, in *Bugey*, which begins with these Words, *Deo Vintio Polluci*, and proves that this God was worshipped at *Vence*, which was called *Vintium* or *Vincium*; but I refer to the seventh Volume what I have to say of those two *Dioscuri*.

E S U S.

It appears that the great Divinity of the *Gauls* was *Esus*; his Name is also written with an Aspiration

(1) See the Hist. of the Argon. V. 7. (2) P. 209.

tion *Hesus*. As the Antients give us but little Account of this God (1), the Learned have framed several Conjectures about him ; but they all agree that he was the God of War ; and I am the more inclined to embrace their Opinion, that I find so little Probability in that of others. However, the Author of the History of the *Gallic* Religion gives us a quite other Idea of this God. He takes him to have been among that People the Supreme Being, the Unknown God, adding, that they adored him with high Veneration, though they had not any Figure of him, unless he was represented by the Oak, that Tree so respected by the *Druids*, and in general by all the *Gauls*. It was in the Woods, continues he, and at the Feet of Oaks that they offered Sacrifices, and addressed their Vows and Prayers to him. It must be owned, that he supports his Opinion by happy Conjectures, and by Etymologies that are no less so (a) ; but though it were true, as he says, that the Word *Efus* in *Gallic*, and *Æsar* in the *Tuscan* Language, signify *God*, would this prove that it signified *the God*, by Way of Eminence, the Sovereign of Gods, the Unknown God ? As Etymologies and Conjectures are no Proofs, the Author, besides, not only recedes from the most generally received Opinion, but, which is still more considerable, from the Idea which the Antients give us of *Efus*, whom they reckon a cruel and savage God, who could only be appeased by the Sacrifice of human Victims ; an Idea which agrees better to the God of War, than to a Being spiritual, invisible, and superior to all others (b).

Again, is it not more natural to believe that the *Gauls*, a courageous Warlike Nation, worshipped the God of Battles ? And we find none among them but *Efus*, to whom this Title can be applied. Besides, is not their offering to him the Prisoners of War, preferably

VOL. III.

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ferably

(1) Lucan. *Pharf.* l. 1. Lactan. *Div. Inst.* l. 2.

(a) See the 254 and 255 Pages of the 1st Vol. of the *Hist. of the Religion of the Gauls*.

(b) *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro, Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Efus.* Luc. *Phar.* l. 5.

ferably to other human Victims, a Proof that it was to thank and pay him Homage for the Advantages they had obtained in War.

We may add farther, that the *Celts*, if they were not *Scythians* themselves, had at least dwelt in their Neighbourhood: For it must be owned that their great, and I may say their sole God, was the God of War (1), whom they represented by a Sword.

In fine, it is certain that *Efus* had Statues, since we find him represented upon one of the Bas-Reliefs of the Cathedral of *Paris*, with his Name underneath, while it is not possible to mark the Time when he had none: For, though the Author whom I have cited, alledges that it was very late before they began to represent him, and that this Custom was quite new in the Time of *Tiberius*, the *Druids* having hindered it as long as it was in their Power, yet 'tis obvious that this is but a Conjecture without any Foundation, and that this Date for the Introduction of Statues of this God, is only assigned, because no Room was left to doubt of his having them from that Time. His Figure, 'tis true, exhibits nothing that suits with the God of War, since he there appears like a young Man, with naked Shoulders, and one Hand lifted up, wherein, probably, was an Instrument which Time has defaced, ready to give a Blow to the Oak which is near him; but what can be concluded from one single Figure, considering the different Manners in which the Pagans represented their Gods? I know the Antiquaries, who have explained this Monument, will have it that this God is in action to cut the *Mistletoe*: But what Inconveniency is there in saying, that as he was the great Divinity of the *Gauls*, so to him was attributed the most sacred Function of their Religion, and that thereby was intended to denote, that the chief of the *Druids*, to whom alone it belonged to gather it, was only to be reckoned the Instrument which *Efus* made Use of to communicate to Men a Plant which had so many Virtues, and which

(1) See the 3d Vol.

which he himself had brought down from Heaven for their Benefit?

But waving that, *Eſus*, or *Mars*, was one of the greatest Gods of the *Gauls*, and him they honoured with peculiar Worship. When they were upon the Point of giving Battle, they vowed to offer up to him not only all the Spoils and Horſes which they ſhould win from the Enemy, but alſo all the Captives; and nothing was more faithfully put in Execution than this Promise. For no ſooner was the Battle over, than they ſacrificed to him all the Horſes, and gathered into a Heap the Arms and Spoils, which they conſecrated to him, and which no Body durſt touch. If any one was convicted of having applied to his own Uſe any Part of thoſe Spoils, he was condemned to loſe his Life, and ſuffered Death without Mercy. As to the Captives, the Manner of paying their Vow was not uniform, contenting themſelves ſometimes with offering up the Choice of them, that is, the young and the moſt handſome, and killing the reſt with their Arrows; while, upon other Occaſions, they ſacrificed them all, without Diſtinction of Age or Birth. Their Devotion for this God, or rather their Fury, was ſometimes carried to ſuch Exceſs, as to ſacrifice to him their Wives and Children. This, at leaſt, is what happened, according to *Juſtin* (1), in the Expedition which they made into *Aſia*, when ready to fight againſt *Antigonuſ*, King of *Macedonia*, having conſulted the Entrails of the Victims, and finding nothing there but fatal Prefages, they took on the barbarous Reſolution to cut the Throats of their Wives and Children. So great was their Rage, according to the judicious Remark of that Hiſtorian, “ That they did not ſpare even what the Enemies
“ themſelves would have ſpared, turning againſt the
“ Mothers and their tender Children, thoſe very
“ Arms which they ought to have taken up in their
“ Defence.”

The laſt Figure of the ſecond Row of thoſe Stones
S 2 dug

(1) L. 26. c. 2.

dug up in the Cathedral of *Paris*, represents a Bull in the midst of a Wood with three Cranes, whereof one is upon his Head, the other in the Middle of his Body, and the third upon his Back, with this Inscription: *Taurus Trigeranus, The Bull with three Cranes.* 'Tis certain that those Birds are Cranes, since in the ancient Language of the *Celtæ*, *Taro* signifies a Bull, *Tri*, *three*, and *Geran*, a Crane. The *Greeks* themselves expressed the same Thing by these Words, *Ταῦρος τριγεράνος*: Here, however, is a Mystery of the *Gallic* Religion not easy to be explained. As the Bull is joined with the other Gods of that People, and is in the same Compartment with *Vulcan*, *Jupiter* and *Esus*, it would seem that the *Gauls* paid a religious Worship to that Animal. But this is not a bare Conjecture: *Gregory of Tours* (1), after having told us, that our Forefathers had made Divinities of the Forests, the Waters, the Birds, and Animals, adds: "Alas! had they been but capable to comprehend
 " what dreadful Vengeance God inflicted upon the
 " *Jews* for the Crime they were guilty of in wor-
 " shipping the Golden Calf!" which certainly intimates, that the Bull was included in the Number of the Animals which they adored. That the Bull appears upon this Monument, in a Place where Trees rise around him, is a further Proof that he was one of their Gods, since it was in the Groves, which served the *Gauls* of old for Temples, that their Mysteries were celebrated. Lastly, *Plutarch* (2), speaking of the Treaty which that terrible Army of Barbarians, composed of *Teutons*, *Cimbres*, &c. (that is, of *Celtæ*, for this was their generical Name) which was designed to go and besiege *Rome*, made with the *Romans*, says, they swore to the Observation of it by their Brazen Bull, which they probably carried about in their Armies, since *Catulus*, after having defeated them, made one of them be carried to his House as a glorious Spoil, and the most certain Mark of his Victory.

As for the *Cranes* that are upon the sacred Bulls, I judge

(1) Hist. l. 2. c. 10. (2) In Mario.

judge it sufficient to observe, that since the *Gauls* bore them upon their Ensigns, as the *Romans* did the Eagles, 'tis no Wonder that they intermixed them with the Mysteries of their Religion, and paid a Kind of Veneration to them.

C E R N U N N O S.

Upon the third Face of the first Stone of those Monuments, appears a *Gallic* Divinity, represented under the Figure of a Man, who has upon his Head, by the Side of the Ears, Horns intermingled with Rings, pretty like those of a young Stag, with the Inscription, *Cernunnos*. The late M. *de Matour* had another Figure not unlike to a *Gallic* God, which was naked, that is, with no other cloathing but a small Drapery upon the left Shoulder, which is wrapped about the Arm, whose Horns were wreathed towards the Root, and terminated in two Crescents (1); and M. *de Chazelles* had another entirely cloathed, whose Horns had several Branches, much like a Palm: This Figure bore upon the Arm a little Animal which resembled a Kid or a Lamb.

'Tis no Rarity to meet with horned Gods in Paganism: Such was *Jupiter Ammon*, *Pan*, the *Fauns*, the *Satyrs*, &c. But this *Gallic* God is known under the Name of *Cernunnos*, only since the Discovery of the Bas-relief of *Notre-Dame* Church. Thus we need not be surprized if the Learned, both in *France* and *Germany*, who have attempted to explain these Monuments, differ so much from one another with respect to this God; the two most probable Sentiments upon this Subject, are that of the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, and that of M. *Eccart*. The former takes *Cernunnos* to have been a rural God, who among our antient *Gauls* presided over Hunting, as *Alces*, or *Alcis*, according to *Tacitus*, was the God of the same Exercise in the Province of antient *Germany*, which was possessed by the *Nabaruchi*. The strongest Argument which he brings in Support of his Opinion, is, that the Horns of *Cernunnos*, the

(1) See Montf. Ant. v. i.

Diadem which he wears upon one of his Figures, and the Animal which he holds in his Hand upon that of *M. de Chazelles*, are all Characters of a God of Hunting, as is justified by several Figures of *Diana*, the Goddess of the same Exercise among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, where we find all these Symbols. *M. Eccart* thinks this God represents *Bacchus*, or *Dionysius*, an Opinion which wants not Probability ; but after all, can he flatter himself that he has discovered what was the settled Opinion the *Gauls* had concerning a God who is so little known even at present ?

To conclude, the Name of *Cernunnos* is composed of two *Celtic* Words, whereof the first *Cern*, imports a *Horn*, and the second *Yna*, or *Ona*, a *Spear*.

The last Face of the third Row of Stones presents the Bust of a naked Man, holding a kind of Club in the right Hand, which is lifted up as if he was going to strike a Serpent that is opposite to him, and is rearing itself against him. The Inscription above is almost quite effaced, and it is read differently. *M. Baudelot* has decyphered in it only these two Letters, *OS*, and *Don James Martin* finds *Seni ri os*. As the Man's Figure is unquestionably *Hercules*, who was highly adored in the *Gauls* under the Name of *Ogmios*, or *Ogmios (a)*, so I am persuaded that the two Letters now mentioned are the last Letters of the Name of that God ; the rest being almost quite defaced, one may find there whatever he fancies. The Serpent which seems to be rearing itself against *Hercules*, is probably either one of those which that Heroe slew when in the Cradle (1), or one of the Heads of the *Hydra* of *Lerna*, the rest either not having been added, or else being defaced, as is the greatest Part of the Bas-relief.

That *Hercules* travelled into the *Gauls*, that he had Children there, and that he was there honoured with peculiar Worship, are Truths attested by all Antiquity,

(a) This Name is derived from the *Celtic*, which was the Language of the *Gauls*.

(1) See the Hist. of *Hercules* Vol. VI.

quity, and it will not be expected, I presume, that I should make a vain Show of Erudition to prove them : But the Question is whether this was *Alcides* the *Greek Hercules*, or the *Egyptian Hercules*, or another ? For, as we shall see in the sixth Volume of this Mythology, there were a great Number of them : This is what I take not upon me to determine. I shall only observe that the *Gauls* had a quite different Idea of this God from what the *Greeks* conceived of him, since they figured him otherwise than the others did, and reckoned him, not a Subduer of Monsters, and a Redresser of Wrongs, but the God of Eloquence, and of an Eloquence so sweet, and at the same Time so persuasive, that there was no Possibility of resisting it.

Lucian (1), who had travelled into the *Gauls*, has left us a Picture of this God, which is very proper to give us a just Notion of him. “ The *Gauls*, says “ he, call *Hercules* in their Language *Ogmios*, and re- “ present him in a Manner altogether extraordinary. “ He is a decrepit old Man, almost bald, and the “ few Hairs he has are all gray : Sun-burnt and “ wrinkled, like our old Sailors, he was taken for “ *Charon* ; but yet if one considers his Lion’s Skin, “ his Club which he has in his right Hand, his Qui- “ ver and his Bow which he has in his Left, he has “ all the Air of *Hercules*. What is most singular “ therein is, that he draws along with him a Mul- “ titude of Persons whom he holds fastened by the “ Ears. Their Chains are of Gold and Amber ; “ and though they are very fine and slender, yet “ it does not appear that any one of those who are “ fastened to them, makes the smallest Effort to “ break them, or to extricate himself from them : “ On the contrary, all those who are chained, in the “ height of good Humour follow their Leader with “ so much Eagerness, that the Chains are slack, and “ don’t appear to draw. The two Hands of *Hercu- “ les* being, as has been said, intangled, the Painter

(1) Dial. intitled, *Of the twice-accused*.

“ not knowing where to fasten the Extremity of the
 “ Chains, made a Hole in his Tongue, and to that
 “ they are fastened in the Figure.”

From this Picture 'tis easy to perceive that the *Gauls* looked upon *Hercules* as a God of Eloquence, and the Thing is past Doubt. However, the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, will have this Figure to have been *Mercury*, who, according to him, was the God of Eloquence among that People, and by Consequence not to be *Hercules*.

But besides that all who have spoke of the *Gallic Hercules*, give him this *Celtic* Name ; and *Lucian*, who appears to be well informed, says, *Ogmios* was very knowable by his Club, his Bow, and his Lion's Skin : What a *Gallic* Philosopher said to him leaves no Room to doubt of it. For when *Lucian* was expressing his Surprize at a Figure so extraordinary, a Philosopher of that Country, as he says himself, accosted him, and bespoke him in this Manner: *Your Astonishment will cease so soon as I have explained to you the whole Mystery. We Gauls are of a quite different Opinion from the Greeks, who make Mercury the God of Eloquence: According to us 'tis Hercules, because he surpasses Mercury in Strength. We paint him advanced in Years, because Eloquence never shews itself more lively and animated than in the Mouths of old Men. The Connection which there is between the Ear and the Tongue, justifies the Picture we make of this old Man, who with his Tongue draws Men, held fast by the Ear.*

In several Places of the *Gauls*, in *Germany*, and Countries still more northerly, there have been found Figures of *Hercules*, with Surnames pretty singular, whereof I shall say a Word or two.

HERCULES MAGUSAN or MACUSAN.

Hercules was hardly known under the Name of *Magusan*, but by some Medals struck under the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*, when in 1514 there was discovered upon the Sea-coast at *West-Capello*, a Town in *Zeland*, in the Island of *Talbeven* (1),
 a very

(1) See Keisler's Ant. Celt. p. 200.

a very large Statue, which represents a Man of a middle Age, very strong and robust, with Symbols not well known. The Drapery, which covers only his back Parts, forms upon his Head a Kind of Kerchief, which, falling down upon the left Shoulder, divides itself and reaches to the Feet. The Man represented holds in his right Hand a Dolphin, and in his Left a Kind of Scepter which terminates at the upper End in two Grains. On the Right of the Statue is a square Altar whence Flames arise, and on its left a small Sea-Monster, which is not known. I doubt if ever *Hercules* would have been known under a Figure so fantastical and so remote from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, had it not been for the Inscription which bears these Words:

*Herculi Maguzano, M. T. Primis uis Tertius. V.
S. L. M.*

Marcus Primus, or Primillus has paid the Vow which he had made to Hercules Maguzanus.

The *Jesuits* at *Brussels* have at the Entrance to their Library an Inscription where is also mentioned a Vow made to *Hercules Maguzan*; and as the same Name occurs upon some Medals of *Posthumius*, *Herculi Maguzano*, on which that Heroe is represented with his Club in one Hand, and a Bow in the other, with a Kind of Skin upon his Arms, there is no Doubt of his having been worshipped in the *Gauls*, in *Germany*, and in some other more northern Countries.

The Learned are puzzled in explaining the Surname of *Maguzan*, given to *Hercules*: The Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, takes it to be derived from the *Celtic*, and that it may possibly design *Posthumius* himself, who struck the Medals in Honour of that God (1). But as upon another Medal struck by the same Emperor in Honour of *Duisanian Hercules*, the Heroe appears with the same Attributes, and as the Surname *Duisaniensis* which is given him, is that of a Place named *Duiz*, 'tis very probable

(1) Tom. II. p. 26, & seq.

probable that *Maguzan* is also a local Name, tho' we know no Place so called.

As for the odd Symbols that accompany the *Hercules* of *Zeland*, we need not be much at a Loss about them ; Islanders having given to the *Hercules* whom they worshipped, Attributes suitable to a God of the Sea. And indeed, had it not been for the Name that is in the Inscription, I would be inclined to take the Figure for a *Neptune*, though his Sceptre has but two Forks, since sometimes that of *Pluto* had three, though it ought to have but two. Besides, every Country frequently varied as to the Symbols of their Gods. The *Maguzan Hercules's*, represented upon the Medals of *Posthumius*, have preserved the Attributes of their God better, though they carry an Air of the Time when they were struck.

The *Gauls* and *Germans* gave other Surnames to *Hercules*. Upon a Statue of Bronze found at *Strasbourg*, since brought into *France*, that God bears the Name of *Krutsanam*, which imports a valiant Man ; and upon an Altar found in *Lorraine*, and represented in *F. Calmet*, that God is named *Sascan* or *Hercules* of the Rocks (1).

JUPITER, or TARANIS.

That *Jupiter* was known and worshipped by the *Gauls*, is a Thing not to be doubted : For, besides that *Cæsar* puts him among the Gods of that Nation, he is represented in the Bas-Reliefs of *Paris* with the Word *Jovis*, which is his true Name, since the *Celtæ*, as has been already said in the History of the *Titans*, called him *Iou*, or the Youth. Mount *Iou* in the *Alps*, called by the *Latins*, *Mons Jovis*, which was consecrated to him, and still bears the same Name, proves both that this God was held in Veneration in the *Gauls*, and that *Iou*, whereof *Jovis* is the Genitive, was his true Name. The Day of the Week that went by his Name, *Dies Jovis*, is still pronounced in all the southern Provinces of *France*, *Di-Jov*. But whether was this God known to the *Gauls* only from the Time of the *Roman*

(1) Hist. of *Lorraine*.

man Conquest, or in antient Times? As to this, Opinions are divided: For my Part, I am persuaded that the *Gauls* worshipped this God before the *Romans*; and since the *Titans* had conquered the *Gauls*, and penetrated into the Heart of *Spain*, as has been said in their History, 'tis more probable, that so soon as that celebrated Conqueror was deified, he was worshipped in all the Bounds of his Empire. The *Gauls* gave him the Name *Taranis*, as we are told by *Lucian*, and offered to him human Sacrifices as they did to *Esus*. We have already said elsewhere (1), that the Surname of *Taranis* answered to that of *Jupiter* the Thunderer among the *Romans*; which proves that they both looked upon him as the God who had Thunder and Lightning at his Command (a). However, that warlike Nation did not reckon *Jupiter* or *Taranis* the first of their Gods, *Esus* or *Mars* was their first and greatest Divinity.

In the mean Time we may suppose, as the Author of the History of the Religion of the *Gauls* remarks (2), that from what Time the *Romans* became Masters of the *Gauls*, the Worship of *Esus* gradually diminished, and that no later than the Time of *Tiberius*, *Jupiter* was become the first God of the *Gauls*.

As for the Statues of the *Jupiter* of that People, the Antiquaries justly look upon them as Monuments that did not begin to appear till they were conquered by the *Romans*; for in antient Times they represented that God only under the Form of an unpolished Oak not cut; whereas the Statues that are transmitted to us resemble pretty much those of the *Romans* both in Taste and in their Symbols. In that which is upon one of the Stones of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*; this God has his Bosom and Right-arm naked, holding a Pike in his Left-hand, and the Right was probably armed with the Thunderbolt, which Time has defaced, or which the Workmen have broke. Another Figure of

(1) History of *Jupiter*, l. 1.

(a) The Word *Taranis* is Celtic in its Original, and comes from *Taran*, which in that Language signifies *Thunder*, or *to thunder*.

(2) Tom. I. l. 2. c. 2.

of the same God; which was formerly at Mount *Iou*, represented him slightly covered with a Cloak, which reached down from his left Shoulder, having the Arms extended, with a radiant Crown, and the Thunderbolt in the Right-hand. Time has preserved to us some others; but they have nothing singular in them (*a*).

C H A P. VII.

Of the Gods of the Gauls whom Cæsar names.

WE have already observed, that a Conqueror, embarrassed with a thousand Cares, has but little Time to inform himself about the Religion of the People whom he subdues; consequently 'tis no Wonder, 1. Tho' *Julius Cæsar* names but five of the *Gællic* Gods, having known neither those whom we have mentioned in the preceding Chapter, nor those whom we are to speak of in the Sequel. 2. Tho' he says that *Mercury* was their principal Divinity, since 'tis certain that it was *Eſus*. However, here are the five whom he names (1), *Mercury*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*.

The *Gauls*, says he, pay the highest Worship to their God *Mercury*, of whom they have a great Number of Statues, and make him the Inventor of all Arts, the God of Traders and Merchants (*b*). *Cæsar* does not say that the *Gauls* gave this God another Name; whereas I am apt to believe, that antiently they knew him not under the Name of *Mercury*, but under that of *Teutates*; but as he saw the Resemblance between the latter and the *Mercury* of the *Romans*, he gave him the same Name as they did, without troubling himself about the Name which he had in the Country. For, in short, 'tis certain that the *Gauls* called

(*a*) See *Montf. Antiq.* v. 1. and *The Hist. of the Religion of the Gauls*, v. 1. l. 2. c. 8.

(1) *De Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

(*b*) *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; cujus sunt plurima simulachra: Hæc omnium inventorem artium ferunt.* *De Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

called this God *Teutates*, as we are told by *Lucan* (1), and that they sacrificed to him human Victims, as well as to *Efus*. *Lactantius* (2) speaks of him in the same Way as the Poet whom I have now quoted: The *Gauls*, says he, propitiated their God *Teutates* by the Effusion of human Blood. *Minutius Felix* (3) says the same, as do all who have made Mention of this God.

As the *Spaniards* likewise worshipped *Teutates*, whose Name is plainly derived from *Tbot*, who was the *Mercury* of the *Egyptians*, and of some other neighbouring Nations, I am persuaded that those had the Knowledge of him from the *Carthaginians*, and that they communicated it to the *Gauls*; for the Religion of those two People had a great Deal of Affinity, as we shall see hereafter.

It will, no Doubt, be objected, that most of the Figures of *Mercury* that have been dug up at different Times, resemble those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and bear the same Symbols, and consequently that it was from them, and not from the *Egyptians* or *Carthaginians*, that the *Gauls* received the Knowledge of him. But I answer, we must have Recourse to the two Periods of Time I have distinguished in the Religion of these People. In the first, they knew *Mercury* only under the Name of *Teutates*, and represented him in several Manners, all of them pretty singular, as may be seen in *Montfaucon* (4), who has given the Figures of a great many of them. In the second, namely, when they were subject to the *Romans*, they adjusted their own Idea of this God to that which their Conquerors had of him, and represented him in the same Manner with them. This Distinction will often be necessary, as we shall see in the Thread of our Discourse. Besides, as the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Gauls*, had all received from *Egypt* the first Knowledge of this God, tho' by different Colonies, they must both have conceived much the same Idea of him, since

(1) *Pharf.* l. 1. (2) *Div. Inst.* l. 1. c. 21. (3) *Ch.* 30.
(4) *Ant. Exp.* Vol. I. Part 2.

since the *Egyptians* themselves accounted him the Inventer of Letters, of Arts, &c.

B E L E N U S, or A P O L L O.

The same *Cæsar*, when he says the *Gauls* worshipped *Apollo*, adds, that they had much the same Sentiments of that God with other Nations, believing him to be the God who removed Diseases; *Eandem fere quam reliquæ gentes habent opinionem, Apollinem morbos depellere* (1). The *Gauls* worshipped this God under the Name of *Belenus*, as is asserted by almost all the Antients, tho' *Cæsar* says nothing of it. M. *Della Torrè*, Bishop of *Hadria*, has made a learned Dissertation upon *Belenus*, wherein he proves that this God had been highly adored at *Aquileia* in *Friuli*, as appears from a great Number of Inscriptions found in that City, and quoted by *Gruter* and *Reinesius*. From *Aquileia*, according to that learned Prelate, the Worship of *Belenus* was introduced among the People of *Noricum*, pretty near to *Aquileia*, as he proves from *Tertullian* (2), who says in his Apologetic, Every People, every City has its tutelar God; the *Syrians*, *Astarté*; the *Arabians*, *Disares*; the People of *Noricum*, *Belenus*, &c. This same Worship, continues he, after having been received in several other Countries, passed at last into the *Gauls*, where *Belenus* became one of the great Divinities of that People (a); but of all the Provinces of the *Gauls*, there was none where he was more worshipped than in *Auvergne* (3) where his Name was a little changed, since upon an Inscription quoted by *Gabriel Simeoni*, he is called *Bellinus*; and in *Aquitania*, or in *Britany*, as may be proved by the Authority of *Ausonius* (4), who being of *Bordeaux*, was very capable to know the Gods and Religion of that Province.

The

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Apol. c. 24.

(a) *Reinesius* does not make the Worship of *Belenus* to have been propagated in the same Order. He pretends, on the Contrary, that it was brought by the *Gauls* into *Aquileia*; but his Sentiment is overthrown by M. *della Torrè*.

(3) See La descript. de la Limagne d'Auvergne. (4) De Prof. Burd. Car. 4 & 10.

The *Gauls* communicated the Knowledge of *Belenus* to the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, who worshipped him, as we are told by *Selden* (1), under the Name of *Belertucades*. *Monfieur de Valois*, in his Account of the *Gauls*, finds also in several other Provinces of those People, Vestiges of the Worship of *Belenus*; and neither he nor the Bishop of *Hadria*, nor the other Authors, make any Doubt of his being the same with the *Apollo* whom *Cæsar* speaks of, as is confirmed by the Inscriptions, which usually join the Name of *Belenus* to that of *Apollo*, *Apollini Beleno*.

If it be now asked, whence came the Worship of *Belenus* to *Aquileia*, and from thence to the other Countries we have named, and what is the Signification of the Name, I answer, that the Name may come from *Βέλος*, an *Arrow*, or with *Vossius* (2), that it was propagated from *Syria* or *Phenicia*, and that it is the same with *Bel*, or *Beelsemen*, that is to say, *the Sun*. The Author now cited is not alone in this Opinion, *Bochart* (3), *Selden* (4), *Reinesius*, *Spon* (5), in a Word, all the Mythologists agree to it, so that to quote Testimonies would be needless.

Though the Authority of the Authors now named be of very great Weight to prove *Belenus* to be the *Bel* of the *Syrians*, yet the Bishop of *Hadria* does not side with them, but opens a new Opinion. He proves, in the first Place, the Distinction between the *Sun* and *Apollo*, upon the same Principles which I have made Use of in speaking of the *Sun* (6), whence he proves, that *Belenus* was indeed the same with *Apollo*; but that he was quite distinct from the *Sun*: The Inscriptions designing *Apollo Belenus*, but never *Sol Belenus*; and by Consequence, he could not be the *Bel* of the *Syrians*, who in Truth was the *Sun*, and not *Apollo*, nor be derived from that Part of the East, where anciently they knew only the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*.

After having demonstrated this Article, the learned
Pre-

(1) De Diis Syr. Synt. 2. c. 1. (2) De Orig. & Progr. Idol. l. 2. c. 17. (3) Geog. Sacr. Part 1. c. 14. (4) De Diis Syr. Syn. 2. c. 7. (5) Misc. Sect. 4. Art. 1. (6) B. 1.

Prelate is of Opinion, that *Belenus* is the same with *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*; the Change of the Aspiration into the Consonant *B*, being a very small Affair. *Antenor*, says he, having set out from *Troy* with *Pyrrhus*, both of them consulted *Helenus*, who, as every Body knows, practised the Art of Prediction; and as he let each of those Leaders know the Course of their Adventures, *Antenor* having crossed the *Adriatic* (for *Pyrrhus* settled in the Western Parts of *Greece*, which from thence got his Name) came into the Eastern Parts of *Italy*, pretty near *Aquileia*, and made *Helenus* be worshipped as a God, who had Insight into Futurity, which was the Reason of confounding him afterwards with *Apollo*. From that Part of *Italy*, the Worship of *Helenus* passed into the *Gauls*, as has been said; or perhaps, adds the Author whose Sentiment I am delivering, some of the *Trojans* who accompanied *Antenor*, left him at the Time of his crossing the *Adriatic* Gulf, came and settled in the *Gauls*, and there established the Worship of this new God.

But to proceed, we are ignorant of the Nature of that Worship which the *Gauls* paid to *Belenus*; and no Author has said that human Victims were offered to him, as to *Esus* and *Teutates*. *Ausonius* (1) speaks of his Priests; but as to the Sacrifices that were offered to him, he gives us no Information; all that he says upon the Subject amounting only to this: That *Atius*, of the Race of the *Druids*, was over the Service of the Temple of *Belenus*, and that he had the Surname of *Patera*; for this was the Name given to the Ministers of *Apollo* by those who were initiated into the Mysteries (a); and in another Place he makes mention of an old Man named *Phæbitius*, a *Druid*, who had been Sacristan of the Temple of the same God; but from all these one may even conclude, that

(1) Loc. cit.

(a) Sic ministros nuncupant

Apollinares mystici. *Auson. loc. cit.*

Non reticebo senum, nomine Phæbitium,

Qui Beleni Æditus, nil opus inde tulit. Id. *ibid.*

that the *Belenus* of the *Gauls*, as I said at first, was the *Apollo* mentioned by *Cæsar*.

Besides the Inscriptions that make Mention of *Belenus*, and which are very numerous, we find also in the *Gauls*, some Monuments of this God. The most curious one is undoubtedly that radiant Head, with a large open Mouth, so long preserved in the Castle of *Polignac*, a Print whereof was given, for the first Time, by *Gabriel Simeoni*. It represents *Apollo* delivering Oracles, as he is thought to have done from a Temple which he had at *Polignac*, a Name derived from that of *Apollo* himself.

The third God of the *Gauls*, whom *Cæsar* names, is *Mars*; but as he, among them, was the same with *Hesus*, I shall add nothing to what I have said of him in the preceding Chapter.

M I N E R V A.

Cæsar, in the last Place, names *Minerva* among the Divinities of the *Gauls*; but we learn nothing concerning her from Antiquity, whether they had got the Worship of her from the *Egyptians* by the *Phœnicians*, or by the *Carthaginians*, who trafficked upon their Coasts; or if they only received it after the *Romans* became Masters of their Country; and what Idea they had of this Goddess, all these are Questions which we cannot now determine. What we know is, that this Goddess was called in the *Gauls*, *Belisana*, and that she was reckoned the Inventress of Arts.

The Antiquaries think they observe upon *Cussi's* Pillar the *Gallic Minerva*. The Helmet she wears is ornamented with a Tuft of Feathers, and the Goddess is leaning upon the Trunk of a Tree, clad in a Tunic without Sleeves, over which is the Robe named *Peplum*, which covers her Body. She has her Feet across, and her Head reclining upon her right Hand. Her Attitude is that of a Person in profound Meditation: Bating this, she has no Resemblance to the *Greek* and *Roman* Figures of this Goddess, and has not the *Egis*, like them.

To conclude, as among the Figures that are represented

sented upon the Pillar I have now mentioned, the last is that of a Man who has his Hands bound, with a sad and dejected Air, seeming to wait till the *Druid* come to give the deadly Blow, and who is undoubtedly the Prisoner whom they were going to sacrifice, it follows, that it was not only to *Esus* and *Teutates* human Sacrifices were offered, but also to the other Gods, and particularly to *Minerva*, who is upon this Monument.

C H A P. VIII.

Of some other Gallic Gods : Of Peninus, Abellio, Dolichenius and Mithras.

WE have seen in the preceding Chapter, that the *Gauls* worshipped *Apollo* under the Name of *Belenus*, and that this God was not the Sun; however, they paid religious Worship to that Luminary, though under other Names. First the *Penini*, Inhabitants of the *Alps*, owned for the Sun the God *Peninus* or *Penin*, whence that Chain of Mountains derived its Name, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (a). *Guichenon*, in his History of *Savoy* (1), has preserved to us the Inscription that was upon the Pedestal of a fine Statue that represented this God under the Figure of a young Man naked, which was conceived in these Terms, *L. Lucilius Deo Penino Optimo Maximo donum dedit.*

We must not however dissemble what we are told by *Cato* and *Servius* (2), that this was not a God, but a Goddess, whom the one calls *Penina*, and the other *Apenina*; but both the Figure and the Inscription inform us of the contrary. The Historian of *Savoy* subjoins these Words: *Upon the Mountain of Little Saint Bernard, which belongs to the Valley of Aoste, is a Pillar of Marble fourteen Foot high, dedicated formerly to the God Peninus, upon which was a Carbuncle, called Peninus's*

(a) Neque Mehercule montibus his ab transitu Pœnorum nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem, in summo sacrorum vertice, Penninum montani appellant. Dec 3. l. 11. n. 38.

(1) Tom. 1. (2) In 3 Æn.

Peninus's Eye. The Statue of that God was afterwards carried off, and that of *Jupiter* put in its Place, and then the Carbuncle was called *Jupiter's Eye*. 'Tis certain, however, that notwithstanding this Change, the Worship of *Peninus* was not abolished; and the Mountaineers continued to pay Adoration to him.

The Learned are at a Loss to find out what God this *Peninus* was. It would appear at first Sight that he was *Jupiter* himself, as the Epithets of *Optimus Maximus* seem to insinuate: But the Author of the *History of the Religion of the Gauls*, proves solidly (i) that he was the Sun, and that the Eye which we have been speaking of was the same with the Eye of *Osiris*, who in *Egypt* represented the Sun, as I have proved in his History; but not to dwell longer upon this Article, I refer to the Author whom I have quoted.

A B E L L I O.

In the Country of the *Cominges*, they adored the God *Abellio*, as appears from three Inscriptions quoted by *Gruter*. That Antiquary, followed herein by *Reinesius*, is persuaded that this God was the same with *Belenus*, worshipped through all *Gaul*, and the last pretends even to derive the Name of *Abellio* from that of *Belenus*.

D O L I C H E N I U S.

In digging the Port of *Marseilles* (2); was found a Groupe of Marble eleven or twelve Foot high, which represented the God *Dolichenus* standing upon a Bull; below which was an Eagle displayed. *Charles Patin* got this fine Marble engraved, and then the learned *Spon* adorned with it his curious *Miscellanies of Antiquity*. As the Figure of the God is in compleat Armour, he was taken at first for the God *Mars*. The Author of the *History of the Gallic Religion*, is persuaded, that it is the Sun, or at least *Jupiter Sol*; but I hold to the Sentiment of *Spon*, who takes it to be *Jupiter* himself: And he relies upon an Inscription consecrated to that God, with this Surname, *Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno*, &c.

T 2

The

(1) V. i. p. 404. & seq. (2) In 1658.

The Name of *Dolichenus* came from *Asia*, and particularly from the Province of *Comagena*, where, according to *Stephanus*, particular Worship was paid to *Jupiter Dolicheus*, whence the Inhabitants themselves were denominated *Dolichenians* : But I refer to what I have said of this God in the History of *Jupiter*.

M I T H R A S.

That the *Persian* God *Mithras* was worshipped in the *Gauls*, is an uncontested Fact. A Figure of this God found at *Lyons*, and designed first by *Gabriel Simeoni* (1), and then by *Spon* (2), and *F. Menestrier* (3), upon which is the Inscription, *Deo invicto Mithræ Secundinus dat*, proves it sufficiently.

When *Simeoni* got the Print of this Figure, it had the Head of a Woman, and that Head is not now upon it, which perplexes the Antiquaries: For in short, say they, *Mithras* was a Male God, and not a Goddess, and the Inscription so designs him : But not to mention here, that they may mistake for a Woman's Face that of a young Man, who never waxes old, whereby the Sun was represented ; 'tis certain that among the *Persians*, as I have proved by the Authority of *Herodotus*, *Mithras* likewise represented the Moon : Thus the *Gauls* might have figured him like a Woman. But I have discoursed so fully of this God in the third Volume (4), that I have nothing here to add, only would have it remarked, that his Worship had passed into the *Gauls* in the Manner as I have said at the Beginning of that Book.

C H A P. IX.

Of other Gods worshipped in the Gauls : Berecynthia, Saturn, Pluto, Proserpine and Bacchus.

SAINTE *Gregory of Tours* (5) informs us, that our *Gauls* worshipped *Cybele*, whom they called *Berecynthia*, from the Name of Mount *Berecynthus* in *Phrygia*, where she was said to be born ; adding, that their
Ido-

(1) Descrip. de la Limagne d'Auvergne. (2) Recher. des Ant. de Lyon. (3) Hist. of Lyons. (4) L. 7. (5) In Vita S. Simpl.

Idolatry towards this Goddess was continued down even to the fourth Century. One Day, says that Writer, as they were leading *Berecynthia* through the Fields and Vineyards, in a Chariot drawn by Oxen, for the Preservation of the Fruits of the Earth, and as the Multitude that followed sung and danced before that Idol, *S. Simplicius*, affected with the Blindness of that idolatrous Herd, having prayed and made the Sign of the Cross, the Statue fell to the Ground, and the Oxen remained immoveable. They offered Victims, and beat the Oxen to make them go forward; but all their Efforts being in vain, there were some of them abandoned that foolish Superstition for ever, and embraced the Christian Religion. The Acts of *S. Symphorian*, published by Don *Ruinart*, confirm one Part of the Recital of *Gregory of Tours*, since we there read, that on a Day consecrated to the Feast of that Goddess, her Statue was drawn by Oxen: But besides these two Authorities, our Antiquaries think they discover the Ceremony which the *Gauls* practised in honour of this Goddess, upon a Coin quoted by *Bouteroue*, which on one Side represents a Chariot drawn by two Oxen, whereon is a Goddess standing.

But we must observe, that this Coin, which is thought to be that of the Inhabitants of *Evreux*, exhibits only one Part of the Chariot, namely that where the Goddess is.

As the *Romans* celebrated such another Feast in honour of this Divinity, 'tis probable that it was from them the *Gauls* learned the Worship of *Cybele*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1) tells us, that *Julian* the Emperor, when he was going to *Persia*, having arrived at *Callinice* a City in *Syria*, on the sixth Day before the Kalends of *April*, or the twenty seventh of *March*, a Day on which they celebrated the Feast in question, stop'd there to perform the Ceremony after the Manner of the *Romans*, who carried about in Procession the Statue of the Mother of the Gods in a Chariot, and

T 3 went

(1) L. 23.

went and washed her in the River *Almon* (a). This Feast, mark'd in the *Roman* Kalendar, and mentioned also by *Ovid* in his *Fasts*, was called *Lavatio*.

Vibius Sequester (1), speaking of the Brook *Almon*, says that it was the Custom to wash therein every Year on the sixth of the Kalends of *April*, the Statue of the Mother of the Gods. The Poet *Prudentius*, who also gives a Description of this Feast, observes, That all the People of Quality in *Rome* attended the Ceremony bare-footed ; and others inform us, that it was frequented by the whole Neighbourhood. Upon their Return, the Procession re-entered *Rome*, surrounded with burning Torches, and Tapers. As every People retained or rejected what they pleased of foreign Ceremonies which they adopted, so it does not appear that the *Gauls* had retained this of washing the Statue of their *Berecynthia*.

But be that as it will, this Ceremony, practised by the *Romans*, and then by the *Gauls*, was derived, like all the rest, from the *Egyptians*, who, as we read in *Clemens Alexandrinus* (2), carried about in their Processions, which they termed *νομασίαις*, the golden Statues of their Gods, two Dogs, an Hawk and an Ibis.

We may observe, that in the Year 1689, there was found in the Garden of M. *Berrier* at the Depth of two Fathoms, under the Ruins of an old Tower, a fine Head of *Cybele*. This Figure, whose Face is bigger than the Life, was taken at first for that of *Isis*, a Goddess peculiarly worshipped at *Paris*, as shall be said afterwards ; but 'tis more probable that it is *Cybele*, though those two Goddesses were often confounded with one another.

There has been another dug up since at the Foot of *Montmartre*, which is of Bronze : The Face thereof is smaller than that of the other now mentioned, and the Turret upon its Head somewhat different. Such are the Monuments and Authorities that prove our antient *Gauls* to have paid religious Worship to *Cybele*.

S A

(a) *Almon* Romæ ubi Mater Deorum Sexto Kal. Apr. Lavatur.

(1) *De Flumin.* (2) *Strom.* l. 5.

S A T U R N.

There is no Doubt but the *Gauls*, after having worshipped Gods unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as has been shewn, adopted afterwards a great Part of the Gods of those two Nations, and at the same Time many of their Fables; of which the following is a very plain Example. *Plutarch* (1) makes one *Demetrius* say, that having visited a certain Island in the Neighbourhood of *England*, he was told that *Saturn* was in another Island not far off, buried in deep Sleep which served for Chains to him, where *Briareus* was his Keeper. 'Tis easy to see the Affinity this Fiction has to what we have related in the History of the *Titans*: But yet I am persuaded that it was not immediately from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, but from the *Carthaginians* that the *Gauls* had received the Worship of *Saturn*. The Reason whereof is very obvious, since these as well as those offered up to him human Sacrifices; whereas when the *Romans* had conquered the *Gauls*, this impious and barbarous Custom had been for a long Time abolished among those Conquerors.

That the *Gauls* offered such Victims to *Saturn* is a certain Fact: *Dionysius Halicarnesseus* (2) says so expressly; and *St. Augustine* (3) informs us not only that *Varro* was of this Opinion; but also that he believed they offered in Sacrifice full-grown Men, while the *Carthaginians*, who had adopted the Worship paid by the *Phœnicians* to *Moloch*, the same as *Saturn*, sacrificed to him only Children.

PLUTO and other Infernal Gods.

Cæsar in his Commentaries (4) tells us that they pretended to be all descended from *Pluto*: *Gallis se omnes a Dite patre progenitos prædicant*; and consequently one might expect in the History of their Religion to meet with several Vestiges of the Worship they paid to this God: And yet we find little or nothing of it. An Inscription upon the Frontispiece of a Temple, quoted by *Gruter* (5), but whose Antiquity is contro-

T 4. verted:

(1) Treat. of the Cess. of Oracles. (2) L. 1. (3) De Civ. Dei. l. 7. (4) L. 6. (5) P. 112.

verted : A dubious Statue upon the Pillar of *Cussi*, and an Expression in *S. Eloy*, who lived about the End of the seventh Century, and which names *Pluto* among the other Gods of *Gaul* ; these are all the Proofs of his having been worshipped by that Nation.

As for *Proserpine*, whom they reckoned their Mother, *Strabo* (1) informs us, that she had a Temple in the *Gauls*, served after the Manner of the *Somothracians*.

An Inscription found at *Nismes*, and another at *Metz*, prove that they also paid religious Worship to the *Parcæ*, and to *Erebus*. Lastly a third, dug up in the Forest of *Bellesme*, explained by the late M. *Baudelot*, and conceived in these Terms,

D I I S I N F E R I S
V E N E R I
M A R T I E T
M E R C U R I O
S A C R U M.

informs us, that they reckoned these three among the infernal Divinities. 'Tis easy to see the Reason why they put *Venus* there, especially in confounding her with *Libitina*, *Venus Libitinaea infera*, the Antients informing us, that at funeral Obsequies the same Victims used to be offered to her as to *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and the other infernal Gods.

As for *Mars*, I don't know that ever the *Greeks* and *Romans* reckoned him of the Order of the infernal Gods. Perhaps our antient *Gauls* might design thereby to point out to us, that so bloody a Deity, who was continually peopling *Pluto's* Kingdom, had a good Title to a Place among the Gods of Hell.

As to *Mercury*, there is no Manner of Difficulty : That God, who was sometimes in *Olympus*, sometimes in the Regions of the Dead, whither he conducted Souls, was equally a celestial and infernal God.

B A C C H U S.

Bacchus was peculiarly worshipped in the *Gauls*, as
is

(1) L. 4.

is proved by several Monuments found in different Places : But he was so especially in a little Island situated at the Mouth of the *Loire* ; and as his Temple (*a*) was served by Women, who celebrated the *Orgies* there, much the same Way as in *Greece*, 'tis probable that it was from the *Oriental*s they had both received his Worship. *Strabo* (1), who speaks of this Island and of the Worship therein paid to *Bacchus*, adds that the Women whom I have now mentioned, took off every Year and put on again on the same Day the Roof of this Edifice, and that before the Sun was set ; and that in the same Space of Time they celebrated the *Orgies*, and were agitated with that fanatic Fury which seized them ; and that if any one of them, by a Thrust from the rest, or by any other Accident, let fall the Load which she was carrying, either in taking off or putting on the Roof, her Companions fell upon her, and tore her in Pieces ; a Madness unknown to the *Greeks* ! Which proves that every Country added or retrenched something in the Worship they had received from other People.

Several Antiquaries take the *Bacchus* of the *Gauls* to have been the same with *Cernunnos*, whom we have mentioned above, in regard that both of them had Horns ; but as other Gods had them too, this I presume is no Reason for confounding them together.

C H A P. X.

Ceres, Proserpine, Diana, and the Moon, Isis and Telephorus.

IT sometimes happens that when Authorities fail, Recourse is had to some Monuments discovered in a Country, to prove that the Gods represented by them had been worshipped there ; though 'tis possible that those Monuments brought from some other Place, may have been there collected upon the Fall of Houses or Temples,

(*a*) This was at best but a very small Chapel, as appears from what follows.

(1) L. 4.

Temples, when they had been deposited either through Design or otherwise; this is what we are to think of *Ceres* worshipped in the *Gauls*. *Montfaucon*, in the second Volume of his *Antiquity explained*, has given a Print of an Altar, upon one of the Faces of which is a *Ceres* with a Torch in each Hand, a Symbol that alludes, as has been said in her History, to the Pains she had been at in searching for her Daughter, whom *Pluto* had carried off.

'Tis true, in a small Island near the Coasts of *Great Britain*, there was a Temple to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and the Worship of those two Divinities, as we are told by *Artemidorus*, cited by *Strabo* (1), had a Mixture of the Ceremonies of that which was paid them by the *Semotbracians*; but as in antient Times the *Gauls* had no Temples, we are from thence to conclude, that they had not the Knowledge of those two Divinities till the Conquest of the *Romans*.

D I A N A.

Diana was highly adored in the *Gauls*, especially in the Forest of *Ardenne*, whence she got the Name of *Arduina*, under which she was known to those People. This Forest, very spacious of old, was consecrated to her, and was properly her Temple. Accordingly, says the Author of the *Gallic Religion* (2), we may judge of the Antiquity of the Worship of *Diana* in the *Gauls*, from the Antientness of her Name; for it is not to be doubted but that the *Celtic* Name *Arduina*, a Word compounded of *Ar* and *Duen*, which imports, *black, gloomy*, and is therefore applicable to Forests, is derived from the Forest which the *Romans* called *Arduenna*: Now 'tis certain that she had this Name long before the *Romans* were Masters of *Gaul*. Though after their Arrival the *Gauls* had accommodated their Ideas of their Gods to those of the Conquerors, yet the Worship which they paid to this Goddess was long kept up, and she still retained the same Name; those too who left the *Gauls*, and went and settled elsewhere, still preserved it to her; so faithful were they

to.

(1) Geogr. l. 4. (2) T. II. l. 4. p. 44.

to their antient Customs, as to observe them religiously even in the midst of Strangers; and this is confirmed by some Inscriptions found in *Italy*, where *Diana* is always named *Arduina*.

As to what remains, the *Gauls*, in the main, had much the same Sentiments of their *Diana* as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and reckoned her a chaste and Virgin-Goddes, who made Hunting her whole Study. As nothing is harder to abolish than antient religious Customs, the Worship of *Arduina* continued in the *Ardennes*, and in the neighbouring Countries upon the *Rhine*, even a good Time after Christianity got Footing, when several Saints, Bishops, or Religious, found the greatest Difficulty imaginable to abolish it.

The M O O N.

Though Antiquity has often confounded *Diana* with the *Moon*, as I have proved in the History of the celestial Gods, yet 'tis certain, that they were more frequently distinguished; and whether the *Gauls* had received Part of their Religion from the *Persians*, or from some other *Oriental* Nations, they distinguished, like them, those two Divinities. The Author of the History of the *Gallic* Religion, proves by a great Number of Testimonies (1), that the Worship of the *Moon* was diffused all over *Gaul*; and that I may not copy him, I refer the Reader to the Book itself.

It was this Goddes, according to him, that was particularly worshipped in the Island of *Sain*, situated upon the South-Coast of the *Lower Britany*, opposite to the Province of *Cornouaille*; though M. de Valois (2) will have it to be *Mercury* that was worshipped in that small Island. 'Tis true, *Pomponius Mela* (3), who speaks of the Oracle that was in that Isle, does not name the Divinity who delivered it; but there are so many Proofs of its having been the *Moon*, that there is no standing out against the Opinion of the learned *Benedictine*, whom I have named. Further, this Oracle was served by young Virgins: They were nine in Number, though at first they were but six, Those

(1) T. II. l. 4. (2) Account of the *Gauls*. (3) L. 3. c. 6.

Those Virgins, *Druidesses* by Profession, vowed inviolable Chastity to the Goddess whom they served, and lived much after the Manner of the *Roman Vestals*.

If we may rely upon the Authors who have given Account of them, they were often consulted, especially for Navigation, and it was firmly believed that good or bad Weather depended upon them, and that the Winds and Tempests were at their Disposal. The Notion that prevailed of their being able, when they pleased, to mount up in the Air, disappear or become visible as they had a mind, contributed not a little to the great Reputation they had acquired. Nothing was so much talked off as their nocturnal Assemblies, the Prodiges they wrought : In a Word, they were looked upon as real Witches who kept their Sabbaths. Nothing is more celebrated among the Antients than those pretended Sorceresses of the Island of *Sain*, whom they designed by the Name of *Gallicæ*.

Farther, they were also named *Senæ*, either from their being at first only six in Number, or because this Name was originally *Celtic*, and signified, *respectable, venerable*. From this Name was the Island which they inhabited called *Sain*.

I S I S.

Though I am very far from giving into the Notion of most Authors of the Antiquities of *Paris*, who alledge that the Name of this Island comes from *Isis*, *para Isidos*, yet it is certain, this Goddess was highly adored in the *Gauls*. Her Statue, which was formerly in the Church of *S. Germain des Prez*, and which Cardinal *Briçonnet*, who was the Abbot thereof, caused to be demolished and reduced to Ashes ; an Inscription found at *Soissons* ; the City of *Melun*, which upon receiving the Worship of this Goddess, changed its Name from *Melodunum* into that of *Iseas*, or *Isea* ; the Town of *Issi*, near *Paris*, whose Name seems evidently derived from that of *Isis* ; the Statue dug up in the Ground of *M. Berrier*, which resembles that of *Isis*, as much as *Cybele's*, if indeed *Isis* and *Cybele* were not one and the same Divinity ; in fine, the Wor-
ship.

ship of this Goddess established in *Germany* (1), chiefly among the *Suevi*, whose Religion had so much Affinity to that of the *Gauls*, whose Original was the same with theirs: All these are undeniable Proofs that *Isis* was worshipped in the *Gauls* (a).

If a Medal of the *Segusians*, which is thought to have been struck before *Cæsar's* Arrival in the *Gauls*, and which on one Side represents the capital City of that People, and on the other a *Hercules* with a small Figure, covered from Head to Foot; if, I say, this Child is *Telephorus*, as some Authors believe, this will be a Proof that the *Gauls* paid some Worship to that God of Health; and I am the more willing to give him a Place here, that *Isis* was also taken for a Goddess who presided over Health, under the Name of *Isis Medica*, as has been said in her History.

C H A P. XI.

Other Gallic Divinities, deified Cities, &c.

UPON the Gate of the *Hotel-Dieu* of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, was formerly a very singular Figure, representing a *Gallic* Divinity, whereof *Gabriel Simeoni* has given a Print in his *Histoire de la Limagne d'Auvergne*. This Figure is a Woman's Head, with Wings displayed above, and two large Scales that rise out of the Place where are the Ears; this Head is encompassed with two Serpents, whose Tails lose themselves in the two Wings.

Simeoni seeing these two Serpents, took the Head for that of *Medusa*; and 'tis indeed that of a young and beautiful Person, as that *Gorgon* was before her Crime had provoked the Indignation of *Minerva*, who transformed her fine Hair into Serpents; but here the Head has its Hair in very good Order, and the Serpents don't seem to make a Part of it.

The Author of the History of the *Gallic* Religion,
who

(1) See the subsequent Book.

(a) We shall enquire, in speaking of the Religion of the antient *Germans*, whence they might have received the Worship of that Goddess.

who gives the Name of *Onuava* to the Divinity whom this Head represents, is persuaded that it is the *Venus Celestis*, or the *Derceto* of the *Phœnicians*, who, *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, was worshipped at *Ascalon*, under a Figure which had a Woman's Head, and the rest of its Body terminating in a Fish (1). That Author adds, that as this Figure is only a Bust, the rest of the Body could not be there represented; but that the Scales which we have mentioned, give us plainly to understand what it would have been, had the Figure been represented at full Length. Then, having Recourse to what Antiquity informs us concerning *Oannes*, *Oen*, and other Sea Monsters (a), the lower Part of whose Body was a Fish's Tail, and concerning Serpents that were acknowledged for Divinities in several Places, he displays a great Deal of Erudition.

Mercel, in his History of *France*, takes this Figure to have been a Hieroglyphic, and a lively Expression of the Mysteries of *Belenus*, one of the great *Gallic* Divinities. For my Part, I am persuaded that this Head is neither *Medusa*, for the Reason I have given, nor yet *Derceto*; for 'tis a mere Conjecture, and quite without Foundation, to alledge that the rest of the Body would have been represented like a Fish, had it been drawn at full Length: No more than a Head was designed, nor indeed would any more have been proper; it is a full Expression of what it was intended to represent; nor yet is it *Belenus*, whom I have proved to have been distinguished from the Sun, not only among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but also among our ancient *Gauls*: But I am of Opinion that it is the Sun himself; for besides one's being inclined to judge thus at first Sight from his Youthfulness and radiant Air, his Wings sufficiently express the Rapidity of his Course, and the Serpents that twine themselves about his Head, plainly denote that he moves round the World in an oblique Circle. May we not farther presume,

(1) See Vol. 1. B. 7.

(a) See what has been said of them in the third Book of the first Volume.

sume, that the two Scales that are in Form of Fins, point out to us that this Luminary surveys the Sea as well as the Land ?

Our antient *Gauls* adored several other Divinities, as the *Sulevæ*, the *Commodevæ*, the *Dufii*, the *Sylvatics*, &c. whom we shall speak of in the Article of the Mother-Goddeses, as also several other Gods and rural Demi-Gods, not unlike the *Fauns* and *Satyrs* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Lastly, other *Genii*, whom they believed to frequent Houses, and to love the Commerce of Women. These last were called among them *Dufii*. St. *Augustine* (1), speaking of those *Genii*, compares them for their Incontinence to the *Sylvans*, *Fauns*, and *Satyrs*, and even goes the Length of asserting, that after the Testimony concerning those Spirits given by Persons worthy of Credit, it would be Impudence to deny that there are some Demons that court the Company of Women. These *Dufii*, whom *Isidorus* of *Seville* (2), says the *Gauls* named *les Velus Pilefi*, from their being overgrown with Hair, were those pretended *Incubi* and *Sucubi*, who in every Thing resembled the *Ephialtes* of the *Greeks*.

I have no Mind to enlarge upon this Subject, nor upon all the Reveries of a Sect of Mystics, which is founded only upon these and the like fantastical Notions. I shall only say, that never was Opinion more general, nor of longer Duration, than that which admitted those Spirits of whom the World was believed to be full, as has been already remarked.

Some Antiquaries pretend that the God *Syleianus*, known only by an Inscription found at *Feurs* in the Forest, was one of those *Dufii*, or *Pilefi*, whom we have mentioned. But 'tis more probable that this is the God *Sylvanus*, who, as I said in the Article of the terrestrial Gods, was worshipped in the *Gauls*, where was a College of his Priests, as at *Rome*, and in several other Places.

Deified Cities.

The *Gauls*, once subjected to the *Romans*, adopted
not

(1) De Civ. Dei. l. 15. (2) Orig. l. 8.

not only several of their Divinities, as we have remarked more than once, but they also, like them, deified their Cities. Thus they ranked among their Goddesses the antient City of the *Edui*, which *Cæsar* and *Strabo* call *Bibraëte*, and which is thought to be *Autun*, tho' *M. de Valois* (1) will have it to be another City; but as the Inscription that speaks of this Goddess, and begins with these Words, *Deæ Bibraëti*, &c. was found (2) at *Autun* itself, in the Bottom of a Well filled up Time immemorial, 'tis probable that *Bibraëte* and *Autun* were the same Town.

Another Inscription dug up at *Vaison*, conceived in these Terms,

M A R T I
E T V A S I O N I
T A C I T U S.

confirms that this City had also received the Honour of Deification, as well as that of *Perigueux*, *Nismes*, and several others.

Besides these deified Cities, the *Gauls* acknowledged *Genii*, who took Care of each particular Province and Canton, as is proved by the Inscription quoted by the learned Father *Sirmond* in his Notes upon *Sydonius Apollinaris*; *Genio Arvernorum Sex. Orcius Suavis Æduus*.

But to lay open the Foundation of this Part of the Pagan Mythology, we must make two Reflections. The first is, what I have from the Author of the History of the *Gallic Religion* (3), that as for the Deification of Cities, we are to know that the Intention of the Authors of those Deifications was to consecrate every City to a certain Divinity, whose Name was sometimes the Name of the City itself, as we see in the Inscriptions of *Bibraëte*, *Vaison*, *Nismes*, &c. and sometimes it was different.

The Foundation of the Worship that they afterwards paid to those Cities, or rather to the *Genius* who protected them, and became their tutelar Divinity, was

(1) *Not. des Gaules* upon the Word *Augustodunum*. (2) In 1619.
(3) Vol. 11. l. 4. p. 206.

was to engage them to take Care of them, to defend them against Enemies, and to remove from them all Evils with which they might be distressed; such as epidemical Distempers, and other Calamities.

The second, which I have already made upon another Occasion, is, that the Names of those tutelar *Genii* were kept secret; lest coming to be known, they should be conjured away; and at last be forced to abandon the Cities that were committed to their Charge, to pass into others; where a more solemn Worship was promised them.

Besides the tutelar Gods I have been now speaking of, there were few Cities in the *Gauls* but had one for whom they had a singular Veneration; witness several Inscriptions quoted by *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, and *Spon*.

But I must not forget the Goddess *Tutela* worshipped at *Bordeaux*, where she had a magnificent Temple, if indeed it was a particular Divinity; for this Name appears to be rather a generical Name than an appellative. Learned Antiquaries take her to have been a Divinity peculiar to Sailors and Merchants who trafficked upon the Rivers, in regard it was a common Practice to put upon their Ships the Figures of certain Gods who gave Names to them; and were called by the Antients *Tutela Navis*, *The Tutelar Divinity of the Ship*, as has been said, when we were upon the Gods *Pataici* (1); but 'tis more natural to think that this *Tutela* was the Patroness of the City *Bordeaux*, as what we have now read seems to prove.

Be that as it will, this Goddess had a Temple in that City; which is called at this Day *the Pillars of Tutela*. It was an oblong Peristyle, each Face of which was supported by eight Columns, and the two Extremities by six. Each of those Columns was so high, that it rose above the highest Edifices of the City. *Lewis XIV* ordered the arched Roofs of this Temple to be demolished, which Time had already damaged, in order to form the *Glacis* which is before the *Château Trompette*.

VOL. III.

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(r) Vol. I. R. 7.

I shall say nothing of some other Gods of the *Gauls*, whose Names occur upon Inscriptions, since Antiquity gives us no Information about them. Such is the God *Lebeven*, in Honour of whom *Domesticus*, the Son of *Rufus*, paid the Vow which he had made to him, as appears by an Inscription found at *St. Bertrand*, the Capital of the Country of *Cominges*. *Keisler*, I know, alledges that he was a Sea-god, but upon what Foundation I know not ; for I have not heard whether he has published the Dissertation upon this God which he had promised (1).

Another Inscription found in the same Country names *Boccus*, whom *Gruter*, who has quoted it, takes to be a God ; but this is all he lets us know about him ; or about *Bacurdus*, whose Name is read in an Inscription of *Cologne* (2) ; or about *the propitious Gods*, *propitiis Deis*, who are mentioned upon another Inscription of *Narbonne*. Whether these were particular Gods, or all the beneficent Deities in general, is what I cannot determine.

The Reader will be little wiser when I have named the Goddesses *Aventia*, whose Name appears upon some Inscriptions found in the *Swiss Cantons*, and *Movistargus*, whose Name occurs upon another Inscription dug up at *Alise* in *Burgundy* ; and tho' it may give him a little more Light concerning the Gods called *Aghoni*, to know that they were worshipped in *Gascony*, and that *Hesychius* reckons they presided over the public Games and Combats ; yet I should but lose Time, and my Reader's Patience, to insist on a *Verjugodamnus* worshipped at *Amiens*, or in that Neighbourhood, where was found the Inscription quoted by *Ducange* (3), a *Dulovius* who was worshipped at *Vaison* in the *Venaissin* County ; and therefore I choose rather to proceed to Divinities more known, as are the *Mother-Goddesses*, of whom I have deferred the Account till now, because they belong equally to the *Gauls*, the *Spanish*, the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, and the *Germans* ; the In-

(1) *Gruter*, p. 1174. (2) *Id.* f. 86. (3) *Diff. sur les Mer. du*
Emp. r. 54.

scriptions that make Mention of them, having been dug up in these several Countries.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Mother-Goddeffes.

IN this Chapter I am to examine who were the *Mother-Goddeffes* in the Pagan World, their Number, their Functions, what Sort of Worship was paid to them, in what Countries they were adored; and lastly, what was their Original.

Among the Monuments we have now remaining of those Goddeffes, there are some *Bas-reliefs*, and a vast many Inscriptions (*a*). The first of the *Bas-reliefs* is at *Metz* upon the Frontispiece of an antient Temple. There we see three Figures of Women standing, two of them holding Fruits like Pine-apples in their Hands; the third seems to have some of them wrapped up in her Robe, with this Inscription :

Those of the Street, or of the Village of Peace, have consecrated to the Mothers this Monument of the Glory of the imperial House.

The second is at *Lyons*, upon the Gate of the Church of *Aisnay* (1). It represents likewise three Women, but in a sitting Posture, with much the same Air, and the same Draperies as those on the Monument of *Metz*. She in the Middle holds in her Hand a *Cornucopia*, with Fruits in her Lap; the other two hold an Apple in each Hand; the Inscription bears, *Matribus Augusti*.

The third is at *Munster-Eilden*, in the Dutchy of *Juliers* (2). There we see also three Goddeffes sitting, whose Laps are full of Fruits, with this Inscription :

Tiberius Claudius Maternus has discharged his Vow to the Mothers or Matrons of Valchlendorf.

At the Bottom of the *Bas-reliefs* is to be seen a
U 2
Priest

(*a*) See *Spon*, *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, the Treatise upon the Religion of the antient *Gauls*, and my Dissertation upon the *Mother-Goddeffes*, printed in the seventh Volume of the *Academy of the Belles Lettres*.

(1) *Menest. Hist. cons. de Lyon*. (2) *Gruter*, p. 91.

Priest and Priestess, accompanied with a *Camillus* or Minister.

The fourth and last was found in a Town of *Zealand* (1), and it represents three Goddesses sitting, by whom is a Priestess standing, while the *Camillus*, who accompanies her, is pouring a Liquor upon the Altar, whose Sides are charged with *Cornucopias*.

From these Monuments and Inscriptions the Learned have delivered their Conjectures with respect to those Goddesses. *F. Menestrier* (2) was of Opinion at first that they were but three in Number, and that they denoted the three *Gauls*: But he had not considered that the three *Gauls* are represented by three Mens Heads, as may be seen upon a Medal of *Galba*, with these Words, *Tres Galliae*. Accordingly that Author quit- ted this Notion afterwards.

M. Keisler has made a Dissertation some Years ago, to prove that the *Mother-Goddesses* were the Wives of the *Druids*, who were in high Veneration among the antient *Gauls*; and he chiefly relies upon *Cæsar's* calling them *Metres Familias*, and upon *Plutarch's* giving them the Epithet of *Sacred*: But we may ask this Author, why the *Gauls* had deified only three of those Priestesses? Were they not all equally consecrated to the Worship of the Gods? Did they not all profess to have the Gift of Prediction? And did not their Ministration render them all equally respected?

Other Authors (3) have contented themselves with saying that the Mothers were rural Divinities, honoured in the *Gauls* and in *Germany* by the Country People; as if their Worship had not been known in the Cities: For, were there no more but the Monuments of *Metz* and *Lyons*, it would still be certain that celebrated Cities worshipped those Goddesses.

Lastly, *Bochart*, and after him *F. Menestrier*, would have those three Goddesses to be the *Parcæ*; and this Opinion, which those two Authors had not well examined, has been supported with a great Deal of Erudition

(1) *Keisler* Diff. (2) *Hist. Conf. de Lyon*. (3) *Cherrier's Hist. of Dauphiny*.

dition by the Author of the History of the Religion of the antient *Gauls*.

All these Antiquaries agree in two Things. The first is, that the *Mother-Goddeses* were only known in the *Gauls* and *Germany*, since, say they, we hardly find either Inscriptions or Monuments of them out of these two Countries. 2. That their Worship is of no great Antiquity, since the most antient Inscription now extant, goes no higher than the Time of *Septimius Severus*.

For my Part, I am of Opinion that these three Goddeses derived their Original neither from the *Gauls* nor *Germans*, and that their Worship is much more antient than is commonly believed. In support of these two Propositions, I am first to speak of the several Countries where Traces are to be found of the Worship of those Goddeses; and, in the second Place, trace their History to its Original. The Proof of the first Proposition will not be difficult. 'Tis certain, in the first Place, that they were known in *Spain*; for Proof of which we have three Inscriptions: One found at *Gironne*, the other in *Arragon*, and a third in *Galicia*. There have been three of them discovered in *England* *. Here then, without going further, is the Worship of those Goddeses established in *Spain* and *England*. It will not be objected, that these two Nations had received it immediately from the *Germans* and *Gauls*; for this will be a begging of the Question; and it might be alledged with as much Probability, that the *Spaniards* had the Knowledge of these three Goddeses from the *Phœnicians*, who had travelled into *Spain* before ever the *Gauls* had penetrated thither. At least, it is very probable that both had received them from the *Romans*, and other People in *Italy*, among whom we find a World of such Inscriptions in Honour of the *Sulevæ*, the *Mothers*, the *Matrons*, the *Junones*, and the like Divinities. But the *Romans* themselves were not the first who worshipped these Goddeses: They had learned from the *Greeks*, to whom those Di-

* *Selden*.

vinities were not unknown, to pay them religious Worship; and this is what has been little considered by those who have treated this Subject: For, not to mention their *Mother Plastene*; who, according to *Pausanias* (1), had a Temple upon Mount *Sypilus*; *Spon* (2) has preserved to us a *Greek Inscription* of the *Mother-Goddesses*, ΑΦΗ, ΜΑΤΡΑΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΟΙΣ; that is, *To Mars, to the Mothers, and to the Discuri*.

The *Greeks* received most of their Divinities from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, by the Colonies that came and settled in their Country. Those Colonies, before they arrived in *Greece*, had left Traces of their Religion in the Islands thro' which they passed; and if in some of those Islands we find the Knowledge of the *Mother-Goddesses*, 'tis not to be doubted but that their Worship is originally from *Phœnicia*. A Passage of *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Marcellus*, evidently proves that they were very well known, and peculiarly worshipped in *Sicily*, and that they had got the Knowledge of them from the *Cretans*, a *Phœnician* Colony. I make use of *M. Dacier's* Translation.

“ There is in *Sicily* a City called *Enguia*, which is of
 “ very great Antiquity, and especially famed for the
 “ Appearance of the Goddesses whom they call *Mo-*
 “ *thers*, ὡς καλεῖται Μητέρας. We are assured that their
 “ Temple was founded by the *Cretans*. There are
 “ to be seen in it great Spears and Helmets of Brass,
 “ whereof some bear the Name of *Merion*, others
 “ that of *Ulysses*, who had consecrated them to those
 “ Goddesses.” Then *Plutarch* tells us, that this City favouring the *Carthaginians*, *Nicias*, one of the chief Citizens, who was for the *Romans*, finding they had a Design to deliver him up to the Enemy, thought of a singular Stratagem to extricate himself. He began by talking dishonourably of those *Mother-Goddesses* and their pretended Appearances; then, as the People were one Day assembled, he feigned all of a sudden to be delirious and frantick, crying out with all his
 Might,

(1) In *Eliac*. (2) C. 13. p. 156.

Might, that he saw those Goddesses ready to take Vengeance upon him. He fell a running about, and while all made Way for him, he by this Means got out of the City, and repaired to a Place where his Wife and his whole Family were waiting for him.

From this Passage it appears that the *Phœnicians* were Worshippers of the *Mother-Goddesses*, and that from the earliest Times; for, since it was they, according to *Plutarch*, had built the Temple of *Enguia* in Honour of these Goddesses, we may conclude that they had a high Veneration for their Persons. Farther, it would seem to have been a prevailing Opinion that they terrified People by their Apparitions; and this perhaps is the Reason why *Theocritus* (1), speaking of the three Nymphs, whom he names *Eunica*, *Malis*, and *Nicæa*, who were probably the same with the *Mother-Goddesses*, says they were a Terror to the Country People.

To what we have now quoted, *Diodorus Siculus* adds that *Merion*, after the Siege of *Troy*, having gone to *Sicily* with some *Cretans*, built there a Temple in Honour of these Goddesses, which was afterwards in high Veneration. We are told, continues this Historian, that it was from *Crete* where these Goddesses were exceedingly revered, and from *Enguia*, that their Worship had been brought into *Sicily*. The mythological Historians, adds the same Author, relate that it was by those Goddesses *Jupiter* of old had been nursed, without the Knowledge of his Father *Saturn*; and that in Recompence for this Piece of Service that God had given them a Place in Heaven, where they form the Constellation of the great Bear; and the Poet *Aratus* has followed this Tradition in his Poem called *Phænomena*. We could not pass over in Silence, continues he, the high Honour which the Devotion of People has conferred upon these Goddesses: For not only the Inhabitants of *Enguia*, but also their Neighbours, offer to them costly Sacrifices, and pay them extraordinary Honours. Several Cities were even enjoined by

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(1) Idyl. 13. v. 44.

the Oracles of *Apollo* to give them Homage, with a Promise of long Life, and all Kinds of Prosperity to their Inhabitants in so doing. In fine, their Worship came to be so much in Vogue, that in the Time of *Diodorus's* writing his History, the Inhabitants of the Country continued to bring them numerous Oblations of Gold and Silver, and but a few Years before had erected to them a Temple, distinguished not only for its Grandeur, but also for the Elegance of its Architecture. This Temple became extremely opulent, since among its Revenues were reckoned three thousand Oxen, and a vast Extent of Ground.

Phœnicia therefore is the Country whence the Worship of the *Mother-Goddesses* had derived its Original; and this is also the Opinion of *Selden* (1), tho' he confounds them with *Astarte*, who, according to him, was the Mother of all the Gods. The *Syrians* multiplied their *Astartè*, and made several of them, whom they named *A'saptai*, whence other People formed their *Cybele*, their *Vesta*, and the *Mother-Goddesses*. Thus it was from the eastern Nations that the Knowledge of these Goddesses came; and since in the *Greek* Inscription of them now remaining, and in one of those from *England*, they are joined with *Mars* and the *Discuri*, or the Sons of *Jupiter*, we cannot doubt of their Antiquity.

But if we would trace back to the first Original of these Goddesses, we should perhaps find it in the ancient Tradition, which held that the World was stored with beneficent or malignant *Genii*. Never was Tradition more universal. To this is owing the Original of *Elves* and their Dens, of *Sylphs*, *Gnomes*, and all the wild Notions invented by the *Cabala*.

In fine, to assign another Original, which will belong more particularly to some of the *Mother-Goddesses*, 'tis very probable that the *Germans* and *Gauls*, who had a peculiar Respect and Veneration for their Women, ranked among them, after the Example of other Nations from whom they had received their Religion,

(1) De Diis Syr. Synt. 2.

gion, those who had distinguished themselves either by their Valour, or by the Invention of some useful Art, or by excelling therein. Thus the *Egyptians* had their *Isis*, the *Africans* their *Minerva Tritonia*, the *Phœnicians* their *Derceto*, the *Greeks* their Mother *Plastena*; lastly, the *Allemands* their *Velleda* (1); for the Name of their *Mother-Goddesses* has not been transmitted down to us.

As to what remains, we know nothing very particular concerning the Worship that was paid to those Goddesses. No Doubt it was the same with that of other rural Divinities; and we may very well conjecture, from their carrying on the *Bas-reliefs* we have now extant, Flowers and Fruits in their Hands, that these were the Matter of the Sacrifices that was offered to them, as well as to the other rural Deities. Honey and Milk were Ingredients in the Oblations that were made them. We may conclude too, from the *Bas-reliefs* of *Zeland*, that there were Priests consecrated to them, and that the Liquor which the Minister pours out upon the Altar, consists of Milk or Wine.

They sacrificed to them also the Hog. This is what appears in the *Bas-reliefs* of *Rome*, upon which are represented Ministers killing one of those Victims, to offer it to the Goddesses, who are there named *Sulvæ* and *Campestres*, and were the same with the *Mother-Goddesses* or *Matrons*. We may remark, by the Way, that the Hog was sacrificed to *Bacchus*, and to the rural Divinities, because that Animal makes great Devastation in the Fields, Gardens, and Vineyards; and for the same Reason the Sow used to be sacrificed to *Ceres*.

The *Gauls*, who paid particular Worship to the *Mother-Goddesses*, built for them little Chapels, which were termed *Cancelli*, brought thither their Offerings, lighted small Tapers in them, and after pronouncing some mystical Words over Bread and certain Herbs, they withdrew those Offerings from the Chapel, and went and hid them either in a hollow Path, or in the Trunks

(1) Cæsar. Com. l. 6.

Trunks of some Trees, believing that by so doing they secured their Flocks from contagious Distempers, and even from Death itself. To this Rite they joined several other Pieces of Superstition, whereof a particular Account may be seen in the old Acts of our Kings, known by the Name of *Capitularies*, and in the antient Rituals where they are prohibited.

These are the more probable Conjectures I had to offer upon a Subject not much minded by other Mythologists. 'Tis surprizing that those who have given ample and learned Treatises upon the Pagan Gods, as *Gerard Vossius*, and even those who had given particular ones upon the Divinities of the *Gauls* and *Germans*, have not examined more narrowly into this Subject. For we are to make no Account of what is said of it by *Schoedius*, who barely copies the few Hints upon it offered by *Selden*.

From the whole we conclude, 1. That the *Mother-Goddesses* were Divinities common to several Nations, and that the Names which they bear in Inscriptions, were the Names of the Places where they were worshipped. Thus those wherein we read *Matribus Gallicis*, denoted the *Mother-goddesses* of *Gallicia*: And accordingly the Monument upon which is this Inscription, was found at *Corona*, a City in *Gallicia*. The Mothers of *Vaccelli* are those of an old Town in antient *Germany*, which *Gruter* names *Vachlendorf*. The *Rumaneæ*, those who were worshipped at *Rhumaneim* in the Country of *Juliers*; and so of others.

2. That the Goddesses were peculiarly worshipped in the *Gauls* and in *Germany*, since in these two Countries were found most of the Monuments now extant; but that it is a Mistake to alledge, that among these two People they had their Original; since they were known in several other Places.

3. That they presided over the Fields and the Fruits of the Earth; whereof the Cornucopia which they bear upon Monuments, and the Fruits that were offered to them in Sacrifice, are convincing Proofs. It cannot however be denied, whatever some Antiquaries may

may say, that they were worshipped in the Cities, as appears from the Monument of *Lyons*, and from some others, as has been said.

4. That their Worship was not limited to rural Things, since they were invoked not only for the Health of the Emperors and their Families, but also for that of private Persons : In Proof of which I shall offer two Examples. The first is taken from an Inscription found in *Pannonia*, to this Effect : T. Pompilianus Tribune of the Soldiers of the first Legion Minervia, has discharged his Vow by offering an Altar and a Table to the Matrons of Offen, and to the Mothers of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which Vow he had made for the Preservation of the Emperor Sept. Severus, and his whole Family. The other Inscription which relates to private Persons, is conceived in these Terms : Julius Regulus, Soldier of the sixth Legion the Antonian, cheerfully pays the Vow which he had made to the Mother-Goddesses, for himself and his Family.

5. That I had Reason to alledge that the Mother-Goddesses were often confounded with the particular Genii of each Place, or with the *Junones*, who were the Genii of the Women ; with the *Sulevæ*, the *Commodevæ*, the *Matrons*, the *Silvaticæ*, and other such rural Divinities. Of all the Examples I might bring in Proof of this last Proposition, I shall single out but two : Others are to be found in *Gruter*, *Reinesius*, *Spon*, and the other Antiquaries. These I take from the Inscriptions of the *Gabians*, whereof the one cited by *Stephen Brœlman* (1) in his History of *Cologne*, is conceived in these Terms : *Matronis Gabiabus*. The other which we find in *Gruter*, Page 91, bears, *Junonibus Gabiabus* : Whereby it evidently appears, that the *Junones*, the *Genii*, and such like Divinities, were the same with the Mother-Goddesses. It appears likewise from all that I have said, that their Worship was not confined to the *Gauls* and *Germans* alone, since it was as antient as that of the other Pagan Divinities ; and that their true Original is to be traced in *Phœnicia*,
whence

(1) Specim. Hist. Agrip.

whence came most of the Gods known in the West.

6. Lastly, that the Mother-Goddesses were served by Priestesses, and that their Priesthood was called *Sacer Matratus*, as you would say, *The sacred Order of the Mother*. Upon an Inscription found not long ago near *Cologne*, upon an Altar dedicated to the Goddesses *Semele* and her Sisters, we find the *Regina Materna* who had the Oversight of the Worship of those Goddesses, is designed Priestess of the Ladies or Mother-Goddesses of the Place, and that she herself had erected that Monument in Acknowledgment of the Honour done her in being invested with that Priesthood. *Regina Materna ob honorem sacri Matratus aram posuit*. Hence we may conclude, that the Daughters of *Cadmus*, *Semele*, *Autonoe*, *Ino*, and *Agave*, were looked upon in the *Gauls* and *Germany* as Mother-Goddesses, since *Regina Materna*, who values herself on being Priestess of these Goddesses, was one of the Daughters of *Cadmus*; for the Reasoning of the Author of a Dissertation upon this Inscription, published in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, July, 1738, to me appears just. I suppose, says the Author, that the *Sacer Matratus* implied the Right of Sacerdotal Dignity or of Priesthood to the Goddesses, to whom the Altar in Question is dedicated; and as this was to *Semele* and her Sisters, and as this *Materna* is there said to be Mother born, and further to be honoured with the sacred Dignity of the *Matratus*, 'tis natural to conclude from hence that the same Dignity was what concerned the Worship of *Semele* and her Sisters, who consequently must needs have been Mother-Goddesses of the Canton where the Inscription was dug up.

But whatever be in that, 'tis certain from the Discovery of this Monument, that the Worship of the Daughters of *Cadmus* had been propagated to the *Gauls* and into *Germany*, and that we are to reckon those four Goddesses among those who were there the Objects of Adoration.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Religion of the Inhabitants of Great Britain.

I Shall not insist long upon the Religion of that People, because it was almost entirely like that of our *Gauls*; the Divinities, Worship, and Priesthood the same.

Tacitus (1) expressly says, that the *Angles* had the same Superstitions with the *Gauls*, as also the same Fierceness in Battle, and much the same Language. *Cæsar* (2) had the same Opinion with *Tacitus*, and the other Historians differ from them but little. In the Beginning of this Book we have seen that the *Druids* were equally respected in *Britain* as in the *Gauls*; that among both they were Ministers of Religion, and that those of the former were even accounted more knowing and intelligent than those of the *Gauls*, who sent their Students to be instructed by them in the more profound Mysteries. The *Angles*, as well as the *Gauls*, had other subaltern Ministers, the *Bards*, and the *Eubages*, who had the same Functions among both: It has been also remarked, that the same *Britons*, as well as the *Gauls*, paid a particular Worship to the Mother-Goddeses, and that their Monuments had been dug up among them, as well as in the *Gauls*.

We may add farther, that according to *Cambden* and *Seldon* (3), their God *Balatucadua* was the same with the *Belenus* or *Apollo* of our *Gauls*, and that both Nations paid him the same Worship; that they both worshipped *Dis*, or *Pluto*, and *Samothes*. In fine, to compleat the Parallel, *Tacitus* (4), and *Dion Cassius* (5), tell us that they both offered to their Gods human Sacrifices.

'Tis proper however to observe, 1. That as *England* was invaded by different Nations, especially by the *Picts* and *Saxons*, not to mention others, 'tis very probable that those Conquerors introduced thither the
Know-

(1) In Agric. c. 11. (2) De Bell. Gall. l. 6. (3) De Diis Syr. Syn. 2. c. 3. (4) Loc. cit. (5) L. 6c.

Knowledge of some of their Gods: And of this Number perhaps was their *Andate*, the Goddess of Victory, to whom they paid particular Worship.

I observe, in the second Place, that we are here to apply the same Distinction which we had Recourse to in the History of the Religion of the *Gauls*, namely, that we must have Respect to the Period of Time; and that the Religion of the *Angles* could not but assume a new Shape, upon their being conquered by the *Romans*, who undoubtedly also introduced among them the Knowledge of several of their Gods.

3. That as it is certain the *Phœnicians* from the earliest Times had great Commerce with *Britain*, whence they exported every Year a vast Quantity of Tin, they perhaps had left them the Knowledge of some of their Gods. I say perhaps, because no Vestiges thereof have been found in the Country; besides, it is not usual for Merchants to talk about Subjects of Religion with those among whom they come only to trade, and in whose Ports they only spend as much Time as is necessary for making up their Cargoes. This accounts for our being so little acquainted with the Gods of that People, to whom we should have been yet greater Strangers had it not been for their Nearness to the *Gauls*, whose Religion is better known to us.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Religion of the antient Iberians or Spaniards.

IT is not, I think, to be doubted that the antient *Spaniards* received their Religion first from the *Phœnicians*, and then from the *Carthaginians*. 'Tis certain, as the late M. *Huet*, Bishop of *Avranches*, has proved in his learned Treatise of *the Commerce of the Antients*, that both those Nations had great Commerce with the *Spaniards*, especially with those who inhabited *Betica*, the present *Andalusia*, where they came principally to traffic in Gold, which was then very common in that Country. This being supposed,
it

it appears evident, that both those Nations would teach them a Part of their Religion, and introduce among them the Worship of some of their Divinities. The Fact at least is certain as to the *Phœnician Hercules*, he who is said to have raised upon the Borders of the Ocean those famous Pillars, to shew that this was the Extremity of the known World, and that there was no passing farther. This *Hercules* accordingly, was highly adored afterwards in the Country, and Antiquity makes mention more than once of the famous Temple which he had at *Gades*, or *Cadiz*. And yet, either for Want of antient Historians, or for Want of Curiosity on the Part of the Inhabitants, there are few Countries in the World whose Religion is less known to us than that of the antient *Spaniards*. The Historians, especially *Mariana*, who make *Spain* to have been peopled by a Colony planted by *Tubal*, about an hundred and thirty one Years after the Deluge, vent nothing but Fables, no less gross than ill matched.

Not but that some antient Monuments have been dug up in that Country from Time to Time; but most of them have been quite mangled, and all we can draw from them is mere Conjecture almost quite destitute of Proofs. Several of them have been dug up in different Places, with *Hercules's* Name upon them: Which proves that the Worship of that God had passed from *Cadiz*, where it was first established, into the neighbouring Provinces.

We also read upon a good many more that are to be seen in *Gruter* and *Reinesius*, the Name of *Endovellicus* joined with that of *Hercules*, and sometimes by itself; and most of those Monuments have been dug up near the City *Oscæ*, the present *Villa Viciosa*. No body doubts but this *Endovellicus* was a God peculiar to *Spain*: But whether he was the same with *Hercules*, as some Authors alledge, or a different Person, is not easy to determine. However, as in one of those Inscriptions we read

HER-

HERCULI P.

ENDOVELL.

TOLET. V. V.

DEIS TUTELARIBUS.

It would seem that these two Gods were distinguished in *Spain*; for if they had been the same, we should have had Tutelary God, and not Gods in the Plural.

As we know not what Sort of God this was whom they worshipped in *Spain*, the only Country where his Name has been found, the Learned have given themselves Scope, and vented several Conjectures on this Subject. Some are of Opinion, that it was the God *Mars*, who was worshipped in *Spain*, as we shall see afterwards: Others have alledged, that he was the *Cupid* of the antient *Iberians*, or *Hercules* himself, both their Names being found in one of those Inscriptions; but not to dwell on this, I refer the Curious to the Dissertation of *Reinesius*, to that of an *Allemand*, who takes the Name of *Ludovicus Alphonse*, and lastly, to that of M. *Freret*, whereof a Copy is printed in the Historical Part of the third Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1).

We also learn from the Antients, that the *Spaniards* worshipped *Pluto*, or rather *Muth*, or *Death*, as did the *Phœnicians* (a). And those who admit the History of the *Titans*, in the Manner as I have given it, will find no Difficulty to believe that they worshipped this Prince in the Country which fell to his Lot, and where he ended his Days.

Mercury, or *Teutates*, was a God very much revered among the *Spaniards*, as he was among the *Gauls*. *Titus Livius* (2) tells us there was at new *Carthage* an Eminence, which was called *Mercury Teutates*; and I doubt not, as I have already said, but that the *Spaniards* had received the Knowledge of this God immediately from the *Phœnicians* or *Carthaginians*, and afterwards communicated it to the *Gauls*; but whether the former offered to him human Sacrifices, as these did;

(1) P. 191.

(a) See the Fragment of *Sanchoniathon*, Vol 1. B. 2.

(2) Dec. 4. l. 6. c. 44.

did, is not known. 'Tis however very probable that both of them gave him the same Worship, since it was derived to them in the same Way. Besides, we learn from *Strabo* (1), that the *Lusitanians*, now the *Portuguese*, a People in *Spain*, offered to their Gods the Captives whom they had taken in War ; and as that Author gives a pretty circumstantiate Account of this Matter, I shall quote what he says upon it. “ The *Lusitanians*, says he, frequently offer Sacrifices, “ and carefully consider the Entrails of the Victim, “ without however making any Incision upon them. “ They observe with the same Attention the Veins, “ especially those of the Sides, and make Use of the “ same Entrails in Divination, by touching them “ with the Hand. To the same Use they apply those “ of the Captives whom they have offered in Sacri- “ fice, after having covered their dead Carcases with “ Callocks. After they have cut out their Entrails, “ the Soothsayer draws the Omen from the Carcase “ itself ; then cutting off their Hands, they conse- “ crate them to their Gods.”

That People worshipped likewise the God *Mars*, as we are told by the same Author (2), and to him they sacrificed Goats, Horses, and their Captives. They offered also, after the Manner of the *Greeks*, Hecatombs upon certain Occasions. What was singular herein, the Inhabitants of *Cadiz* represented this God like *Apollo*, or rather the *Sun*, having his Head encircled with Rays, from a Belief that the Heat of the Blood and violent Motion of the Spirits, which, according to them, formed Warriors, were immediately produced by the Sun.

Strabo does not inform us what Name they gave to the God of War ; but as *Macrobius* says, the *Accitani-ans*, another People of *Spain*, paid also a particular Worship to the same God, whom they called *Neton* (a), 'tis very probable that the *Lusitanians* gave him the same Name.

VOL. III.

X

The

(1) L. 7. p. 106. (2) Ibid.

(a) Simulachrum Martis radiis ornatum magna religione col-
bant, Neton vocantes. *Sat.* l. 6. c. 19.

The *Celtiberians*, as we are told by *Strabo*, and those who inhabited towards the northern Parts of *Spain*, worshipped an anonymous God, a God unknown ; and the Worship which they paid to him, consisted in assembling together, each with his own Family, at the full Moon, to dance all Night by the Gates of their Houses.

This is nearly what we know as to the Religion of the antient *Spaniards*, or *Iberians* ; but as they had received several of their Gods from the *Gauls*, as well as communicated to them the Knowledge of some of theirs, hence the Religions of both People bore a considerable Resemblance to one another : However, we nowhere find that the *Spaniards* had *Druids*, and consequently their Priesthood was different from that of the *Gauls*.



B O O K VII.

Of the Religion of the antient Germans, and some other Northern Nations.

WITHOUT entering into the Question debated among the Learned, whether the *Gauls* peopled *Germany*, as some are of Opinion, or rather, if it was not the *Germans* who first came from the North, that gradually extended themselves to the South, and spread over *Gaul* and *Spain*, which I reckon more probable ; 'tis at least certain that both these Nations were *Celtæ*, and had the same Original. Hence that Conformity in Religion, which is so remarkable, that they worshipped almost all the same Gods. Neither of them had any other Temples but the sacred Groves, for which they had a high Veneration ; nor other Statues of their Gods, but the
Trees,

Trees, reckoning it derogatory to the Divinity to represent him in any Manner whatsoever, which is to be understood of both only with Regard to their Primitive Religion. These Groves bore also the Names of the Gods to whom they were consecrated. This Conformity in Religion will make it superfluous for us to dwell long upon that of the antient *Germans*, to which we may apply a Part of what we have said upon that of the *Gauls*.

However, as every People takes a Liberty to make what Innovations they think proper in the Religion of their Forefathers, frequently introducing new Gods in the Place of the old ones; and as they seldom fail to adopt those of the Countries which they come to inhabit, so we shall find some Difference between the Religion of the *Gauls* and that of the *Germans*.

The Priesthood accordingly was not the same: For the *Germans* had not *Druids* like the *Gauls* and Inhabitants of *Great Britain*, tho' each of the three Nations had a great Respect for their Priests. Those of the *Germans*, according to *Tacitus* (1), had great Credit, and they alone were permitted to chastise any one, to bind and beat him; and, for the most Part, it was not to punish the Person whom they dealt with, for Faults he had committed, nor was it in Obedience to the Orders of their Superiors, but, said they, because such was the Pleasure of the Gods. Again, it was their Province to remove from the sacred Groves the Representations of their Gods, which they carried into the Field of Battle: What those Representations of their Gods were, the Author does not say; he only assures us, that they had no Statues, so that it seems difficult to reconcile the two Passages which I am going to cite: *Effigies & signa (Deorum) extracta lucis in praelium ferunt Cæterum nec cobiberi parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilari, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur.* They were probably

X 2

some

(1) De Mor. German.

some rough Symbols, such as the Sword, by which the *Scythians* represented the God *Mars* (a).

Bating these Particulars, the two Religions bore a great Resemblance to one another. As *Julius Cæsar* of all the Antients has given the fullest Account of the Religion of the *Gauls*, so *Tacitus* is he who has enlarged most upon that of the *Germans*. For whether it was that *Cæsar* did not sufficiently know that People, or that not having conquered them, he was the more indifferent about studying their Manners and Religion ; or lastly, that from his Time to *Tacitus*, the Religion and Manners of that antient People had undergone many Changes, the first only says : “ The *Germans* own no other Gods but those
“ whom they see, and from whom they derive some
“ sensible Benefit, the Sun, *Vulcan*, and the Moon :
“ As to others, they have not so much as heard of
“ their Names (b).” *Tacitus*, in his Book intitled *De Moribus Germanorum*, and in several Places of his History, is very full and particular upon this Subject ; and I cannot do better than lay together here the whole of what he delivers, with the Addition of some short Reflexions.

In the first Place he says, in the Beginning of that Book, the *Germans* acknowledged a God *Tuiston*, who derived his Original from the Earth, and had a Son named *Mannus*, of whom that People was descended: This *Mannus* had three Sons, who gave their Names to the *Ingævones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istævones*, to whom were also joined the *Marsi*, the *Gambrivii*, the *Suevi*, and the *Vandals*. As the *Germans* wrote nothing,

(a) The Custom of carrying the Images of the Gods to War, was established among several Nations in *Allemania*, such as the *Cimbres*, the *Ambrons*, the *Germans*, and, to comprehend almost all, the *Celts*; whence the Author of the History of the *Gallie* Religion, Tom. 1. p. 7. concludes, that they had learned this Custom from the *Philistines*, who in like Manner carried their Gods to War, or even from the *Hebrews*, who had frequently in their Camp the Ark of the Covenant.

(b) *Germani Deorum numero eos solos ducunt quos cernunt, & quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, Vulcanum, Lunam. De Bell. Gall. l. 6.*

thing, any more than the *Gauls*, it was in Verses got by Heart that those ancient Genealogies were contained.

The *Alleman* Authors, and *Schoedius* in particular, who has composed a very learned Treatise upon the *German* Gods, have tortured themselves in explaining those Genealogies, alledging, that they discovered in the Words quoted by *Tacitus*, Terms of the *Teutonic* Language, which is not without Foundation. For my Part, I am apt to think that *Tuiston*, as to his Original, was quite unknown, and that this is the Reason why he was said to be the Son of the Earth. As for his Son *Mannus*, it signifies, in the Language of the Country, *a Man*. As the same *Tacitus* tells us, that an Ambassador of the *Tencteri*, a *German* Nation near the *Rhine*, gave Thanks to the Gods of the Country, and particularly to *Mars*, Chief among them, in regard that those of *Cologne* were re-united to the *Germanic* Body, we may consequently conclude, that *Mars* was the first and principal God of that warlike Nation ; and *Vossius* (1) thinks he was among the *Germanians* the same with the Sun : But *Tacitus* says, in another Place, that *Mercury* was their chief God ; *Deorum Maximum Mercurium colunt*, and that they offered to him human Sacrifices. A remote People, in the Extremities of *Germany*, says the same Author (2), worship *Cybele* in a singular Manner, since their Worship consists in carrying, in the Feasts of that Goddess, the Figures of Boars ; which serve instead of Arms Offensive and Defensive, to those who carry them, and shelter them from every Danger, even in the Midst of Fire and Slaughter.

Tacitus, in this Place, undoubtedly speaks conformably to the Ideas of the *Romans* : We may however presume, that this Nation paid particular Worship to the Earth, reckoned by all Idolaters the common Mother of Gods and Men. Those Barbarians were probably much addicted to Hunting, and lived upon the Boars they slew, these Animals being common in

X 3

the

(1) De Orig. & Prog. Idol. l. 2. c. 15. (2) De Mor. German.

the Forests, and accordingly offered of them to her in Sacrifices ; for the Victims were always taken from such Things as were for Food.

“ A Part of the *Suevi*, says he again, sacrifice to
 “ *Isis* : How they came to adopt that foreign Divi-
 “ nity is what I know not : Only the Figure of a Gal-
 “ ley, under which they represent her, shews that she
 “ had been brought to them from some other Place.
 “ The same People, continues he, worship the Earth,
 “ whom they call *Herta*, and *Cybele* the Mother of
 “ the Gods. They are persuaded from the Greatness
 “ of the heavenly Objects, that the Gods are not to
 “ be fashioned into a Resemblance of human Figures,
 “ nor confined within Walls ; and therefore, instead
 “ of Temples, they consecrate to them Groves and
 “ Woods, and give the Names of their Gods to those
 “ secret and recluse Places, to which they hardly dare
 “ to lift up their Eyes, so great is the Veneration
 “ they have for them.”

“ They are more observant than any other Nation,
 “ of the Flight of Birds, and make Use of Lots, in
 “ which they put great Faith, though their Manner
 “ of taking them is very simple. They cut down a
 “ Branch of a Fruit Tree, and then divide it into se-
 “ veral small Parts, on each of which they put a par-
 “ ticular Mark, and then throw them all at random
 “ upon a white Vestment. If the Consultation is
 “ public, he who presides is the chief Priest of the
 “ Nation ; if private, it is the Master of the Family,
 “ who, after putting up a Prayer to the Gods, and
 “ raising his Eyes to Heaven, takes up the Twigs
 “ three Times, and interprets them according to the
 “ Marks with which they are distinguished. If they
 “ are not favourable, they consult no more for that
 “ Day ; if, on the contrary, they prognosticate good,
 “ they likewise have Recourse to the Auspices, which
 “ they take from the Chirping and Flight of Birds,
 “ and from Horses, which are maintained at the pub-
 “ lic Charge in those Sacred Groves. The Colour
 “ of these Horses is white ; and they are never em-
 “ ployed

“ ployed in any Work. The Priest, with the King,
 “ or the Head of the Nation, yoke them in a sacred
 “ Chariot, go along with them, and observe their
 “ snorting and neighing ; and there is no Omen on
 “ which they lay greater Strefs than upon that which
 “ they take in this Way (a).”

“ They have also another Sort of Omen, to which
 “ they have Recourse in Time of War, in order to
 “ know the Event. For this Effect, they endeavour
 “ by all Means to get one of the Enemy into their
 “ Hands, whom they match in a Duel with one of
 “ their own Party ; and they believe the general Ad-
 “ vantage will be on his Side who gains the Victory
 “ in the single Combat.”

“ The *Suevi*, continues the same Author, assembled
 “ together by their Deputies, at a certain Season of
 “ the Year, in a Wood, which the Religion of the
 “ Country had consecrated, and ushered in the hor-
 “ rid Ceremonies by putting a Man to Death. *Stata*
 “ *tempore in sylvam,*

“ *Auguriis patrum & prisca formidine sacram,*

“ *omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæ-*
 “ *soque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrendæ*
 “ *primordia.*”

To proceed, *Hercules*, according to the same Au-
 thor, was one of the great Gods of the *Germans*, and
 to him, as also to *Mars*, they offered animal Sacrifices:
Herculem ac Martem concisis animalibus placant.

The *Naharvali*, another German Nation, had a
 consecrated Grove, whose Priest was dressed like a
 Woman. The *Romans* believed that the Gods wor-
 shipped therein were *Castor* and *Pollux*, in regard they
 were Brothers, and both young ; but in their Country
 this God was named *Alcis* (b), and no Statue of him

X 4

was

(a) Almost all the Nations of the World have given into this
 Superstition mentioned here by *Tacitus*, each of them employing
 therein particular Rites of their own.

(b) *Apud Naharvalos antiquæ religionis lucus ostenditur : Præ-*
fidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu. Sed Deos interpretatione Romana
Castorem

was to be seen. The *Roman* Historians, in short, had no other Foundation for their Opinion but a Tradition, that the *Argonauts*, in their Return from *Colchis*, had embarked again upon certain Rivers, as shall be said in their History (1), and entered into the northern Seas. Probably it was also from the long Wanderings of *Ulysses* they came to say that there were Vestiges of his having been in the same Countries, and that certain Honours were paid to him ; but the Historian himself who relates this Fact, seems to give no Credit to it.

Though the *Germans* had no *Druids*, as has been said, yet it was in the sacred Groves they kept the Representations of their Gods, like the *Gauls* ; and they were not permitted to place them elsewhere. In the same Grove did both of them offer their Sacrifices, and of all Trees the Oak was most respected by each Nation : No Sacrifice was offered, either in the *Gauls* or in *Germany*, till they had first covered the Altar with Leaves and Branches of that Tree. The *Greeks*, to mention it by the Way, did the same ; *Apollonius Rhodius* (2), speaking of the solemn Sacrifice offered by the *Argonauts* before their setting out, says, after raising an Altar upon the Sea-shore, they covered it with Branches and Leaves of the Oak.

I might carry on the Parallel between the Religion of those two People to a greater Length ; but I shall only instance in two other very plain similar Characters. The first is, that in their Religious Assemblies, as well as in those that were merely Civil, both of them appeared in Arms. The second is, that unhappy Conformity in human Sacrifices, which both of them offered up to their Gods. Some modern Authors, I know, will have it, that those two Nations did not really sacrifice Men to their Gods ; that the Ground of the Mistake is, that they actually did put to Death their

Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ejus numinis nomen, Alcis. Nulla simulachra, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium. Ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. De Mor. Germ. Num. 43.

(1) B. vi. (2) Argon. l. i.

there Captives shut up in those large Machines which, as we said, they made Use of upon that Occasion; but that this barbarous Custom was not a Sacrifice: A mere Allegation which all Antiquity flies in the Face of; for not only *Cæsar*, but *Tacitus*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and many others declare the Fact so peremptorily, that it is not possible to clear our Ancestors from the Imputation. Had I a mind to make a vain Ostentation of Erudition, I might quote all the Passages of those antient Authors, but the Thing is too well known, and at the same Time too certain, to need to be insisted upon at greater Length: Let us return to our antient *Germans*.

Tacitus, having spoke of their Gods, goes on to mention several religious Customs that prevailed among them. One of the most singular is what, according to this Historian, was practised in Honour of *Cybele*, or the Earth, who was called in the Country *Herta*, in an Island of the Ocean inhabited by the *Germans*: and though I have mentioned it in the first Volume, yet I judge it proper to quote here the entire Passage of this Author.

“ In an Island of the Ocean is a sacred Grove, in
 “ the midst whereof a covered Chariot is religiously
 “ preserved, which none are permitted to touch but
 “ the Priests; and he alone knows the precise Time
 “ when the Divinity of the Place vouchsafes her Pre-
 “ sence therein. Then that Minister yokes in the
 “ Chariot two Heifers, puts them forward, and accom-
 “ panies them with profound Veneration. In every
 “ Place which the Divinity deigns to visit, nothing is
 “ to be seen but Festivals and Rejoicing: War ceases,
 “ they lay down their Arms, and this is the only Pe-
 “ riod that they enjoy Peace and Quiet; which con-
 “ tinues no longer than till the Priest, perceiving the
 “ Goddess to grow sick of the Society of Mortals, leads
 “ her back to the sacred Grove, where the Chariot, the
 “ Vail with which it was overspread, and the Goddess
 “ herself, if you will take their Word for it, are plunged
 “ into a secret Lake, into which the Ministers throw
 “ themselves in after her. Hence arises among that
 “ People

“ People a religious Terror, and a holy ignorant Admiration of what those may be supposed to see who thus resolutely perish.”

To these Passages touching the Religion of the antient *Germans*, *Tacitus* adds others with respect to their Manners, which are not to my Purpose. I only single out that of their Women, commonly as handsome and pretty as they are chaste and virtuous. The *Germans*, says he, have a vast Value and Respect for their Women, in whom they think they discern something heavenly and divine. They impart to them the Knowledge of their most secret and most important Affairs; and often even intrust them with the Care thereof, as well as with the Administration of what concerns the public Good. However, they don't go so far, continues he, as to account them Divinities.

From all that I have drawn together from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, for the other Antients, *Strabo*, *Mela*, and in a Word, all those who speak of this antient People, are quite silent as to their Religion, it appears, 1. That the *Germans*, especially in the earlier Times, worshipped the Stars and Elements, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, that is the physical Beings that were the first Gods of all idolatrous Nations. 2. That they wrote nothing, contenting themselves with learning by Heart whatever concerned Religion and the Worship of the Gods. 3. That their only Temples, as well as those of the *Gauls*, were the Woods, which they hardly durst look upon, so great was their Veneration for those sacred Places. 4. That they were forbid to picture and make Images of their Gods; and yet that the former had certain Representations of those same Gods, which they carried to the Field of Battle, though we know not what those symbolical Representations were. 5. That in their Sacrifices they offered up Victims and Animals, as all other idolatrous Nations. 6. That they offered human Sacrifices, especially to *Mercury*, and in the Assemblies I have mentioned. 7. That their principal Divinities were the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Mercury*, or rather *Teutates*, *Vulcan*, *Tuiston* the Son

Son of the Earth, that is an unknown God, *Mars*, or the God of War, *Cybele*, or rather the Earth, *Isis*, *Hercules*, *Alcis*, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, &c. 8. That they were much addicted to the Science of *Augury*, to *Divination*, and other Superstitions that were peculiar to themselves. Lastly, that they had a high Veneration for their Priests, who had a vast Influence over them.

This is the Amount of all that the Antients knew concerning the Religion of the *Germans*; which is not surprizing, those People being very little known to them, and not being subdued till very late; whence I think one may conclude, with a great deal of Reason, that they preserved their primitive Religion longer than the *Gauls*, who were subject to the *Romans* long before them. However, as they were at last subdued in their Turn, there is the highest Probability that they adopted afterwards a Part of the Religion of their Conquerors.

As the Gods whom I have now named are pretty well known, and as I have spoke of them before, it will not be expected I should imitate the Conduct of *Elias Shædius*, who after quoting most of the Passages which I have given, makes a Commentary upon each of them at great Length; goes as far as *Syria* and *Egypt* to trace out the Origin of most of those Gods, and without Judgment or Discernment gives a Display of his Erudition often very preposterously.

I should even have confined myself to what I have now said of the Religion of the antient *Germans*, had not Time preserved to us some Monuments that exhibit Gods whom neither *Cæsar* nor *Tacitus* knew: Of these I shall discourse at some Length in the rest of this Book, after having spoke of the Superstitions of that antient People.

C H A P. I.

Superstitions of the antient People of Germany.

ONE of the most antient Superstitions of the *Germans*, and at the same Time the most general, since it was also common to the *Swedes* and *Danes*, is that
of

of the *Alrunæ*, upon which a modern Author has lately published a small Treatise (*a*). This Superstition consisted in having in their Houses small Figures about the Height of half a Foot, or at most a Foot, and very rarely a Foot and a half, representing some Magicians; and these Figures they believed to have so great Virtues, as to have at their Disposal the Lives and Fortunes of Men. These small Figures were made, and are made at this Day (for the Superstition still continues among the Populace) of the Roots of the toughest Plants, especially of the *Mandrake*, and they gave them the Figure of a Woman, rarely of a Man; they dressed them immediately, and kept them laid up in some secret Place, whence they were never taken out but to be consulted. Figures of them may be seen in *Keisler's Celtic Antiquities*; for the Author now cited has given none. *Lambecius*, in his *Catalogue of the Imperial Library*, has given others that are all rough and overgrown with Hair.

I suppose it would be but losing Time to insist on all the fabulous Stories that have been and still are delivered about the Origin of these little Figures, which are thought to be formed of a Plant that grows under the Gibbet from the Urine that drops from a Man who had been unjustly hanged. The Root of this Plant, we are told, entirely resembles a Man; as is said, though without Foundation, of the *Mandrake*. To pull it up is an Enterprize of Danger; for when one forces it, they say, to leave the Soil where it is born, it raises such a loud Cry, as to kill the Man who plucks it. To prevent this Accident, he stops up his Ears close with Wax, as *Ulysses* did, that he might not hear the fatal Song of the *Sirens*; then he fastens the Plant to the Tail of a black Dog, and by presenting to that Animal a Piece of Meat or Bread, makes him strain to jump up, by which Motion he draws with him the fatal Root, and drops down dead with the Noise that it makes. I am

(*a*) G O T I F R. *Christ. R O T H I I*
De imagunculis Germanorum magicis, quas ALRUNAS vo-
cant, &c.

HELMSTADII, 1737, in *Octavo*,

I am ashamed to relate such impertinent Stuff; the Story however may have its Use, and mortify the Pride of Man, by shewing him into what Absurdity and Extravagance weak and criminal Curiosity may be carried.

As the Occasion to which the Growth of these *Al-runæ* was owing made them very rare, they fell upon a Way to find other Originals to them; but for the most Part they are nothing but Roots which they polish, to which they adapt Members, Hair, &c. to fashion them to such a Resemblance as they desire.

When one has the good Luck to have such Figures in his House or about him, he reckons himself happy, he is no longer apprehensive of Danger, but expects from thence all Sorts of Blessings, especially Health, for 'tis chiefly to that Purpose they are employed. They steep them in Water to procure Fruitfulness to barren Women, and a happy Delivery to those who are pregnant. Diseases the most obstinate to Remedies, even those of Cattle and Flocks, don't hold out against this pretended Specific. Let a Judge be ever so adverse to a Party, he changes his Mind in his Favour, if he has about him one of those Figures; but which is still more wonderful, it discloses all the Secrets of Futurity, and that either by a Motion of the Head, or even by expressing itself in a Manner very intelligible to the happy Persons who have it in their Possession.

We will not be surprized after this, at their esteeming them the most considerable of their Household Gods or *Lares*; at their paying religious Duties to them, and even at their being fain to purchase them at a vast Price rather than be without them; for the Quacks made a publick Traffick of them. The Duties which I now mentioned, consisted in changing their Cloaths every new Moon; in putting into the small Chest wherein they were inclosed, Silk and Wool for them to lie soft upon; in washing them every *Saturday* with Wine and Water, and in giving them at every Meal a Mess of Drink and Meat, otherwise

wife they would cry, we are told, like Children who suffer Thirst or Hunger.

The Learned have not spared their Labour in searching into the Origin of so antient an Usage in *Allemannia*, which they trace back to the very Time of their first Idolatry ; though in later Times they added to the Rite a great many Superstitions unknown to the Simplicity of the antient *Germans*.

Some of these Authors think the Rise of those little Figures is owing to the Similitude which the first People made of the Ark of the Covenant ; and as they believed that *Moses* had inclosed therein Figures that were not known, though their Virtue was such that the Ark brought Prosperity to all the Places where it rested, as to the House of *Obed-Edom*; they made those little Images, which they kept handsomly inclosed in little Chests. Others, who don't trace their Original so far back, derive it from the Use which the *Greeks* made of the *Mandrake*. The Author who gives Occasion for this Article, takes these Figures to have been more probably the Work of *German* Women, who were accounted to have the Gift of Prediction, and were called *Alrunæ* (a). Upon this Principle, he reckons these little Images to have been so many Household Gods, or *Lares*, who took Care of Houses and of the Persons who dwelt in them. But in that Case we must conclude, that they were not so antient as he pretends, since, according to *Tacitus*, the *Germans* in the earliest Ages had no Images, no human Figures of their Gods, but represented them only by some Symbols.

Be that as it will, this Superstition so often condemned by Councils, continues at this Day among that People, as has been already remarked, so difficult is it to extirpate Error that has been perpetuated from Age to Age.

Tacitus also informs us, that the *Germans* formerly believed that the Gods sometimes appeared under a human

(a) A Word composed of *all*, *omnis*, *universus*, and *Runa*, *mysterium*.

man Figure, and conversed with Men, joined in their Affairs, and even deigned to partake of the Food that they set before them. The same Author, followed herein by *Gregory of Tours*, says of these People, that in Honour of their Gods they had stated Festival-Days, during which they prepared for them Feasts of whatever they had rare and exquisite in its Kind; that they divided the Dishes of Meat, and after leaving a Part thereof for the Gods, the Guests that were invited to the Feast ate up the rest; a Custom which has a great Resemblance to the *Leëtisternia* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whereof we have given some Account in the Article of Sacrifices (1).

As they too had an Opinion, as well as the other Pagans, that the Souls of the Dead, cloathed with an aerial Body, delighted either in the Tombs, or in wandering about, they took Care to supply them with Meat and Drink; a Custom which the *Germans* probably had received from the *Scythians*, who practised it of old, as we are told by *Herodotus* (2). Hence those Pots, those Vases, those Knives, and so many other Utensils which are daily discovered in the antient Tombs of the *Germans*, *Gauls*, and some other People.

A superstitious Custom still more remarkable was that which the antient *Germans* practised at their Meals, where, as a Bond of inviolable Friendship, they drew Blood from themselves, and drunk all of it one after another (3). I shall add farther, as a Superstition peculiar to them, that when they burnt their Dead, they threw into the Pile Letters which they wrote to their Friends in the other World, a Custom which was common to them with the *Gauls*.

In fine, the last Superstition of this People, upon which I shall also insist a little, was Divination, to which they were religiously devoted. The Women were the Persons who dealt in it, and there was no Sorcery nor hellish Art which they had not Recourse to for the Knowledge of future Events, which they made public

(1) Vol. II. B. 4. (2) L. 7. (3) Athen. I. 1. c. 11.

fic Profession of, foretelling to those who came to consult them. The Opinion which prevailed of their having an Insight into Futurity, was one of the chief Causes of that high Veneration and vast Regard, which, as was said from *Tacitus*, the *Germans* had for their Women; and the Reason why that Historian says something divine was thought to be discerned in them, was undoubtedly from the Intercourse they were imagined to have with the Gods, who disclosed to them what was to come. The Death of those Women did not put a Period to the Respect that was paid to them; on the contrary it encreased it; and from mere civil Respect, raised them to the Honour of Adoration. Most of them after Death were reckoned Divinities, and had the same Worship paid them with the other Gods. 'Tis true *Tacitus* names among those deified Women none but *Velleda*; but no Doubt there were others. The Authors of the Country are even persuaded that the *Mother-Goddesses*, of whom I have discoursed in the preceding Book, and of whom several Monuments have been discovered in many Provinces of *Germany*, were no other but those soothsaying Women, who, after their Apotheosis, were invoked for the Health of private Persons, and of the Emperors.

C H A P. II.

Of Irminful, the God of the Saxons.

C*Harlemagne*, in one of his Expeditions into *Saxony*, having, in the Year 772, taken the Fortrefs of *Eresbourg*, destroyed the Temple of *Irminful*, and the Idoi of that God. The Learned, and particularly *Abbé Vertot* (a), have made Dissertations upon this *Saxon* Divinity, of whom *Schædius* had said something before (1).

In that Part of antient *Germany* inhabited by the *Westphalian Saxons*, near the River *Dimelia*, was a high

(a) See the historical Part of the fifth Volume of the *Memoirs* of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, p. 188.

(1) *De Diis Germ. Syn.* 3. c. 1.

high Mountain, upon which stood the Temple of this God, in the Middle of the Citadel now mentioned. This Edifice, as we are told by *Meibonius* (1), was equally esteemed for the Elegance of its Architecture, as for the Veneration of the People who had enriched it with their Offerings, which *Charlemagne* knew how to make good Use of, drawing from it vast Sums of Gold and Silver. The Statue of the God was placed upon a Column of exquisite Work, holding in one Hand a Standard whereon was pictured a Rose, and in the other a Pair of Scales. The first of those two Symbols denotes the unfading Honour that is acquired by true Valour; the second the Uncertainty of Victory which depends sometimes upon a mere nothing, as the least Trifle is capable of turning the Scale when the Balance is in *Equilibrio*. The Figure of a Bear which *Irminful* wore upon his Breast, and that of a Lion upon his Buckler, intimated the Necessity of Strength, Courage and Address in all great Enterprizes.

Thus the Statue is described by *Kransius*, and the Figures belonging to it explained, but without citing any Authority, which makes the Description to be considered by some as a mere Imagination. The antient *Germans*, according to *Tacitus*, had no Statues of their Gods; 'tis therefore, say they, without Foundation that the *German* Author mentions that of *Irminful*, which the *Abbé d'Esperb*, who lived in the thirteenth Century, says was nothing but a bare Trunk of a Tree. But may we not excuse *Kransius*, by saying, that from the Time of *Tacitus* to that of *Charlemagne*, the Religion of the antient *Germans* had undergone various Changes, and that those People, once subdued, embraced, like others, the Usages and Customs of the Conquerors? An undeniable Proof of those Changes is, that *Tacitus* likewise says the *Germans* had no other Temples but the Woods; and yet we learn from History, that in the Time of *Charlemagne* *Irminful* had a Temple upon the Top of a Hill, which that Emperor demolished.

But to proceed : The Learned are divided about this God. According to some it was *Mercury* or *Hercules*, as his very Name seems to insinuate. *Eresburg*, according to others, being also named *Marsburg*, which signifies the Fort of *Mars*, we may very readily believe that the antient *Saxons*, a warlike People, worshipped the God of War, as did the *Scythians* and other Northern Nations. *Wernerus Rosevincius* took this Figure for a *Panthéan* Figure, representing at the same Time *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*. Some Authors take this God to be the same with *Arminius*, the General of the *Cherusci*, who, after he had defeated three of *Varus's* Legions, and obliged that General to fall upon his own Sword (1), was esteemed the Deliverer of his Country, and became its tutelar God. Such is the Opinion of *Schædus*, which is followed by *Vertot*.

Irminsul had his Priests and Priestesses, who had each their different Functions. At the Feasts which were celebrated in his Honour, the Nobility made their Appearance on Horseback (2) in compleat Armour, and after a Cavalcade which they made round the Column whereon the Idol stood, they alighted, knelt down, and offered Gifts to the Priests, who, according to *Meibomius*, were chosen from among the most considerable of the Nation. On this Occasion they examined into the Conduct of those who had served in the last War, and the Priests punished such as had not done their Duty, by beating them with Rods. This severe Discipline they carried so far, as even to put to Death those Generals who had lost the Battle through bad Conduct.

Chaleimagne, Master of *Eresbourg*, demolished the Temple of this false God, built a Chapel upon its Ruins, and buried the Statue with the Column that supported it. Being afterwards dug up by *Louis le Debonnaire*, it was transported to *Hildesheim*, and from that Time the Memorial of the Destruction of that Idol, has

(1) Vell. Paterc. (2) Aventinus Ann. Boior.

has been celebrated every Year in that City, on the Eve of the *Sunday* called *Lætare* *.

C H A P. III.

Of the Goddess Nehalennia.

THIS Goddess, worshipped in the northern Parts of *Germany*, was quite unknown, till on the fifth of *January* 1646, an East-wind blowing violently towards *Zeland*, the Sea-coast became dry near *Doefburg*, in the Island of *Valchren*, and thereupon were perceived the Ruins of Houses that had been formerly under Water. Among those Ruins were Altars, Vases, Urns, and Statues, and among the rest several that represented the Goddess *Nehalennia*, with Inscriptions bearing her Name. These Treasures of Antiquity were very soon made known to the Curious; and *Urcé*, in his History of the Counts of *Flanders* (1), has given the Figures of fourteen of their Statues, all of them bearing the Name of this Goddess, one only excepted. *Montfaucon* has not neglected them; and you may find several of them in his *Antiquity explained*.

Don James Martin (2) has been at the Pains to give us all the Attitudes in which this Goddess is represented upon those several Statues, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing; an Air always youthful, and a Habit that covers her from Head to Foot, are her general Characteristics; and the Symbols that surround her are usually a *Cornucopia*, Fruits which she carries in her Lap, a Basket, a Dog, &c.

As one Discovery commonly makes Way for others, *M. Keisler* (3) says, that upon a careful Examination of the Idols that are still in *Zeland*, some were observed to have all the Air of *Nehalennia*, tho' it was never once suspected before. This at least is certain, that this Goddess was known in other Places

Y 2

besides

* Fourth Sunday of *Lent*.

(1) T. 1. p. 52. (2) Hist. of the Religion of the *Gau's*, V. 2. c. 17. (3) *Antiq. Septenti*.

besides that Province, since *Gruter* (i) quotes an Inscription found elsewhere, which is consecrated to this Divinity by *Eriattius* the Son of *Jucundus*: *Deæ Nebal. Eriattius Jucundi pro se & suis votum solvit libens merito*: For there is no Doubt but this is the Name of *Nebalennia* contracted. But tho' we should not agree to this, 'tis however certain that this Goddess was worshipped in *England*, since an Inscription has been found there that bears her Name at full Length. Some too will have it, that an Image in *Mosaic*, dug up at *Nismes*, represents her; but this is a Thing very far from being certain.

The Authors whom I have cited in this Chapter are mostly agreed that this Goddess was the Moon, or rather the New-moon; but all Things well considered and examined, I am of Opinion that she was one of those *Mother-Goddesses* described at the End of the preceding Book. The Fruits, the *Cornucopia*, the Dog, in a Word, all the Symbols that accompany her, have a much greater Relation to a rural Deity, as the *Mothers* were, than to the Moon, with which certainly they have no Affinity. Monuments of those Goddesses have been found in *France*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany*; no Wonder then that some of them have been found in *Zeland*; for, as I have proved, their Worship was very extensive.

I had forgot to take Notice that *Neptune* is three Times joined with the Figure of *Nebalennia*, which gives Ground to believe that this Goddess was also invoked for Navigation; and this is confirmed by the Inscription of *England* which I have mentioned, wherein *Secundus Sylvanus* declares that he has fulfilled the Vow he had made to this Goddess for his Success in carrying on his Trade in Chalk.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Isis, worshipped by the Suevi.

OF all the Divinities of the Pagan World, perhaps there is not any one whose Worship was more generally adopted than that of *Isis*. Not as if the various Nations which embraced her Worship, adored her always under that Name, but in Effect she was still the same, whether she was taken for the Earth, for *Cybele*, for *Diana*, or for the Moon, &c. Hence those thousand Names she was said to bear. *Tacitus*, who informs us that her Worship had been propagated even to the *Suevi*, a People distinguished amongst the antient *Germans*, owns, that he does not comprehend how it had passed into so remote a Country (*a*), and we may add, with which they had so little Commerce.

What appeared difficult to the *Roman* Historian, may seem so to us too ; but such Difficulties do but stimulate the Curiosity of the Learned, and give them Room especially for displaying their Penetration. Accordingly, how many Conjectures have been offered as to the Manner in which those remote People might have come to the Knowledge of *Isis* ? If this Goddess, says *Vossius* (1), is *Eve*, as in Fact she is, since her Name comes from the *Hebrew* *Ischa*, which imports Woman by way of Eminence, where is the Difficulty to account for her being worshipped by so many Nations that knew her Name by Tradition ? Why, says *Cluverius*, might not the Worship of *Isis*, known thro' all *Asia*, have been propagated to the Extremity of *Germany* with the Colonies that settled there ? The *Suevi*, according to *Don Pezron*, having come from *Asia*, had, no Doubt, embraced the Religion of that People. If *Osiris*, in those great Expeditions which *Diodorus* and other Antients make him undertake,

Y 3

take,

(*a*) Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat ; unde causa & origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi. *De Morib. Germanar.*

(1) De orig. & progr. Idol.

take, penetrated to the very Source of the *Danube*, according to the Opinion of M. *Huet* (1), might not Gratitude have determined the People of that Country which he had visited, to deify him and his Spouse *Isis*, as well as other Countries where he had been, whence his Worship was even propagated throughout all *Germany*, the *Gauls*, and *Spain*? 'Tis true the Name of *Osiris* was unknown to the People whom I have now named, but they were no Strangers to *Belenus*, and the *Sun*, who were the same with that antient King of *Egypt*.

Tho' none of these Conjectures want Probability, for I take no Notice of that of *Aventinus*, who, in his Annals of the *Boii*, asserts, against the Authority of all the Antients, that *Isis* accompanied her Husband in his Expeditions, and travelled with him into *Almania*, to see *Suerus* who reigned there at that Time; yet I am rather inclined to think the Worship of this Goddess might have been propagated to *Germany*, either by Means of *Sesostris*, who certainly penetrated not only into *Colchis*, where, according to *Herodotus*, he left a Colony, but even into *Thrace*, where he left another under the Conduct of *Mars*, as we learn from *Diodorus*; or rather by Means of the *Gauls*, who sent Colonies into *Germany*, and had themselves received the Worship of that Goddess, either from the *Phœnicians*, who, in their Way to *Cadiz*, had often stopt upon the Coasts of the *Gauls*, if they were not even peopled by them, as *Bockart* maintains; or else from the *Carthaginians*, who, for a long Time, had Commerce with the *Gauls*, and introduced among them the Worship of *Saturn* and some other Divinities, as has been already said.

This last Opinion I take to be the most probable, and the Figure of a Galley, under which they worshipped this Goddess (2), proves that her Worship had been brought by Sea first immediately into the *Gauls*, then to them with the *Gallic* Colonies.

Farther,

(1) *Demon* p. 4.

(2) *Signum ipsum Isis in modum Liburnæ figuratum.* Tacit. *ibid.*

Farther, we need not be surprized that the *Suevi* represented this Goddess under the Figure of a Ship, since, as *Tacitus* observes, the antient *Germans* were not permitted to picture their Gods under a human Figure (*a*); yet they were allowed to have other Representations of them, as has been said. They took the Ship for the Symbol of *Isis*, to signify in what Manner her Worship had been introduced into the West: For I look upon as mere Conjecture, no wise probable, what some Authors alledge, that as the heavenly Bodies, those first Divinities, were believed to be carried forward in their Career in Vehicles like Ships; so *Isis*, taken physically for the Moon, must needs have had hers, assigning this, according to their Principle, as the Reason why the *Suevi* represented her under the Figure of a Ship.

The antient *Germans*, to be sure, were not so well skilled in Mythology as to give into this Refinement. I should rather think it was the Fable which imports that this Goddess had not only laid down Rules for Navigation, but improved that Art even to the Invention of Sails, which made Sailors put themselves under her Protection, and consecrate little Ships to her upon their Return from their Voyages, and deposite them in the Temples, it being certain that the *Egyptians* paid a religious Veneration to the Ship of *Isis*, as we learn from *Lactantius* the Mythologist (*b*); Circumstances too publick not to be known to those who embraced her Worship; I should rather be inclined, I say, to think that this is what induced the *Suevi* to choose a Ship for the Symbol of this Goddess rather than any other, they not being permitted to represent her under a human Figure.

To conclude, as we know not what Kind of Worship the *Suevi* paid this Goddess, *Tacitus* only saying that they offered up Sacrifices to her, all Conjectures here would be to no Purpose, and we must be content

Y 4

to

(*a*) Cæterum nec cohiberi parietibus Deos, nec in ullam humani oris speciem assimilari ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. Ibid.

(*b*) Iſidis navigium Ægyptus colit. Laët. l. 1. c. 2.

to know as little about this Matter as the *Roman* Historian.

C H A P. V. T U I S T O N.

AMONG the Gods of the antient *Germans*, *Tacitus* names *Tuiston*, the Son of the *Earth*, whose Descendants, by his Son *Man*, or *Mannus*, peopled a great Part of the Country (1). The *Allemand* Authors make no doubt but this *Tuiston*, who passed for the Son of the *Earth*, only because his Original was not known, had arrived in *Germany* from the first Ages. *Schædus* (2) is even of Opinion, that he was one of the Sons of *Noah*, and that he had introduced into *Germany* the Knowledge of the true God, and the Religion of that Patriarch.

He does not stop there ; but asserts, that it was he who communicated to that Country the Use of Writing and the Alphabet, a long Time before *Cadmus* had made the same Present to the *Greeks*. In fine, if we may believe him, he is the true Father of the antient *Germans* ; he governed them, gave them Laws, established their religious Ceremonies, and acquired so much Veneration among his new People, that he was deified after his Death ; which we may presume, says he, for he dares not affirm it, not to have happened till after a long Life. After having thus given his Opinion, *Schædus* quotes a long Passage from *Josephus* about the long Life of the Patriarchs, so lavish is this Author of his Learning. As *Tuiston*, says he, saw that nothing was capable of keeping his People within Bounds, he digested the Laws which he gave them into Verses, which they were obliged to sing both in Public and Private, that each having them always present to his Mind, it might not be possible to forget them.

Mannus succeeded his Father, and had three Sons, from whom, says *Tacitus*, descended three Nations,
the

(1) De Mor. Germ. (2) De Dñis Germ. passim.

the *Ingævones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istævones* (a). He adds, many taking Advantage of the free Scope left to Imagination by a History of such Antiquity, assert that this God had other three Sons, whence descended the *Marsii*, the *Gambrivii*, the *Suevi* and the *Vandali* (b). In short, if Etymologies be sufficient to prove the Descent of those People from the Grandsons of *Tuiston*, the *German* Authors, and those of the neighbouring Countries will give us enough of them. They pretend too, that in all those Names are Traces of the *Teutonic* Language ; and to say the Truth, some of their Conjectures are not quite without Foundation.

One of the principal Ceremonies of the Worship paid by the antient People of *Germany* to their Founder, and his Son *Mannus*, was to sing his Praises in Verse, which *Tacitus* says were very antient: *Celebrant carminibus antiquis Tuistonem Deum, terra editum, & filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque* (1).

As the *Germans* had the same Original with the *Gauls*, and were *Celtæ* as well as they, the Learned are persuaded that *Tuiston*, the Founder of the *German* Nation, was the same with *Pluto*, the Father of the *Gauls* ; and indeed there is a Passage in *Cæsar* that puts this Conjecture out of Doubt. “ The *Druids*, “ says he, give out that the *Gauls* are come from *Dis* “ or *Pluto*, who after his Death was worshipped by “ both Nations as their Father and Founder, by the “ *Gauls* under the Name of *Pluto*, and by the *Germans* “ under that of *Tuiston*, and both of them erected “ Statues to him in the Woods (c). ”

CHAP.

(a) Manno tres filios assignant, quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones medii Herminones, cæteri Istævones vocantur. Idem, loc. cit.

(b) Quidam vero licentia vetustatis plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes. *Marsios*, *Gambriyios*, *Suevos* *Vandalos* affirmant, eaque vera & antiqua nomina. Id. ibid.

(1) Id. ibid.

(c) Gallos se omnes a Dite Patre prognatos predicare, idque a Druidibus proditum dicere: Quem defunctum, tanquam familiæ patrem utriusque populi, Germani sub nomine *Tuistonis*, Galli sub nomine *Ditis* honorarunt, statuasque in lucis erexerunt. *De Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

C H A P. VI.

Of some other Divinities of the Germans, and neighbouring Nations.

SAmuel Grosser, in his History of *Lusatia*, has given the Figures of some Divinities of that Country, from whom *Montfaucon* has taken them in the second Volume of his *Antiquity explained*.: *Schædius* had undoubtedly seen the like Figures, since he makes mention of all those Gods (1). Most of their Statues are very singular, as well as the Symbols that accompany them; but one Glance of the Eye is better than the most minute Descriptions. Their Names bear no Manner of Resemblance to those of the other Gods of the Pagan World, and 'tis no easy Matter to find out their Significations.

C H R O D O.

The first of these Figures, which bears the Name of *Chrodo* * (2), represents an old Man bare-headed, resting his Feet upon a large Fish. He is covered with a Robe that leaves nothing exposed but his Feet, and is girt about with a Scarf. In his left Hand he holds a Wheel, and in the right a Basket full of Fruits and Flowers. As this Statue, with its Pedestal, was found in the Fort of *Harsbourg*, formerly called *Salzburg*, *Henninius* (3) and *Grosser* take it to be a *Saturn*; but if it be so, the Mythology of the *Saxons* must have been quite different from that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who never represented that God with such Symbols.

P R O A O.

The second is the God *Proao*, who holds in one Hand a Pike, wrap'd about with a Kind of Flag, and in the other a Scutcheon not unlike to ours. *Gros-
ser*

(1) De Diis German.

* The same with the Saxon God *Seater*, from whom our *Saturday* is named.

(2) Ant. expl. T. 2. p. 184. (3) Remarks upon the Epistles of *Tollus*.

ser alledges, that this God presided over Courts of Justice, as also over the public Market, that every Thing might be sold there with Equity.

T R I G L A.

The third represents the Goddess *Trigla* with her three Heads; this undoubtedly was *Diana Trivia*, or *Hecate*: *Tria Virginis ora.*

P O R E V I T H.

Porevith, who is represented by the fourth Statue, is a very singular Idol. She has five Heads, and a sixth upon her Breast, much like that which *Minerva* bore upon her *Egis*; and round the Pedestal which supports the Statue of this Goddess, is a great Heap of Swords, Spears, Poinards, and other Arms; which makes some of the Antients think she had the Charge of the Spoils that were taken from the Enemy.

S U A N T O V I T H.

Suantovith, who is the fifth Statue, has four Heads, and is clad in a Cuirass. *Grosser* says, that he was the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, the principal Divinity of *Lusatia*; but we may also take him for *Mars*.

R O D I G A S T.

The sixth Figure is *Rodigast*, which bears an Ox's Head upon the Breast, an Eagle upon its Head, and holds a Pike in the left Hand.

S I W A.

The Goddess *Siwa* is represented in the seventh Statue; she is naked, her Hair falls down behind as far as her Knees, and in one Hand she holds a Bunch of Grapes, and in the other an Apple. She is taken for *Venus*, or for the Goddess of Health. For my Part, if the Figure be right designed, I reckon she is a rural Divinity, the *Pomona* of *Lusatia*.

F L Y A S.

The eighth is the Goddess *Flyas*; and she is represented in three Manners so different, that were it not for the same Name that occurs upon the three Statues, we should be at a Loss to know them to be the same Divinity. For in one she appears as a Man covered with a great Cloak, bearing partly upon her Head,
and

and partly upon her Shoulder, a Lion whose Feet she supports with her left Hand, while in her Right she holds a burning Torch. Upon the second she appears under the Form of a Skeleton, half covered with a Cloak, with the Lion and the Torch. Lastly, upon the third, like a Man deformed, sitting upon a Chair, the Head crown'd, the Feet monstrous, and the burning Torch in the left Hand.

L A T O B I U S.

To conclude, we find in *Grosser* Inscriptions dug up in *Carintbia*, whereon is Mention made of the God *Latobius*; and by these same Inscriptions, it appears that he was invoked as a God of Health: He was the *Esculapius* of the *Carintbians*. Another Inscription of the same Country makes mention of *Epone*. Two others found in *Swisserland* mention the Goddess *Aventice*; but of these and some other Gyddesses we know nothing but the Names.

C H A P. VII.

Of some Heroes of the antient Germans, and Cities consecrated to the Gods.

EVERY Country having had its Heroes and great Men, who were promoted to divine Honours by their Fellow-citizens, we may well suppose that such would not be wanting in Warlike *Germany*. She had first *Hercules*; for in what Country is not he to be found? and we have seen that *Tacitus* reckons him among the principal Divinities of the antient *Germans*. This *Hercules*, we are told, was called *Allemannus*: He was King of the *Boii*, who always reckoned him the Father and Founder of their Nation. If we may rely on *Aventinus* (1), he is the last King of *Germany* that *Berosus* mentions. We know not in what Period of Time he lived; but we are told by *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, that he is the most antient *Hercules* of all. Be that as it will, this Prince was truly heroical and courageous, and had therefore taken

(1) *Annal. Boio*, l. 12.

ken the Lion for his Symbol, wherein he hath been imitated by several Kings of the Country. His Subjects deified him after his Death, look'd upon him as the God of War, and invoked him always from that Time, before they gave Battle, making the Army resound his Praises, which they sung with great Solemnity.

The other *German* Nations had also each of them their Heroes: *Irminful* was the Heroe of the *Saxons*; *Radagaisus* of the *Heruli*. This is that warlike *Radagaisus* who invaded *Italy* with a formidable Army, and was defeated by *Stilicon*. *Bastin* King of the *Franks* is reckoned among the Heroes, and was promoted to divine Honours after his Death.

Among the Cities of *Allemannia* consecrated to some particular Divinity, is reckoned *Hambourg*, which is thought to have been consecrated to *Jupiter Hammon*; *Maspurg*, or the Town of *Mars*, as also *Aresbourg*. *Lunebourg* plainly bears the Name of the *Moon*.

Besides these Cities which were called after the Names of the Gods that had been taken for their Protectors, there were others, as also particular Provinces, where some God was chosen preferably to others: Thus the *Naharvales*, as has been said from *Tacitus*, gave particular worship to *Castor* and *Pollux*; the *Suevi* to *Isis*, the *Boii* to *Hercules*. *Venus* was especially worshipped at *Magdebourg*; *Trigla* or *Diana Triformis* among the *Vandals*, who in honour of her bred up a black Horse, which the Priests, to whose Care he was committed, led forth to the Field of Battle, to prognosticate by his Means. The same People paid divine Honours to *Belbuch*, and to *Zeomebuch*, whom they looked upon as the good and bad Genii; for the Names of those two Genii signify, the one the *white God*, the other the *black God*.

In short, as these People with other Pagan Nations, had their particular and topical Gods, so they had common ones who were worshipped in all the Country, such as the *Sun*, and those others whom *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* mention.

But

But it would be a Loss of Time and an Abuse of the Patience of my Reader, to lead them farther into the Northern Countries. Here therefore I shall close my Researches : For in short, what would we find in those remote Northern Countries, but an Idolatry which has a modern Aspect, and had come in the Place of the more antient System, and for the Sake of which those People seem to have abandoned the Gods of their Fathers; that is, the Stars and Elements, which were the general and universal Objects of Worship to all the Pagans, devoting themselves to nothing but foolish Superstitions, to that odious Magic whereof they make public Profession, to all Sorts of Charms and Enchantments; some of them, as those who inhabit the Coasts of *Norway*, even pretending to have the Winds at their Disposal, to be able to with-hold them when they have a mind from raising Storms and Tempests ; and even selling them to Sea-faring People, more credulous to be sure than those who carry on that public Commerce.

Should we next take a Survey of the immense Coast inhabited by the three Sorts of *Laplanders* and *Siberians*, we should see People who fancy themselves eternally infested by evil Genii, always endeavouring to blast their Hopes in Hunting and Fishing, to bewitch their Children, and to disturb the sad Repose which they enjoy in their Grotts and Dens ; and who are therefore always striving by Prayers and Sacrifices to appease their Malice and render them propitious : In a Word, who have no other Oracle nor other God but the Spirit of Darkness and Delusion.

Lastly, if we enter into those vast Plains possessed by the several *Tartarian* Nations, we shall there find either the Populace groaning under the Weight of an Idolatry equally gross and ridiculous, or Pretenders to more Discernment who follow the Dreams of their *Bonzes* and of the great *Lama* ; an Idolatry which leads us back to the Article of the *Theogonies* of the several Nations of the Earth, which I have
treated

treated fully enough at the Beginning of this Mythology (1); and in fine, which leads us to that Truth attested by the sacred Books, *omnes Dii Gentium Dæmonia*.

'Tis true, there are dug up from Time to Time Idols in those vast Climates, and *Mantfaucon* received a considerable Number of them from M. *Chamaquer*, Librarian to the late Czar *Peter the Great*, whereof he has given the Figures in his *Antiquity explained*, but he has thought fit to give no Explanation of them. For what could one make of those Figures which are more fantastical than the Monsters of whom *Old Egypt* glorified herself, dug up in a Country where the most profound Ignorance reigns; what could one make of them, I say, but offer some random Conjecture without Foundation, and without any certain Rule to direct our Conduct?

However, if there are any curious to be more particularly acquainted with the Idolatry of those People in the Extremities of the North, 'tis but reasonable I should direct them to what Authors they are to have Recourse. For the People of *Sweden* and the adjacent Countries, they may read the Volume of *Rudbekius's* *Atlantic*, intitled *Manheim*, guarding however against the systematic Spirit that prevails too much in that Work. For the other Northern Antiquities, I refer to the Works composed upon that Subject by the ingenious M. *Keisler*, *Meibonius*, and others. For the Gods of *Iseland* and the adjacent Islands, the Mythology in 4to by *Snorron-Sturl* or *Sturleton*, reprinted by *Resenius* in 1665. For the *Laplanders*, *Scheffers Lapponia*, not forgetting the Historians of those several Countries. But whoever has this Curiosity may be assured before hand, that he will meet with nothing in those Works but the History of a Religion extremely gross, without either Principles, System, or Connection; and People groaning under the Tyranny of the Spirit of Darknes, who as to them is not yet in Chains: In short that he will find

(1) Vol. I. B. 2.

find nothing therein to lead him back to true and valuable Antiquity, and to the Understanding of any Author of the better Ages; which were the principal Motives that induced me to undertake this Mythology.



A P R E L I M I N A R Y.*

HAVING in the former Volumes given the History of the Pagan Gods, and explained the Fables wherewith it was embellished, I am in this Volume to treat of the Heroes or *Demi-Gods*, towards whom Superstition had also established a religious Worship, though subordinate to that of the Gods; and as the *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, knew neither Heroes nor *Demi-Gods*, and consequently had no Worship that referred to them, Heroism having properly taken its Rise in *Greece*; 'tis in the History of that Country we must trace its Original.

But before I go farther, 'tis proper to reflect on the celebrated Division which *Varro* made of antient Times, preserved to us by *Censorinus*; for the Work of that learned *Roman* wherein it was inserted is now lost. “ In antient History, says *Censorinus* (1), we
 “ are to distinguish three Periods of Time. The first
 “ comprehends whatever passed from the Beginning
 “ of the World to the first Deluge, and this Period
 “ is called *obscure*, or *unknowen*, *ἄδηλον*. The second
 “ contains a Series of Events from that Deluge to the
 “ *Olympiads*; and as in this we meet with Numbers
 “ of

* Here begins Vol. VI. of the Original.

(1) De Die Nat. c. 25.

“ of Fables, it has therefore got the Name of *fabulous*, μυθικόν. Lastly, the third Period of Time
 “ from the *Olympiads*, being more known and cer-
 “ tain, goes under the Name of *historical*, ιστορικόν (a).

For the better understanding of this Division, I shall subjoin a few Reflections upon it. One is, that by that first Deluge whereof *Varro* makes mention, the *Greeks* understood that which happened under *Ogyges*; for they knew nothing of their own History prior to the Reign of that Prince. A second is, that as the History of the Gods related to the unknown Times, so that of the Heroes or Demi-Gods belongs to the fabulous Age, which was therefore known also by the Name of *the Age of Heroes*. The third Observation which I have already made in the Preface to this Work, is, that this Division respects *Greece* alone, *Asia* having had its Kings, established Monarchies, and a consistent History in those very Times which the *Greeks* called *unknown*, and when they had not so much as the Use of Letters. It has been objected, that in order to give some Probability to this Reflection, I ought to prove that *Varro* was a Stranger to the Antiquities of the People of *Asia*; but the Fact proves itself, and there needs no more but this simple Dilemma to demonstrate it. Either *Varro* was acquainted with those Antiquities, or not; if he was not acquainted with them, I had good Reason to say that Division related only to *Greece*; if he was acquainted with them, then he could not give the general Appellation of the unknown Times to those which were not unknown with respect to the *Asiatics*.

From what has been now said it appears that what remains to be the Subject of this Mythology is the

VOL. III.

Z

Heroic

(a) *Varro* tria discrimina temporum esse tradit, primum ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem, quod propter ignorantiam, vocatur ἀδύνητον. Secundum a cataclysmo priore ad Olympiadem primam, quod, quia in illo multa fabulosa referantur, μυθικόν nominatur. Tertium, a prima Olympiade ad nos, quod dicitur ιστορικόν, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur. Cens. loc. cit.

Heroic or fabulous Age. Here consequently disappears that dark Period of Time in which the Gods lived, and at the same Time a new Field presents itself, less difficult to be filled up, and more entertaining than the former. Not but there are Fables here in great Plenty; but they are less absurd and easier to be explained, than those wherewith it was thought proper to set off the History of the Gods. From this Age, fabulous as it is, there arises a faint historical Light, which serves to unvail its Fictions. Here we meet with Tombs that by coherent Traditions recall the Memory of the great Men whose Ashes they contain. There, a heroic Monument, where annual Ceremonies exhibit to our View the History of him in whose Honour it had been raised. Sometimes again we have Games celebrated at set Times, and mostly instituted by those Heroes themselves, to eternize their Memory. By these Means I have been furnished with better Helps for this last Part of my Work: Accordingly this Volume will contain more History, and fewer Disquisitions than the former.

That I may keep to some Order therein, I divide it into two Parts: The first will contain all that has a Relation to the *Greek* History during the fabulous Age to the Return of the *Heraclidæ*; and the second, the Explanation of such Fables as stand by themselves, and are not connected with the Incidents I shall have before mentioned: Being careful however to insist less upon those which *Ovid* has collected in his *Metamorphoses*, and whereof I have given the Explication along with my Translation of that Work, than upon those that are in *Hyginus*, *Antoninus*, *Liberalis*, *Conon*, *Palephatus*, and some other Mythologists.



PART FIRST.

Containing the History of the fabulous Age.

BEFORE I enter into the Detail of this History, I am to consider some preliminary Questions that prepare the Way for our better understanding of it.



BOOK I.

Preliminaries to the History of Greece.

IN the first Place I examine, 1. What was the Chronology of the antient *Greeks*, and their Manner of computing Time. 2. How long the Heroic Age continued. 3. The State of antient *Greece*. 4. The History of its first Inhabitants and their Manner of living. 5. Lastly, that of the Colonies who came and settled among them, and at what Time they arrived.

Nor let the Reader imagine, that this Part of the *Greek* History, because it is traced from so remote a Period of Time, will be the less entertaining and instructive ; for first we have a natural Curiosity to be acquainted with the Original of a People who have acted a great Part on the Theatre of the World, and whom we have seen from the smallest Beginnings, rise by Degrees, form several Monarchies, and especially signalize themselves by cultivating Arts and Sciences, and by carrying Poetry and Eloquence, Architecture and Statuary, to the highest Pitch of Perfection

fection they were capable of, so as to have left us imitable Models in all these Kinds. Secondly, 'tis in this Part of their History that we see the *Greeks* pass from a State of Barbarity wherein they were plunged, to a more social Life, and quitting their Dens, the Cavities of Trees, and the other wild Places which they had by Way of Retreat, to come and live under the Conduct of one of their own Number, who was somewhat more polished than the rest, first in Cottages, then in Villages and Cities. Thirdly, 'tis within this Space of Time that the several Colonies of civilized People arrived in *Greece*, who brought thither Arts and Sciences, Laws and the Worship of the Gods; founded therein Cities, where they gathered those into one Body, who were yet dispersed through the Fields, and formed them into several Kingdoms.

Follow next in Order, but still in the same Interval, those celebrated Heroes of Antiquity, *Perseus*, *Bellerophon*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Ajax*, *Achilles*, and the rest, whose immortal Atchievements have been sung by the greatest Poets, and often represented on the Stage. In fine, it was in this same heroic Age that those Games were instituted, and frequently by the Heroes themselves; those Games, I say, that have made *Greece* so famous; Games consecrated by Religion, and where the greatest Poets have reckoned it their Honour to celebrate those who had gained the Victory in them. This in general is the History of those fabulous Times, whereof I am to explain the several Parts in this Volume, assign their just Bounds, explain Fables that belong to them, so as to leave to the Heroes, whose History they have disguised, in Proportion as they embellished it, the just Share which they had in the Glory that has immortalized their Names.

C H A P. I.

Of the Chronology of the antient Greeks.

WE must not imagine that the antient *Greeks* had a very certain Way of computing Time, since they wanted one Branch of Knowledge essential to good Chronology, I mean the Knowledge of the Heavens and their Revolutions, which is absolutely necessary to that Study : 'Tis this Knowledge that enables to settle Periods and Cycles that serve to fix Time to certain *Æras*. They attained to it however at length, though very late, by the Commerce which they had with the *Egyptians*, and some People of *Asia*, whose Chronology was built on a certain Foundation. In the mean Time, as the most barbarous Nations have always had some Method of calculating Years, were it but by Knots cast upon Cords, as is the Manner of the *Peruvians* ; the first *Greeks* had also a Kind of Chronology of their own, less certain, 'tis true, than the technical Chronology which has been in Use for these many Ages past, yet far from being so gross as that of the People now named, which perhaps at Bottom only appeared so to the *Spaniards*, because they were not let into the Secret of it.

The *Greeks* then computed their Years, either by Means of several Games which they celebrated at set Times, such as the *Pythian*, the *Olympic*, the *Isthmian* Games, &c. or by the Priesthood of the Priestesses of *Argos*, or by Reigns ; but more generally, by Generations,

The Learned have great Disputes about the Duration of each Generation ; some extend it even to the Length of 50 Years ; but the greater Number confine it within the Space of between 27 and 33 Years. *Herodotus* reckons 33 Years to each Generation, or three to a hundred Years ; and to his Opinion, which is the most generally followed, I shall conform myself in the Sequel.

As for Reigns, they not being usually so long as Generations,

nerations, we may fix them to 22 or 25 Years one with another, though some Authors, and among others Sir *Isaac Newton*, assign to them a shorter Duration.

I shall settle the most considerable *Æras* of this Period of Time, the first by the Arrival of the Colonies in *Greece*, and the rest by Generations. In the mean Time, to enable my Readers with more Facility to call to mind the several Events, I shall subjoin here two Tables; the one composed by a learned *German* (1), which giving a Duration of 1250 Years to the fabulous Age, distributes them into 25 Epochas, each consisting of 50 Years. The second, taken from different Passages of *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, beginning with *Inachus*, contains forty Generations of thirty Years each.

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| 1. <i>Egialeus</i> , King of <i>Sicyon</i> , 2180 Years before <i>Christ</i> . | 14. <i>Perseus</i> . |
| 2. <i>Telchines</i> , second King of <i>Sicyon</i> . | 15. <i>Jason</i> and the <i>Argonauts</i> . |
| 3. <i>Inachus</i> , the first King of <i>Argos</i> . | 16. <i>Theseus</i> . |
| 4. <i>Ogyges</i> . | 17. The War of <i>Troy</i> . |
| 5. <i>Apis</i> . | 18. <i>Orestes</i> . |
| 6. <i>Minos</i> . | 19. The Return of the <i>Heraclidae</i> into <i>Greece</i> . |
| 7. <i>Crius</i> . | 20. <i>Codrus</i> the last King of <i>Athens</i> . |
| 8. <i>Cecrops</i> . | 21. <i>Acastus</i> , the <i>Archon</i> . |
| 9. <i>Deucalion</i> . | 22. <i>Thersippus</i> . |
| 10. <i>Amphion</i> . | 23. <i>Thersites</i> . |
| 11. <i>Cadmus</i> . | 24. <i>Caranus</i> . |
| 12. <i>Pandion</i> I. | 25. <i>Corebus</i> , or the Re-establishment of the <i>Olympiads</i> . |
| 13. <i>Pelops</i> , from <i>Phrygia</i> . | |

The Second Table.

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|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Inachus</i> , the first King of <i>Argos</i> , the Son of the | <i>Ocean</i> , that is come by Sea. |
| | 2. <i>Pho-</i> |

(1) *Lerquer* in a Work intituled *Ion*.

2. *Phoroneus*, the first King of *Peloponnesus*.
3. *Lycaon* I.
4. *Pelasgus* I. the Son of *Lycaon* I. and *Niobé* the Daughter of *Phoroneus*.
5. *Lycaon* II. the Son of *Pelasgus* and *Dejanira* the Daughter of *Lycaon* I.
6. *Oinotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* II.
7. *Pelasgus* II. the Son of one of the Children of *Lycaon* II.
8. *Larissa*, the Daughter of *Pelasgus* II.
9. *Pelasgus* III. *Achaius* and *Phtius*, Sons of *Larissa*.
10. *Phrastor*, the Son of *Pelasgus* III. and of *Menippe* the Daughter of *Peneus*.
11. *Amintor* the Son of *Phrastor*.
12. *Teutamides*, the Son of *Amintor*.
13. *Nanus*, the Son of *Teutamides*.
14. *Deucalion*, the Son of *Prometheus* and *Clymene*.
15. *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*.
16. *Amphiſtion*, the Son of *Hellen*.
17. *Dardanus*, the Son of *Electra* the Daughter of *Atlas*.
18. *Erichthonius*, the Son of *Dardanus* and *Bateia* the Daughter of *Teucer*.
19. *Tros*, the Son of *Erichthonius*, and *Callirhoe*, the Daughter of *Scamander*.
20. *Assaracus*, the Son of *Tros*, and *Acalis* the Daughter of *Amedès*.
21. *Capys*, the Son of *Assaracus*, and of *Clytadora*, Daughter of *Laomedon*.
22. *Anchises*, the Son of *Capys* and *Nais*.
23. *Æneas*, the Son of *Anchises* and *Venus*.
24. *Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Creusa*, *Priam's* Daughter.
25. *Sylvius Posthumus*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, *Latinus's* Daughter.
26. *Æneas* II. the Son of *Posthumus*.
27. *Latinus* II.
28. *Alba*.
29. *Capetus*.
30. *Capys* II.
31. *Capetus* II.
32. *Tyberinus*, slain near the *Tyber*, so called after his Name.
33. *Agrippa*.
44. *Alladius*, a Tyrant, who was Thunderstruck.
35. *Aventinus*, from whom Mount *Aventine* was named.
35. *Procas*.
37. *Amulius*, who usurped the Kingdom from his Brother *Numitor*.
38. *Numitor*,

38. *Numitor*, re-instated by his Grandson *Romulus*. *Numitor*, Mother of *Romulus*.
 39. *Ilia*, the Daughter of *of Rome*.
 40. *Romulus*, the Founder of *Rome*.

This Table goes farther than the former, since it includes the List of the *Latin* Kings, and extends from *Inachus* to *Romulus*, who founded *Rome* in the Year 753 before *Christ*, and comprehends the whole fabulous Age in its greatest Extent; and as I also carry my Enquiries through the Successors of *Æneas* down to the same Epocha of the Foundation of *Rome*, this Table may be of good Use to those who would retain the Events I am to speak of. Only we must observe that all the Generations are not direct, but some of them collateral^(a); and that in this Table the Epochas are at thirty Years Distance from one another; which however will not hinder me from examining the Chronology still more exactly as I go along.

I was willing to set down these two Tables for the Sake of those who don't seek after great Precision in these Matters. For my own Part, in the Details which I shall sometimes be obliged to make, I shall follow the Method of *Herodotus*, who reckons three Generations to a hundred Years.

But in order to reconcile the Chronology of profane History to Scripture, 'tis fit we likewise subjoin here the principal Epochas thereof.

The first Epocha, *Adam*. It reaches down to the Deluge in the Year of the World 1656.

The second, *Noah*, or the Deluge: Containing the Space of 426 Years, that is to *Abraham*.

The third is *Abraham*, 1917 Years before *Christ*, and comprehends 430 Years to *Moses*.

The fourth is *Moses*, including the Space of 480 Years, to *Solomon*, or the Year before *Christ* 1483.

The fifth is *Solomon*, or the Building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, containing 576 Years to the *Babylonish* Captivity, in the Year before *Christ* 1012.

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^a (a) See the Dissertation of M. *Boisvieux* the Elder. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett.* Tom. II. p. 399.

The sixth is the Return of the *Jews*, in the Year before *Christ* 532, and reaches down to the Christian *Æra*.

C H A P. II.

The Duration of the Heroic Age.

BOOTH Antients and Moderns are equally agreed, that the Heroic or Fabulous Age reaches down from *Ogyges* to the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*, when the Historical Age begins; but they are not so unanimous as to the Duration of this Period. Two Writers of the last Age, *Conringius*, and the celebrated *Newton*, have contracted it a great deal, and brought it nearer to the Vulgar *Æra* than it had been before by about 500 Years. Almost all other Authors assigned to it a much longer Duration, and made it consist of 1600 Years, reckoning 400 Years from *Ogyges* to *Inachus*, 400 from *Inachus* to *Cecrops*, nearly the same Space of Time from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*, and somewhat more from that *Epocha* to the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*. The Marbles of *Paros*, the most authentic Monument of antient Chronology, serve indeed for a Guide from the *Olympiads* tracing back to *Cecrops*, with whom the Authors of this Chronicle begin their *Epochas*; but as they go no higher, the Chronology from the Arrival of that Prince in *Greece* to *Inachus*, has always been perplexed and intricate. The late M. *Boivin* the elder, has given some Light to it, by restoring a Passage of *Censorinus*, as may be seen in his Dissertation printed in the Memoirs of the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* (1). After the following Manner, according to that Academic, an Interval of 400 Years between *Cecrops* and *Inachus* may be settled; S. *Justin*, *Tatian*, and in general, all the Fathers of the Church before *Eusebius*, made *Inachus* Contemporary with *Moses*. Now *Porphyry*, as *Eusebius* understands him, supposed that *Moses* lived in the Time of *Semiramis*, whom the same *Eusebius* makes

(1) Tom. ii.

makes to have reigned 800 Years before the *Trojan War*: *Inachus*, Contemporary with *Moses*, lived therefore 800 Years before that *Epocha*, and consequently 400 Years before *Cecrops*, who, according to *Censorinus*, the Chronicle of *Paros*, and all the Chronologists, reigned 400 Years before the taking of that City. As to the 400 Years from *Inachus* to *Ogyges*, they are clearly made out from *Censorinus*. Here then is the Duration of the Heroic Age determined to 1600 Years. But how can so great Antiquity be assigned to *Ogyges*? The taking of *Troy*, which is the best established *Epocha* of all the fabulous Times, falls, according to the best Chronologists, in the Year 1183 or 1184 before the Christian *Æra*; if *Ogyges* was in the World 1200 Years before that *Epocha*, he must then have lived 2383 Years before *Christ*; and consequently, in the System of Chronology abridged, almost in the very Time of *Noah's Deluge*; which is not tenible, unless we make him to have been the same with that Patriarch, and the Deluge, which happened under his Reign to have been the same with that mentioned in Scripture.

In the first Place then, I cut off from the Duration of the Age now in question, those 400 Years that make *Ogyges* to have lived even in the Time of *Inachus*, or of *Phoroneus* his Son.

Again, 'tis impossible to allow of a Space of 400 Years between *Cecrops* and the *Trojan War*, in which *Minstheus* the eleventh King of *Athens* assisted, who had even begun to reign but a few Years before. Now ten Reigns, and the Beginning of an eleventh, are far from containing so long a Space of Time, according to the ordinary Course of Nature. Reigns are even shorter than Generations. Thus there remain about 1200 Years for the fabulous Age; but as I find Fables end almost with the Return of the *Heracidae* into the *Peloponnesus*, that is, fourscore Years after the taking of *Troy*, and more than 300 Years before the Re-establishment of the *Olympiads*, I carry my Researches no farther than this Return. For though there are some
Fictions

Fictions to be met with in the rest of this Period, they rather stand by themselves, and are not interwove with the Lives of the great Men who lived then; and the Explanation of them I reserve for the last Part of my Work.

In fine, the Number of Generations which the Antients have transmitted down to us, has obliged me to reduce to a shorter Duration, the Events of the Age that preceded the Destruction of *Troy*, I mean the Fight of the *Centaur*s, the Conquest of the *Argonaut*s, the Hunting of *Calydon*, the War which followed it, and the two Wars of *Troy*. For how can those Events be removed to so great a Distance from one another, as they are by most Chronologists, and particularly by the Commentators on the *Parian* Marbles, however knowing in other Respects, since it was mostly the same Persons or their Sons, and but few of their Grandsons who were the Actors therein? What other Method have we of calculating those remote Ages, but by the Number of Reigns and Generations, after the Example of the Antients themselves. It may perhaps be said, that the whole Number of Generations has not been transmitted down to us, and that several of them are wanting in *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, and other Antients; but as this is but mere Conjecture, I may be allowed to use the Manner of Computation followed by the Antients, till it be demonstrated, by any possible Means whatever, that some Reigns or Generations have actually been omitted.

C H A P. III.

The State of antient Greece.

THE Country which is known at this Day under the Name of *Greece*, had not always the same Extent as when it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and it very often changed its State: I leave other Things to be discussed by Geographers, being to consider in this Mythology only the State it was in during the Heroic Age. We are also to observe, that it
often

often changed its Name. The *Hebrew* Text of the Bible seems not to assign any Name to it; only Mention is there made of *Javan*. *Isaiab* says, according to the *Hebrew*, and towards *Tubal and Javan, and in the remote Isles*: The Vulgate has, *in Italiam & Græciam, ad Insulas longe*. In like Manner, it renders *Javan* by *Greece*, in *Ezekiel, Daniel* and *Zechariah*: The *Hebrew* throughout has *Javan*; but the *Septuagint* translates it by *Hellas*, which, as we shall see in its own Place, was one of the Names of *Greece*, or by *Hellenes*, one of the Names of the *Greeks*; and our Vulgate has imitated them, by rendering the Word always *Græci* or *Græcia*. 'Tis remarkable that the Name of *Javan*, in *Hebrew*, not having any Points to determine the Pronunciation, is the same with *Ion*; and we find the first *Ionians* that are known, were in *Greece*. There is even Reason to believe, that they were its first Inhabitants; tho' they were not there alone for any considerable Time. The *Phœnicians*, who had always been great Sailors, came thither and settled Colonies among them. For the Sake of their Commerce they taught the natural *Greeks* Navigation, Commerce, and especially Writing, the Invention whereof is ascribed to them. The *Egyptians* were not the last who helped to people that Country. They again communicated to them a Taste of Arts and Sciences; and infecting them with their Idolatry, gave them not only Kings, but Gods.

C H A P. IV.

Of the first Inhabitants of Greece.

IT must be owned, in the first Place, that as nothing is more perplexed than the Origin of antient Nations, we are not to be surprized if we meet with the same Obscurity in the antient History of the *Greeks*. We ought not to appeal to the Authors of that Nation for their Antiquity; for besides that we have not now most of the Works of those who would have been able to inform us herein, and those now extant are mere
 Moderns

Moderns with respect to the Facts which they relate ; it is every where to be observed in their Books, that being disposed in their Histories to gratify the Humour of *Greece*, always fond of the Marvellous ; and having only undigested Memoirs of those early Times, they have contented themselves with putting them into an agreeable Order, without being greatly concerned about the Truth. Further, the *Greeks* were really ignorant of the Antiquities of their own Nation, as they are reproached by several Authors, among others, by *Aristotle*, and *Josephus*, who in his first Book against *Appion*, demonstrates to them plainly, that it was very late before they had the Use of Letters, and that consequently they must have been quite ignorant of antient History : And what is carefully to be observed, the *Jewish* Historian reproaches them thus, at the very Time when they had several Authors which are since lost, and who pretended to be well acquainted with Antiquity, such as *Varro*, *Castor*, *Nicolas of Damas*, *Julius Africanus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and Numbers of others, often quoted by the Historians now extant, as Authors very knowing in earliest Antiquity.

Again, what undeniably proves the Ignorance of the *Greeks* as to their own Original, is, that so soon as they carried their Researches pretty far back, finding themselves lost in the Darkeness of earlier Ages, they were forced to say their Ancestors had sprung from the Earth, or from the Oaks of the Forest of *Dodona* ; and when they attempted to trace out their Genealogies, after having gone back to *Deucalion*, still *Jupiter*, or some other God was at their Head. What obliged them to assume the Name of *Autochthones*, or the original Inhabitants of that Country, was, that they piqued themselves on great Antiquity, and scorned to be thought descended from any People. They carried their Vanity so far as to be fond of having it believed that their Ancestors were the Founders of other Nations, which they had peopled by their Colonies ; whereas 'tis beyond Doubt, that their Country was originally planted by Foreigners, who came and settled there.

there. However, if we will believe them, the *Perfians* were descended from *Perfeus*, the *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the *Medes* from *Medus*, *Medea's* Son, the *Cilicians* from *Cilix*, the *Armenians* from *Armenus*, and the *Ionians* of *Asia Minor*, not to mention others, from *Ion* the Son of *Xutus*, and Grand-Son of *Deucalion*. 'Tis true, *Greece* sent Colonies into *Asia* and *Italy* (a), but thofe Transmigrations happened very late, and when the Country was overftocked with Inhabitants by the frequent Colonies that had arrived there from *Egypt* and *Pbænicia*.

But to trace this Matter up to its Source ; firft, 'tis not to be doubted that all the Countries of the World were peopled by the Descendants of *Noah*, who, after the Division of his three Sons, fettled in different Places. As the Bible fays little or nothing of thofe firft Founders of Empires, and as it often calls the Countries where the firft Men who lived after the Deluge fixed their Residence by Names which have long fince been extinct, 'tis very difficult to clear up this Subject ; infomuch that whatever Pains the Interpreters of Scripture have taken, we may affirm that the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, containing the History of the firft Settlement of Nations by *Noah's* Pofterity, will always be a ftumbling Block to the Learned. *Josephus* fays little more upon this Head than *Mofes* ; and as to the oriental Hiftorians, befides that we have now but fome Fragments of the more antient ones, thofe that remain are generally ftuffed with Fables.

What we know with Certainty is, that *Javan* the Son of *Japhet*, known to the *Greeks* under the Name of *Japetus*, had the Weft for his Division. This is what *Mofes* fays of him ; *Filii Japhet Gomer & Magog & Javan, &c. Filii autem Javan, Elisa, & Tarfes, & Cethim, & Dodanim. Ab iis divifæ funt Infulæ Gentium, in regionibus fuis* (1). Him therefore we are to look upon as the Father of the *Ionians* and other *Greeks*.

(a) See *Herodotus* and the other Hiftorians who fpeak of thefe Colonies.

(1) *Genesis*, c. 10.

Greeks. Few Authors now-a-days call this Truth in question, which has been so fully proved by the learned *Bochart* (1), and Father *Kirker* (2), that we may now build upon it as a Certainty. The Text of *Josephus* says also the same Thing in so many Words. From *Javan*, says that Author, came the *Ionians* and all the *Greeks* (3). That antient Patriarch therefore led his Colony into the West, and we cannot but place the Æra of that Transmigration after the Dispersion that ensued upon the Confusion of *Babel*. 'Tis no easy Matter indeed to determine precisely in what Country of the West *Javan* fixed his Residence. *Loerquer*, in a Book composed upon this Subject, intituled *Ion*, contends that he did not cross the Sea, but settled in *Asia Minor*, whence his Descendants went into *Greece*, probably by the *Thracian Bosphorus*, as the Place where the Sea is narrowest. This Author adds, that the *Ionians*, so well known upon the *Asiatic* Coasts of the *Egean* Sea, are not descended from *Ion* the Son of *Xutus*, and Grandson of *Deucalion*, but from *Javan*, from whom they were denominated *Jaonians*, as well as the *Greeks* of *Europe*, *Ἰαῶνες*, as it is in *Homer* (4), and by softening the Pronunciation, *Ionians*. 'Tis true, in the Time of *Herodotus*, the Name of *Ionians* was restricted to the *Asiatic Greeks* alone, insomuch that the *Athenians* and their Neighbours would not go under that Name. It cannot however be denied, after the Testimony of *Homer*, *Strabo*, and *Hesychius*, that antiently it was common to all the People of *Greece*.

'Tis therefore in that Country we must look for the Settlement of *Javan*. *Elisha* led his Posterity into *Elis*; *Dodanim* settled in the Neighbourhood of the Forest of *Dodona*; *Cethim* passed into *Macedonia*: For I reckon *Bochart* is mistaken in making that Patriarch to have settled in *Italy*. *Tharses* fixed his Residence in *Cilicia*, where he founded the City of *Tarsus*. *Thiras* chose to reside in *Thrace*, as *Josephus*, and after him *St. Jerom*,

(1) See his *Phaleg*. (2) In his *Tower of Babel*. (3) *Ant.* l. 1.
(4) *Iliad.* l. 13.

St. *Jerom*, and almost all the Interpreters, are agreed.

These, without Doubt, are the first Inhabitants of *Greece*; here we find the *Japetus* so famed in the Historians and Poets, who had but a very confused Knowledge of this first Transmigration.

The *Pelasgi* were, according to them, the original Inhabitants of *Greece*, and it cannot indeed be denied that they possessed it from the earliest Ages. *Herodotus* (1), as has been already remarked in the Beginning of the second Volume, makes them to have come from the Island of *Samothrace*, whence they set out and settled at first in *Attica*; and this perhaps is the best we have to say upon the Subject. However, as several other Authors have made Mention of those *Pelasgi*, I ought to quote their Testimonies. They tell us therefore, that those People, who often moved their Habitation, were denominated *Pelasgi*, because they were an unsettled wandering People. Accordingly we find of them every where, in the Isle of *Samothrace*, in several Parts of *Greece*, in *Asia Minor*, and lastly in *Italy*. They went at first from *Athens* towards *Dodona*, as we are told by *Herodotus* in the Place I have quoted (2). They possessed themselves of *Arcadia*, and *Hemonia* since called *Thessaly*. First the *Curetes* and the *Leleges*, and then *Deucalion*, having driven them out thence, they spread themselves through *Estiotis*, *Phocis*, *Beotia*, and *Eubæa*. Some of them passed over into *Asia*, others into *Italy*; as to which you may consult *Strabo* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassæus*.

The Historians who are later than *Herodotus*, whose Information doubtless is not so good as his, differ from him as to the Original of the *Pelasgi*, in making them to have come from a foreign Country: They, on the contrary, take them to have been *Autochthones* (3); which was the Designation given to the Natives of the Country, or rather to all whose Original was unknown. But the Variety which is to be found among other Authors as to the Original of this People, is an Argument for

(1) L. 2. c. 50, 51. (2) See what has been said of this in the Beginning of the second Volume. (3) *Hesiod*.

for our adhering to the Historian now named. For why, if we take *Apollodorus's* Authority, we must say, the *Pelasgi* derived their Name from one *Pelasgus* of great Antiquity. *Servius* is of the same Opinion with *Apollodorus* (1): *Pelasgi*, says he, *a Pelasgo terræ filio, qui in Arcadia est genitus, ut ait Hesiodus.* *Eschiles* says only, that *Pelasgus* was an antient Inhabitant of the Country, to whom he gives not the Name of *Autochthon*, but that of *Παλαίχθον*. The antient Scholiast on *Apollodorus Rhodius*, a Man well skilled in the Antiquities of Greece, makes *Pelasgus* to have been the Son of *Inachus*; and this is he who, according to *Hesiod*, was the Father of *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*. *Eustathius*, after *Hellenicus*, names a third *Pelasgus*, the Son of *Phoroneus*, and consequently the Grandson of *Inachus*. There is a fourth, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, the first Mistress of that God, as we learn from *Acusilaus*, whose Testimony is quoted by *Tzetzes* (2). *Hesychius* (3) mentions a fifth, the Son of *Arcas*, and Grandson of *Lycaon*. We read of another, who was the Son of *Asopus* and *Merope* (4). Lastly, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* names a Seventh, whom he makes the Son of *Neptune*.

According to *Pausanias* (5), *Pelasgus* was the first Man who appeared in the Country, a Man extraordinarily endued by Heaven, who surpassed others in Make and Strength, in a goodly Aspect, and in all other Qualifications both of Body and Mind; which comes much to the same Idea given of him by the Poet *Asius*.

Pelasgus then having begun to reign, taught the *Arcadians* to build themselves Cottages to shelter them from the Rain, from Cold and Heat, in a Word from the Injuries of the Weather. He taught them also to cloath themselves with Boar's Skins, as is still the Manner of the Peasants of *Phocis* and *Eubœa*. Till then they had lived upon the Leaves of Trees, upon Herbs and Roots; whereof some, instead of being good for

VOL. III.

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Food,

(1) On the second *Eneid*. (2) Upon *Lycoph.* v. 177. (3) In *Πελασγαί*. (4) *Pindar. Olym.* (5) In *Arcad.*

Food were of a pernicious Nature. He recommended to them the Use of *Accorns*, or rather of a Kind of Fruit which grows upon the Beech-tree ; and this Food became so common, that long after *Pelasgus*, the *Lacedemonians* coming to consult the Priests *Apollo*, about the War which they were going to make upon the *Arcadians*, were answered, that a People who lived only upon *Accorns*, were terrible in War and not easily conquered.

We are told that *Pelasgus* gave his Name to that Country, and that it was denominated *Pelsgia*. His Son *Lycaon*, in some respects, was more wise and prudent ; for he built the City *Lykosura* upon Mount *Lycaeus*, established the Worship of *Jupiter* under the Name of *Lycean*, and instituted in his Honour Games that were called *Lycaia*.

Scarcely had three Generations passed from *Pelasgus*, says *Pausanias*, when the Country was already well stocked with Men and Cities. *Nyctimus*, the eldest of *Lycaon*'s Sons, had succeeded his Father ; his other Sons having separated from one another, built Cities, some in one Place, some in another. *Pallantium* was built by *Pallas*, *Oresthasium* by *Orestheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigalus*. The Poet of *Himera*, *Stesichorus*, makes Mention of *Pallantium* in his *Geryon Jupiter*. As for *Oresthasium*, it was afterwards called *Orestea*, from *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*. *Phigalia* in like Manner was named *Phialia*, from *Phialus* the Son of *Bucolion*. The other Sons of *Lycaon* were *Trapezeus*, *Deceartes*, *Mucareus*, *Helisson*, *Acacus*, and *Tochnus*. This last built the City *Tochnia*, and *Acacus* was the Founder of *Acacesium*. *Orchomenus* built *Methydrion*, and was the Father of the *Orchomenians*, a People so rich in Cattle that *Homer* distinguishes them by that Epithet. *Hypsus* laid the Foundations of *Melenæa*, *Hypsus*, and *Thyræa*, which still subsists. If we may believe the *Arcadians*, *Thyræa* a City of *Argos* had for its Founder *Thyreas*, who also gave his Name to the Gulf upon which it stands. *Mantineæ*, *Tegæa*, and *Menæus*, those Cities once so famous in *Arcadia*, owe their

their Original to *Menalus*, *Tegeas*, and *Mantineus*, who were likewise Sons of *Lycaon*. *Crömes* was built by *Eromus*, *Charisia* by *Charisius*. The *Tricolons* come from *Tricolonus*; the *Peretbeans* from *Peretbus*; the *Azeans* from *Azeates*; the *Lyceates* from *Lyceus*; the *Sumatians* from *Sumateus*; lastly, *Hereus* and *Aliphorus* built the Cities which bear their Names. As for *Oenothrus*, the youngest of *Lycaon*'s Sons, he planted a Colony in *Italy*.

Nyctimus being dead, *Arcas* the Son of *Calisto* *Lycaon*'s only Daughter, the same who was beloved by *Jupiter*, and transformed first into a Bear, then into a Constellation, took Possession of the Kingdom. Having been instructed by *Triptolemus*, he taught his Subjects to sow Corn, to make Bread, and to spin Wool for Stuffs and Cloaths, which last he learned from *Aristæus*. *Arcas* had by his Wife *Erato* three Sons, *Azan*, *Aphidas*, and *Elatius*, among whom he divided his Dominions. But *Elatius* left *Arcadia*, passed into the Country which at this Day is called *Phocis*, and there built the City *Elatæa*. This Prince had five Sons, *Epytus*, *Peræus*, *Cyllen*, *Ischis*, and *Stymphalus*. Upon Occasion of *Azan*'s Death, funeral Games were celebrated for the first Time; it is at least certain, that Horse-Races were there; but what were the other Sort of Games, says *Pausanias*, I know not.

Clitor fixed his Residence at *Lycosura*; he was one of the most powerful Kings of his Time, and he built a City called after the Name of its Founder. *Aleus* took Possession of the Lands that had fallen to his Lot. As for the Sons of *Elatius*, *Cyllen* gave his Name to Mount *Cyllene*, and *Stymphalus* gave his not only to a Fountain of that Country, but also to a City which he built hard by.

The Kingdom of *Arcadia* devolved upon *Epytus*, the Nephew of *Clitor*, who died without Issue; and he himself was killed by the Bite of a Serpent. *Aleus* succeeded him, and built the Temple of *Minerva Alea* in the City of *Tegæa*, which was the Capital of his Empire. After the Death of *Aleus*, *Lycurgus* ascend-

ed the Throne. His Son was *Ancæus*, who distinguished himself in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, and in the Hunting of *Calydon*, in which he perished. *Lycurgus* having lost his Son, was succeeded by *Echemus*, under whose Conduct the *Acbeans* gained a signal Victory near the Isthmus of *Corinth*. *Agapenor*, Son to *Ancæus*, who ascended the Throne after him, commanded the *Arcadian* Troops at the Siege of *Troy*. After the Destruction of that famous City, he was driven by Stress of Weather upon the Coasts of *Cyprus*, where he settled.

These, according to *Pausanias*, were the first Inhabitants of *Greece*, especially of *Arcadia*; but that Country soon put on a new Face, by means of the Colonies that arrived there from *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*.

C H A P. V.

*The History of the first Kingdoms founded in Greece,
by the Colonies that arrived there.*

AS the large and beautiful Country of *Greece* had not been sufficiently peopled by *Javan's* Posterity, and by the antient *Pelasgi*, several Colonies came thither at different Times, especially from *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, which Countries being nearer to those where the first Descendants of *Noah* settled, were also more populous. The first and at the same Time the most necessary Arts of Life, which *Noah* had either preserved or invented, and which are always to be found in Countries where was the first Settlement of Mankind after the Deluge, were lost in Proportion as Men removed to a greater Distance; and thus they who knew them had to teach them anew to those among whom they settled. Accordingly they gradually revived in the West with the Arrival of the Colonies; who together with Arts and Sciences introduced thither their Customs, Laws, and Religion. Idolatry reigned at that Time in *Greece*, but it was so very gross, that the very Names of the Gods whom they worshipped were unknown,

unknown (1). Thus the first Inhabitants of Greece, made no Scruple to adopt the Divinities of the *Ori-entals*, to whom they were indebted for their Politeness, and the civilized Life which they led afterwards.

Among those Leaders of Colonies, the most noted are *Inachus*, *Cecrops*, *Deucalion*, *Cadmus*, *Danaus*, *Pelops*, and some others: Of these several Colonies were formed the Kingdoms of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and the rest. The History of these several States, and the Explanation of the Fables that are intermingled with it, shall be the Subject of so many separate Articles.

A R T I C L E I.

The Kingdom of Argos founded by Inachus.

The Beginnings of the Kingdom of *Argos* are somewhat confused. *Inachus*, who came from *Phœnicia*, arrived in *Greece* about the Year 1880 before *Christ*, where he founded that Kingdom, and settled in the Country, since called the *Peloponnesus*. This Epoch tallies to the System of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, who had himself followed that of *Eratosthenes*. This Author reckoned twenty-two Generations between that Leader of the Colony and the Destruction of *Troy*. Of those twenty-two Generations there were twelve to *Nanus*, contemporary with *Cecrops*, which make just the four hundred Years they reckoned between these two Princes. *Moses* was contemporary with *Inachus*, and not with *Cecrops*, as *Eusebius* would have it, having for that Effect abridged the Times, and departed from *Africanus*, *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Polybistor*, *Ptolemy* of *Mendes*, and many other Authors, as Father *Pexron* has fully proved in his Book of *The Antiquity of Time restored* (2); and this is a Truth controverted by few of the Learned at this Day. I refer to the Author now quoted for the Arguments in Support of this Opinion, though to speak the Truth, I don't believe that Period to be so long; but there is no Danger in following the Opinion of the two Antients now named.

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(1) See the Beginning of the second Volume. (2) Ch. 8 and 9.

The Learned are not much satisfied with the Researches of the *Greeks*, who not knowing whence that antient Prince came, gave out that he was the Son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, the common Genealogy of those who came by Sea ; and several Moderns have puzzled themselves to unfold the Original of that antient King. Some will have him to have come from *Egypt* ; others make him the same with the famous *Anak*, or rather one of his Posterity. But *M. le Clerc*, after *Bochart* (1), maintains, with more Reason, that *Inachus* is not a proper Name, but an Appellative. The antient *Phœnicians* were called *Ben-Anak* ; thus the Son of *Anak* was a Name, given to those who came from that Country and settled elsewhere ; and of that Name was formed *Inak* or *Inachus*, the Appellation given to the Leader of the Colony. For the same Reason did the *Greeks* give the Name of *Anaces* to their antient Divinities, of whom they had the Knowledge and Worship from *Phœnicia*, and with a small Variation to their antient Kings. Farther, it was given out afterwards, that this *Inachus* was the God of a River, only because he communicated his Name to the River *Amphilochus*, for which he made a Channel be dug ; and after his Death, they fabled, according to the Custom of those Times, that he was become the tutelar Divinity of that River.

The Kingdom of *Argos*, founded by *Inachus*, enjoyed a long Succession of Kings : The nine first were called *Inachides*, namely *Inachus*, *Phoroneus*, *Apis*, *Argus*, *Chryseus*, *Phorbas*, *Triopas*, *Stelenus* and *Gelanor* ; the last was not long in Possession of the Crown, which was taken from him in the Manner I shall relate, after having spoke of the Kings of *Sicyon*.

A R T I C L E II.

The Kingdom of Sicyon, founded by Egialeus.

There is no small Uncertainty and Obscurity in the antient History of *Sicyon*. This City was
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(1) Phaleg. l. i. c. i.

in the *Peloponnesus*, upon a Mountain in the Neighbourhood of the Gulf of *Corinth*. *Pausanias* has left us a Catalogue of those Kings, which precedes those of *Argos* by 200 Years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* have preserved that of *Castor* the Historian, but not so full as that of *Pausanias*. Authors justly remark, that those Princes are fictitious, and never had a real Existence, and the rather, that their Reigns don't agree with those of the Kings of *Argos*, whose History is attested in a quite other Manner by the Antients; This is what led *Marsham*, so well skilled in the Knowledge of Antiquity, to reject most of those Princes (1). The chief Arguments he builds upon are the following.

1. *Egialeus*, according to *Apollodorus* (2), is the Son of *Inachus*, and Brother of *Phoroneus*, which undoubtedly is the Opinion we ought to follow. However, the two Lists of those antient Kings now remaining, place him at the Head of those of *Sicyon*, and consequently, make him live 200 Years before his Father.

2. The nineteenth King of that Dynasty, we are told, gave his Name to the City; but according to *Pausanias*, this was *Pelops*, who did not live till long after that City had got the Name of *Sicyon*.

3. *Polyphilus*, the twenty-fourth of those Kings, lived, if we may believe some antient Authors, at the Time of the taking of *Troy*. Yet he is unknown to all the Authors who have given Account of the Siege of that City; and *Homer* says expressly, that *Adrastus* was the first King of *Sicyon*.

4. In the Enumeration which that Poet makes of the Captains who led Troops to *Troy*, no Mention is made of the *Sicyonians*; which proves that City to have been then subject to *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ*.

To these Arguments we may add, that the Proofs which we bring afterwards, quite overthrow the Pretensions of the *Sicyonians*. For how shall we reconcile what the Antients say of the Antiquity of *Argos* with these Pretensions of theirs? *Pliny* tells us, upon the

A a 4. Autho-

(1) Can. Chron. (2) L. 3.

Authority of *Anticlides*, that *Phoroneus*, King of *Argos*, is the most antient King of *Greece*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says the same, upon the Testimony of *Acesilaus*, and he adds that *Phoroneus* was even the first Man. *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, knows nothing in the *Greek History* prior to that Prince ; and *Syncellus*, from these Authorities, thinks that History ought to begin with *Inachus*, the Father of *Phoroneus*. These are the Arguments of *Marsham*, who could not even believe that *Inachus* was a Man, but a River.

M. le Clerc, and some other Authors, add to these Arguments, that the Name of *Egialeus*, which *Eusebius*, after *Castor*, puts at the Head of the Kings of *Sicyon*, appears to be fictitious. And indeed *Egialeus* imports one who inhabits upon the Coast, *Littoralis* ; for which Conjecture, *Herodotus* furnishes these Authors with a Handle (1). The *Ionians*, says he, who inhabited the *Peloponnesus* before *Ion* the Son of *Xutus*, were called *Pelasgian Egialei* : Whence that Historian would seem to distinguish two Sorts of *Pelasgians* in the *Peloponnesus*, those who dwelt upon the Sea-coast, and those who inhabited the Inland Country, towards Mount *Cyllene*, where *Pelasgus*, according to the Testimony of *Asius* in *Pausanias* (2), had settled.

Notwithstanding these Authorities and Arguments, we may still adhere to the Authority of *Eusebius* and *Cedrenus*, who have adopted the List of those Kings given by *Castor* the Historian ; for though the Word *Egialeus* signifies an Inhabitant of the Sea-coasts, and though this were not the true Name of the first King of *Sicyon*, yet he might nevertheless be a real King, and one of the Sons of *Inachus*, who had got that Appellation to denote that he had left *Argolis*, which extended as far as the Sea, and established a new Kingdom near the Gulf of *Corinth*, in a Place at some Distance from that which he had left. However, I shall not set down that Canon here ; for what would be the Use of giving a List of Kings almost unknown, and of whom we have hardly any Account in History ?
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(1) L. 7. (2) In Arc.

It suffices to know, that according to *Scaliger* (1), the two Dynasties of the Princes of *Sicyon*, that of the Kings, who are in all 26, and that of the Priests of *Carnean Apollo*, to the Number of 17, lasted 893 Years, or, according to M. *Fourmond* (2), 992 ; that the Kingdom of *Sicyon* commenced 1351 Years before the first *Olympiad*, 927 Years before the *Trojan War*, about 2000 Years before the Christian *Æra* ; more Exactness is not here necessary. I refer the Reader to the Author of the Critical Reflections whom I have already quoted. As to *Pausanias*, what he says of these Kings being more full and instructive, I think proper to give it a Place here.

“ As for the *Sicyonians*, says he (3), this is the Ac-
 “ count which they give us of their Original. *Egi-*
 “ *aleus*, say they, a Native of their own Country, was
 “ their first King ; under whose Reign, that Part of
 “ the *Peloponnesus* which is called at this Day *Egiale*,
 “ got its present Denomination. In that Country,
 “ he built in the open Field the City *Egialea*, with a
 “ Citadel which covered all the Ground whereon the
 “ Temple of *Minerva* now stands. *Egialeus* was the
 “ Father of *Europs*, of whom was born *Telckis*, whose
 “ Son was *Apis*. This last became so powerful, be-
 “ fore the Arrival of *Pelops* at *Olympia*, that all the
 “ Country comprehended in the Isthmus, was called
 “ from him *Apia*. The Descendants of *Apis* were
 “ *Talxion* his Son, *Egyrus* the Son of *Talxion*, *Thuri-*
 “ *machus* the Son of *Egyrus*, and *Leucippus* the Son of
 “ *Thurimachus*. *Leucippus* had but one Daughter,
 “ whose Name was *Chalcinia*, who bore a Son to
 “ *Neptune*. *Leucippus* took Care of this Son, and up-
 “ on his Death bequeathed the Kingdom to him.
 “ The Name of this Son was *Peratus*, and he was the
 “ Father of *Plemnea*, of whom ’tis reported that when
 “ she could not bring up a Child, *Ceres* in Disguise
 “ offered herself to nurse the young *Orthopolis*. Or-
 “ *thopolis*

(1) Doctr. Temp. (2) Ref. Crit. T. 2. p. 267. (3) In Co-
 rinth. c. 5 & 6, according to the Translation of the Abbé Gedouin,
 D. 1. p. 156.

“ *ibopolis* had a Daughter named *Chrysorta*, who had
 “ by *Apollo*, *Coronus*; to him were born *Corax* and
 “ *Lamedon*.

“ *Corax* having died without Issue, *Epopeus* from
 “ *Thessaly* possessed himself of the Kingdom, and it
 “ was under his Reign that an Army of Foreigners,
 “ entered for the first Time into the Country.”

Pausanias relates the Cause of this War, which was
 kindled upon Account of *Antiope*; but not to inter-
 rupt the Succession of these Kings, we shall reserve
 the History thereof for the Article of that Princess.

“ After the Death of *Corax*, continues *Pausanias*,
 “ *Lamedon* his Brother ascended the Throne, and mar-
 “ ried *Pheno* the Daughter of *Clytus* the *Athenian*.
 “ Being attacked by two powerful Enemies, he in-
 “ vited *Sicyon* from *Athens*, on whom he bestowed his
 “ Daughter *Zeuxippe* in Marriage. *Sicyon*, after the
 “ Death of his Father-in-law, took Possession of the
 “ Kingdom, changed the Name both of the City and
 “ Country, which from that Time was denominated
 “ *Sicyon*. This Prince left a Daughter called *Ctono-*
 “ *phyle*, who had two Sons, *Polybus* and *Andromas*.
 “ It was under the Reign of the former of these
 “ two Princes, that *Adrastus*, banished *Argos*, fled
 “ for Refuge to *Sicyon*, and reigned there after him.
 “ But being recalled home, he left the Crown to *Jā-*
 “ *niscus*, the Grandson of that *Clytus*, who had given
 “ his Daughter to *Lamedon*, as has been said. He
 “ again had for his Successor *Phestus*, who having
 “ gone over into *Crete*, was succeeded by *Zeuxippe*.
 “ After her *Hippolytus*, the Grandson of *Phestus*, ascended
 “ the Throne. *Agamemnon* declared War upon him,
 “ and reduced him to Terms of Submission. He was
 “ succeeded by his Son *Lacestades*: It was under his
 “ Reign that *Phalces*, the Son of *Terminus*, at the
 “ Head of a Troop of *Dorians*, made himself Master
 “ of the City of *Sicyon*, and shared the Kingdom
 “ with the lawful Prince. From that Time the *Si-*
 “ *cyonians* were united with the *Dorians*, and began
 “ to make a Part of the Kingdom of *Argos*.”

This,

This, to be sure, is a very circumstantiated History, which *Pausanias* had learned in the Country itself. I was willing, however, before I cited it, to enable the Reader to judge of it, by setting forth the Arguments of the Learned, who combat its Truth. If it be asked whence came this *Egialeus*, whose Original is not given, we may answer that he came from some Country of *Phœnicia*, as *Inachus*, or from *Egypt*, as *Danaus*, of whom we shall speak in the following Article.

ARTICLE III.

The Arrival of Danaus in Greece.

The happy Success of *Cecrops's* Colony, probably induced *Danaus*, who was an *Egyptian* as well as he, likewise to attempt a Settlement in the same Country. Being forced to quit *Egypt*, he fitted out a Ship wherein he embarked his fifty Daughters, whom he had by several Wives, with all his Domesticks, and some *Egyptians* who were willing to accompany him. He stop'd first in the Island of *Rhodes*, where after having consecrated a Statue to *Minerva*, one of the great Divinities of *Egypt*, in Gratitude for his Successful Voyage, he re-embarked and arrived in *Greece*.

Gelanor, who had lately ascended the Throne of *Argos*, received the Stranger with Courtesy, which very soon became fatal to himself. The Beginning of *Gelanor's* Reign was full of Broils; of these *Danaus* took Advantage, and having made a considerable Party, dethroned his Benefactor, put a Period to the Reign of the *Inachides*, and became the Head of those who were called *Belides*.

His Brother's Sons, who were also fifty in Number, having got Information of their Uncle, embarked to go in quest of him, with a Design to marry their Cousins, and to make Settlements in that Part of *Greece* where *Danaus* reigned; but that Prince, who took Umbrage at every Thing, and was in continual Dread of being dispossessed of the Crown which he had usurped, having received them with all the Marks of sincere Friendship, and given them his Daughters
in

in Marriage, being alarmed with the Response of an Oracle, which foretold that he was to be dethroned by one of his Sons-in-law, enjoined his Daughters to kill their Husbands the first Night of their Marriage; and all of them obeyed him but *Hypermnestra*, who saved her Husband *Lynceus*. *Danaus* hearing of this Disobedience of his Daughter, intended to punish her; but coming to himself at last, he acknowledged *Lynceus* for his Son-in-law and Heir; thus having died after a long Reign, *Lynceus* ascended the Throne, which he possessed for forty Years; and had for his Successors *Abas*, *Prætus*, and *Acrisius*, who left an only Daughter named *Danaë*, of whom was born *Perseus*, who had the Misfortune to kill his Grandfather, as shall be fully said in the History of this Heroe; for here we do but transiently touch upon the principal Æra. *Perseus* being guilty of this involuntary Murder, was forced to fly his Country, and to exchange his Dominions for those of *Megapenthes* his Cousin, King of *Tyrinthia*.

Thus the Kingdom of *Argos* lost the greatest Part of its Glory, and the rest of her Kings are little known until *Eibeocles*, the last of that Race, who died at the Siege of *Troy*. We find however one *Bias*, King of *Argos*, who by his Death left the Crown to his Son *Talaus*, from whom it devolved upon *Adrastus*, who, according to *Pausanias*, being dethroned, retired to *Sicyon*, and became the first King thereof, as we read in *Homer*; for this Poet seems to have known nothing about those fabulous Kings, as *Egialeus*, and others whom we find in the List of Kings of that City.

Perseus, grown sick of his Residence at *Tyrinthia*, removed to *Mycenæ*, and had also several Successors, who are as little known as those of the Kingdom of *Argos*, down to *Euristheus* the Rival of *Hercules*, and the last King of that Line, who died without Issue in the War which he had with the *Heracliidæ*. When that Prince set out from *Mycenæ* for that Expedition, he left the Administration of his Kingdom to *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops*, who became Master thereof after him.

him. He was succeeded by *Agamemnon*, who was slain upon his Return from *Troy*, as shall be said afterwards (a).

Orestes next ascended the Throne, and put a Period to the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*. We have an Account however of some of *Orestes*'s Successors; but their History is so uncertain, and their Reigns so short (b), that they have hardly a Place given them among the Kings of the *Peloponnesus*. The *Heracidae*, fourscore Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, re-entred into that Part of *Greece*, where they quite changed the Face of Things, and held it in their Possession for a considerable Time.

We may add, that to *Alceus* the Son of *Perseus* were born *Amphitryo* and his Sister *Anaxo*, who by her Husband *Electrion* had *Alcmena*, who married her Uncle *Amphitryo*, the Father of *Hercules*. Of *Mestor*, the other Son of *Perseus*, and *Siffidea* his Wife, was born *Hypotboos* the Father of *Taphius*, who dwelt in a City of *Cephalonia*, which he called *Taphos* after his own Name. After his Death *Electrion* invaded his Part of the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and his Sons coming to resume their Right, there ensued a Scuffle upon that Occasion, wherein they slew the Sons of *Electrion*, who gave *Alcmena* to *Amphitryo*, on condition that he would revenge their Death; but he having had the Misfortune to kill *Electrion* himself, was banished *Mycenæ* by *Sthenelus*, and retired to *Thebes*. There *Hercules* was born, who by this Means became a Subject of *Euristheus* the Son of *Sthenelus*, whose Kingdom belonged to him, the Race of *Perseus* being extinct by the Death of that Prince.

It will not be foreign to the Purpose, before I close this Article, to explain a Fable which we have in *Pausanias* with relation to *Inachus* (1). “The Greeks gave
“ out,

(a) Several of the Antients put *Plisthenes* between *Atræus* and *Agamemnon*, and even make the Latter to have been his Son.

(b) And indeed if *Orestes* reigned 70 Years, as we are told, there would remain but 10 for his Successors, for the Year of the Entrance of the *Heracidae* into *Peloponnesus* is fixed.

(1) In Corinth.

“ out; says that Author, that *Inachus*, the King of
 “ the Country, derived his Name from a River which
 “ he consecrated to *Juno*. This River had a Son nam-
 “ ed *Phoroneus*, who, with three other Rivers, *Cephi-*
 “ *sus*, *Asterion*, and *Inachus*, his own Father, was Ar-
 “ biter in the Controversy between *Neptune* and *Juno*,
 “ to determine which of the two had a Claim of
 “ Right to that Country. The Plea was decided in
 “ Favour of *Juno*. This *Neptune* highly resented, and
 “ in Revenge drained all those Rivers, by which Means
 “ neither the River *Inachus*, nor the other two could
 “ yield any Water, except in the Season when there is
 “ great Plenty of Rain.” This Fiction, making Al-
 lowance for the Marvellous, imports, 1. That *Inachus*
 got the better of the Inhabitants of *Cephesus* and *Aste-*
rior, in consecrating to *Juno* the Ground which was
 watered by those Rivers, which was before sacred to
Neptune; for thus we are to understand all those
 Controversies of the Gods which *Pausanias* speaks of
 (1). 2. That the pretended Revenge of *Neptune* had
 no other Foundation but that those Rivers happen
 in Reality to be only small Brooks, that are dry almost
 the whole Year.

As whatever relates to Genealogies is usually obscure,
 to help the Memory of Readers, I here subjoin a
 Table compiled by the learned and exact Father *Briet*,
 and inserted in his *Parallels* (2), which will shew at one
 Glance of the Eye the whole Posterity of *Inachus* and
Danaus.

(1) See the Article of *Minerva*, Vol. II. B. 1. (2) Tom. I.

The POSTERITY of INACHUS, King of ARGOS.

INACHUS,
Founder of
the King-
dom of *Ar-
gos*.

Io or *Isis*
had by *Ju-
piter*

Epaphus
King of
Egypt

Libya had
by *Nep-
tune*

BELUS.

DANAUS
had thirty
Daughters
whereof
twenty-nine
flew their
Husbands.

ÆGYPTUS
had thirty
Sons where-
of twenty-
nine were
slain by their
Wives.

HYPER-
MNESTRA.

Abas

ACRISIUS
PROETUS

DANAE
TALAUS

PERSEUS
ADRASTUS

Lynceus was saved alone by his Wife
Hypermnestra.

AGENOR.

CADMUS.
PHOENIX.
CILIX.
EUROPA.

Phoroneus

Cares.
Niobe
who had
by *Jupi-
ter*

Pelasgus

LYCAON
King of
Arcadia

Fifty Sons
who were
all slain ex-
cept *Nycti-
mus*.

Calisto
who had
by *Jupiter*

ARCAS

Aphidas
LYCURGUS
CEPHEUS
STENOBEA
the Wife of
Prætus

AMPHI-
DAMAS,
ANCEUS,
EPOCHUS,
IDÆUS,

Melanion
who had by
Atalanta

*Partheno-
pæus* one of
the 7 Chiefs
before
Thebes.

Elatni

While *Phoroneus*, the Successor of *Inachus*, was in Possession of the Throne of *Argos*, *Ogyges* governed *Attica*, and a Part of *Beotia*. Under his Reign happened the Inundation known since by the Name of *Ogyges's Deluge*.

ARTICLE IV.

The Deluge of Ogygès.

Nothing in the Antiquities of *Greece* is more obscure than the History of *Ogyges*, and of the Deluge which happened in his Time. Here are three Questions not in our Power sufficiently to answer : Whether this Prince was a Native of *Greece* or a Foreigner ; at what Time he lived ; and what Deluge it is that happened under his Reign. The *Greek* Historians tell us, that *Ogyges* reigned in *Attica* and *Beotia*, while *Phoroneus*, the Son of *Inachus*, governed *Argolis*, and that it was in his Time the Deluge happened which goes under his Name, whereof *Censorinus* fixes the Date about the Year 1200 before the *Trojan* War : But they quote no Authority in Proof of these Facts. The *Parian* Marbles say nothing of it, and that famous Chronicle begins only with the Arrival of *Cecrops* in *Greece*. There is as little Certainty in what the Antients say of the Deluge that happened under his Reign. *Strabo* alledges, it was owing to the overflowing of the River *Colpias* ; as if the Waters of that River could have swelled so high as to deluge *Beotia* and *Attica*. We may say with more Probability, that as *Beotia* is a Country environed with Mountains, the Middle thereof being a Valley, there was formed in this Valley a Lake, which had no Outlet but by Canals under Ground provided there by Nature, through which the Waters discharged themselves across Mount *Pious* ; and that these Canals having been choaked up by the falling down of the neighbouring Lands, the Waters which came thither from the adjacent Mountains, and which perhaps were encreased by great Falls of Rain, or by the melting of the Snows, which considerably swelled the River *Colpias*, flowed back upon the neighbouring Fields and laid them under Water. This

This I take to have been the most probable Cause of that Deluge ; and the curious *Wæler*, who in his Travels through *Greece* had occasion to examine that Lake and its Outlets, agrees that it could not possibly have happened any other Way.

S. Augustine, who in his Book *de Civ. Dei* has preserved to us valuable Fragments upon the *Greek* Antiquities, says, the Deluge of *Ogyges* happened, as has been said, under the Reign of *Phoroneus* the second King of *Argos* ; and he adds, that this was the Opinion of *Eusebius* and *S. Jerome*. *Orosius* places this Deluge 1040 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, near 2000 Years before the Christian *Æra* ; but *Scaliger* thinks they are both in an Error.

I shall not quote here the Opinion of *Sir Isaac Newton* : That celebrated Author, we know, has greatly contracted the Antiquities of *Greece*, by placing the Date of this Deluge in the Year 1045 before our *Vulgar Æra*.

Julius Africanus, upon the Authority of *Hellanicus*, *Philochorus*, *Castor* and *Diodorus Siculus*, will have it that *Ogyges* lived more than 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*, and consequently, near 1800 Years before *Jesus Christ* ; which agrees to the Opinion of *Petavius*, who fixes the Deluge under that Prince's Reign to the Year 1796 before our *Vulgar Æra*.

Sinſon, in his *Origines Sacræ* (1), makes *Ogyges* the same with *Cadmus* ; but *M. Fourmond* has by solid Arguments, which may be seen in his *Critical Reflexions*, proved that Author to be mistaken. The same *M. Fourmond* offers a Conjecture concerning *Ogyges* and his Deluge, which, if true, will cast a great Light upon *Balaam's* Prophecy. That Prince, says he, was the same with *Og*, *Agag*, or *Ogug*, who having left his own Country came and settled in *Greece*, where he perished by an Inundation. He was therefore an *Amalekite* Prince, who was forced to quit his own Dominions, being pursued by the other Princes of the Race of *Amalek*, who at that Time were

actually very powerful, and it was while he was in *Greece* that the Deluge happened in which he perished (1).

S. *Jerome*, in his *Latin* Version of the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, departs from his Author, and contends that it was not in *Attica*, as all the Antients alledge, but in *Egypt* that the Deluge of *Ogyges* happened ; and as S. *Jerome* will have that Prince to have been contemporary with *Moses*, we may conjecture that this pretended Deluge was nothing else but the Event that happened in the *Red-Sea* at the Exit of the *Hebrews*.

To give my own Opinion upon this Subject, 'tis certain that *Ogyges* was not a Native of *Greece*, his very Name alone sufficiently proves him to have been a Stranger ; but whether he came from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, or from the Country of *Amalek*, is more than I am able to determine. He went and settled at *Thebes* in *Beotia*, named frequently by the Antients *Ogygian Thebes*, and he also reigned over *Attica*. It was under his Reign the Inundation happened which I have been upon, which occasioned great Desolation in the Country, and went by the Name of the Deluge. That Prince had married *Thebe*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Jodamia* (2), by whom he had two Sons, *Cadmus* and *Eleusinus*, who built the City *Eleusis*, and three Daughters, *Alalcomene*, who is said to have nursed *Minerva*, who at that Time appeared upon the Borders of the Lake *Tritonis* ; whence *Homer* has given to that Goddess the Epithet of *Alalcomenian* ; the second of those Daughters was called *Aulis*, who communicated her Name to a Town in *Beotia* ; and the third *Thelphonia*. These three Princesses, after their Death, were worshipped as Divinities, under the Name of the *Praxidican Goddesses* (2).

The two Sons of *Ogyges* reigned, the one in *Beotia* and the other at *Eleusis* ; for no Credit is to be given to those who say that *Attica* was laid so much under Water by that Deluge as to continue a long Time

(1) See p. 231. & seq. (2) See Pausanias in Att. (3) Πραξι-
διναι.

Time uninhabited (1). Whether Ogyges perished in the Inundation or not, is what we cannot positively say. Among the three Daughters of Ogyges, *Alalcomene* was the most celebrated, from the Office she had given her, of being Nurse to *Minerva*, and from the Worship that was paid to her after her Death. She was reckoned the Goddess who brought Designs to a happy Issue, as is implied in the Word *Praxidice*. To her were offered in Sacrifice the Heads of Animals, as we are told by *Suidas* (2). *Pausanias* adds (3), that *Menelaus*, upon his Return home from the Siege of *Troy*, erected to her a Statue, as having by her Assistance put an End to the War which he had undertaken for the Recovery of *Helen* his Wife.

Whatever Diversity of Opinions we find as to the *Epocha* of the Deluge of Ogyges, I reckon it may be placed towards the Year 1796 before *Christ*. This *Epocha* is fixed in the *Greek* History. Accordingly *Julius Africanus*, cited by *Eusebius* (4), informs us, that all the Chronologists, and among others *Hellenicus*, *Philochorus*, *Castor*, *Tallus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are agreed in placing this Inundation 1020 Years before the first *Olympiad*. This *Olympiad* was undoubtedly that of *Chorebus*, celebrated about the Summer Solstice of the 776th Year before *Christ*. Thus, by necessary Consequence, this Deluge was in the Year 1796 before the Christian *Æra*. *Petavius* and *Marsham* have made the same Computation, and we may rely upon the Judgment of those two learned Men: But after all, the Time when that Prince reigned is so uncertain and obscure, that we can embrace no Hypothesis which is not liable to vast Difficulties. Accordingly every Thing of dark Antiquity used to be called *Ogygian*.

We must not omit, that the Reign of Ogyges was remarkable for a strange Appearance in the Heavens, as we learn from S. *Augustine* (5), after the Historian

B b 2

Castor:

(1) *Eusebius* says it remained desolate 190 Years. (2) On the Word *Praxidice*. (3) In Lac. (4) *Præp. Evan.* l. 10. c. 9. (5) *De Civit. Dei*.

Castor : These are the Words of that learned Father of the Church. *Est in Marci Varronis libris, quorum Inscriptio DE GENTE POPULI ROMANI, Castor scribit, in stella Veneris . . . Tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum; quod factum ita neque antea, neque postea sit. Hoc factum Ogyge Rege dicebant Adrastus Cyzicenus, & Dion Neapolius, Mathematici nobiles.* I shall not insist upon the History of this Phenomenon, which is said to have made the Planet *Venus* change her Diameter, Colour, Figure and Course, because M. *Freret*, who takes it to have been a Comet, the same that appeared in 1680, has composed a very large Dissertation upon that Subject, which the Reader may consult (1).

ARTICLE V.

The Kingdom of Athens founded by Cecrops.

The Chronicle of *Paros* begins its first *Epocha* with the Arrival of *Cecrops* in *Greece*, and from that Time we have more Insight into the History of that Country. As a Work composed for the Use of all ought to contain Pieces of Knowledge which will be of little or no Use to the Learned, I think my self obliged to explain in a few Words what this Chronicle is, commonly called *The Parian Marbles* : I have already quoted it, and shall have Occasion, as I go along, frequently to cite the *Epochas* of it. 'Tis a Series of several Pieces of Marble, containing the Chronology of the principal Events of *Greece*, beginning with *Cecrops*, and ending with the Archonship of *Diognetus* ; that is, thirteen hundred and eighteen Years after. This Chronicle was compiled by public Authority for the Use of the *Athenians*, sixty Years after the Death of *Alexander*, in the fourth Year of the hundred and eightieth *Olympiad* ; and as in the Dates which it fixes, no Mention is made of the *Olympiads*, 'tis probable, that they were not then used in Chronology. It was not till five or six Years after, that *Timæus* of *Sicily* made Use of them in his History. These

(1) Mem. of the Acad. of the Bell. Let. Vol. 10. p. 357.

These Marbles were dug up in the Island of *Paros*, and sold to the Earl of *Arundel*, who brought them over to *England*, where they are at this Day in the Library of the University of *Oxford*. They have the Misfortune to be very much damaged in several Places, and oft-times but a few Words are legible on some of the *Æras* which they contain.

Three learned Authors, *Selden*, *Lydiat* and *Prideaux*, have laboured to give Light to them, and to supply, as far as possible, the Text where it is defaced. They have also settled the Time of the last *Æra* of those Marbles; so that by tracing backward, we see the Distance from one *Æra* to another. Let us now begin the History of the Kingdom of *Athens*.

It was under the Reign of *Triopas*, the seventh King of *Argos*, that *Cecrops*, come from *Egypt*, settled in *Attica*. The Interpreters of the *Arundel* Marbles place this Event in the Year 1582 before the Christian *Æra*, and this *Epocka* agrees to the Chronology of *Censorinus*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, who make that Prince to have lived 400 Years after *Inachus*, and a little less than 400 Years before the Destruction of *Troy*: There is only the Difference of 26 Years between it and that of *Eusebius* (1). This Author, who agrees with the Chronology of those Marbles as to the Time that elapsed from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*, has abridged the Period between that War and the first *Olympiad* by 26 Years. But both of them set the Arrival of that Prince in *Greece* too far back, as those do still more, who make him contemporary with *Inachus* or *Egialeus*; for by adding the Reigns of the Kings of *Athens*, from and including that Prince, to *Mnestheus*, in whose Time *Troy* was taken, there are only eleven Reigns and ten Generations, which computed at the Rate of three to a hundred Years, make but 330 Years from *Cecrops* to the taking of *Troy*; for we reckon not *Mnestheus*, who was but just come to the Crown.

Cecrops married the Daughter of *Acteus*, who com-
B b 3
municated

(1) See *Selden Notæ Histor. ad Marmora*, p. 94 & 95.

municated his Name to that Country (*a*), and with his Colony founded twelve Cities, or rather twelve Villages, whereof he composed the Kingdom of *Athens*, and established there both the Laws of his Country, and the Worship of its Gods ; he especially introduced thither that of *Minerva*, worshipped at *Sais* his native City, that of *Jupiter*, and the other Gods of *Egypt*. This Fact is attested by all Antiquity. *Eusebius* (1) says he was the first who gave *Jupiter* the Name of God, erected an Altar to him, and dedicated a Statue to *Minerva*. *S. Epiphanius* repeats the same Thing, as *Pausanias* had said so before (2).

If there is some Resemblance between the Laws which this Prince gave the *Athenians*, and those of the *Jews*, it may be owing to his having learned them from the *Israelites* who sojourned a long Time in *Egypt* ; and the Reason why the Poets call him *Diphyes*, as you would say, *a Man of a double Nature*, is probably that he having come with his Retinue from a foreign Country, and having the Command of two Nations, the one of them civilized, the other quite barbarous, was given out to be half Man half Serpent, as it is in *Apollodorus* (3) ; or perhaps for having spoke two Languages, the *Egyptian* and the *Greek* ; or lastly, because he regulated the Laws of Marriage which unite both Sexes : For all these three Interpretations are given by Authors. In fact, he polished the barbarous Manners of the *Pelasgi*, and habituated them by Degrees to those of the *Egyptians*.

It was the same *Cecrops*, if we may believe *Eusebius* (4), who first invoked *Jupiter*, erecting Statues and Altars to him, and offering Sacrifices in his Honour : *Primus Cecrops bovem immolans Jovem appellavit* (5), after the Manner probably of the *Egyptians*, whose

(*a*) The Country where *Cecrops* settled, as is remarked by the *Parian Marbles*, was formerly called *Actica*, from *Acteus* ; or *Ogygia*, from the Name of *Ogyges* ; and that Prince changed it to *Cecropia*.

(1) *Præp. Evan.* l. 10. c. 9. (2) *In Att.* (3) *L.* 1. (4) *In Princ.* l. 2. *Chron.* (5) *N.* 46.

whose Laws and Ceremonies he had learned. *Pausanias* (1) however remarks, that he offered in Sacrifice only Things inanimate, and that the Custom of animal Sacrifices was not introduced into *Greece* till after his Time.

As for the Policy and Order which this Prince established in his new Kingdom, it suffices to observe with *Strabo* (2), after *Philochorus*, that in order to secure his Subjects against the Irruptions of the *Cerians*, who attacked them by Sea, and from the *Beotians* of *Aonia*, who infested them by Land, he collected them into twelve Villages, the Names whereof this Author has not preserved. *Theseus*, who afterwards ascended the Throne of *Athens*, reduced those twelve Villages to one City.

Porphyry (3) informs us, that *Cecrops* staid some Time in *Cyprus* before his Arrival in *Greece*, and that in the City *Coronis*, which *Cecrops* rebuilt, and which was since called *Salamis*, a Custom was established in Honour of *Aglauros* his Daughter, of sacrificing every Year a Human Victim. This Custom lasted very long; and after the Death of *Diomedes*, that Heroe had the Honour of the Sacrifice which was offered up before to that Princess. The unfortunate Victim, says the same Author, was conducted to the Temple; and after he had been led three Times round the Altar, the Priest transfix'd his Body with a Spear; and immediately had it laid upon a Funeral-Pile. *Demophilus*, the King of *Cyprus*, abolished this detestable Ceremony in the Time of *Seleucus*, exchanging the human Sacrifice for that of an Ox.

Thus *Athens*, the Inventress of Arts and Sciences, the Seat of Learning and Politeness, owes her Beginning to *Egypt*: Not that the Country was quite desolate when *Cecrops* arrived there, but its Inhabitants were mostly barbarous and savage, living in the Woods and Mountains, without Laws, Society or Discipline. This *Egyptian* Prince gathered into one Body all in his Neighbourhood, formed them into a

B b 4

solid

(1) In Att. l. 8. (2) L. 9. (3) L. 2. de Abstin.

solid Establishment, and built the Fortrefs which from him was denominated *Cecropian*, as was also the whole Country.

Cecrops left three Daughters, *Aglauros* (a), *Herfê*, and *Pandrosos*, who became famous under his Successors, by the Fables I am going to relate. After the Death of *Cranaus* who ascended the Throne after *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius* disputed the Crown with *Amphiction*, who having gained the Victory, succeeded *Cranaus*, after whom reigned *Erichthonius*. 'Tis of this last that the *Cecropian* Fables have been published. This *Erichthonius* had an infamous Original given him: *Minerva* seeing him born lame and misshapen, hid him in a Basket, and gave the Care of it to *Aglauros*, forbidding her to look into it; but as Prohibitions serve but to raise that Sexes Curiosity, she opened the Basket, and found therein nothing but a Child with the Legs of a Serpent. *Minerva* punished that Princess's Indiscretion, by making her jealous of *Herfê* her Sister, of whom *Mercury* was enamoured; and one Day as she was going to hinder that God from entering into the Appartment of his Mistress, he struck her with his *Caduceus*, and transformed her into a Rock. The Truth of this Fable is, that the Name of *Erichthonius* being compounded of two *Greek* Words which signify *Contest* and *Earth*, instead of saying he had been so called from the Dispute he had with his Competitor, they fabled, and *Strabo* (1) says it as well as others, that he was the Son of *Vulcan*, and of the *Earth*, who had conceived him at the same Time when *Minerva* resisted the Violence of that God; unless we choose rather to say with *S. Augustine*, that this Prince passed for the Son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, only because he had been exposed in a Temple consecrated to them.

As *Erichthonius* had really weak and distorted Limbs, so he invented the Use of Chariots, as most of the Antients

(a) The *Greek* Authors are not agreed that she was dead when her Father arrived at *Athens*.

(1) L. 9.

nients alledge with *Virgil* (a); or at least he added Wheels to a Kind of Dray which *Trochilus* had brought into Use before him; and he made so good Use of this new Invention in the Celebration of the *Athenaia*, where he won the Prize, and whereof he was the Founder, according to the tenth Epocha of the *Parian* Marbles, that after his Death he was advanced to the Constellation of the Charioteer, or *Bootes*, as we learn from *Hyginus* (b).

To the Fable now recited they add, that *Pandrosos*, the third Daughter of *Cecrops*, would not disobey *Minerva*; and that the *Greeks*, as a Reward for her Piety, built her a Temple after her Death near that of the Goddess, as it is in *Pausanias*: But *Herodotus* says *Aglauros* and *Hersè* received the same Honour.

The Kingdom of *Athens* lasted upwards of 400 Years under 17 Kings; namely, *Cecrops*, *Cranaus*, *Amphietyon*, *Erichthonius*, *Pandion*, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops II.* *Pandion II.* *Egeus*, *Theseus*, *Mnestheus*, *Demophoon*, *Oxintes*, *Aphidas*, *Tymoethes*, *Melantes*, and *Codrus*, who devoted himself to his Country.

Cranaus, a Native of the Country, succeeded *Cecrops*, and reigned nine Years; his Reign would be very obscure, were it not for two Events which the *Parian* Marbles record to have happened in that Time. The first is the Judgment given by the *Areopagus*, founded by *Cecrops*, between *Neptune* and *Mars*, of which we have spoken at full Length in the History of those Gods. The second is *Deucalion's* Deluge, which the same Marbles refer to the fourth Year of this Prince's Reign.

After *Codrus*, perpetual Magistrates were elected, under the Name of *Archons*. The History of the first Kings of *Athens* down to *Demophoon*, is full of Fables,
as

(a) *Primus Erichthonius Cursus, & quatuor ausus
Iungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.*

Geor. l. 3.

(b) *Alii Anguina crura habuisse Erichthonium dixerunt, eumque
primo tempore adolescentiæ ludos Minervæ Panathenææ fecisse, &
ipsum quadrigis cucurrisse: pro quibus factis inter sidera dicitur cal-
latus. Hygip. Coel. Astro. l. 2.*

as we shall see in the sequel; but there are none of them whose Chronology is not ascertained; since the *Parian Marbles* mark exactly the chief Events of them, and fix their *Æras*.

The Kingdom of *Laconia* was founded during the Reign of the same *Cecrops* by *Lelex*, who gave it the Name of *Lelegia*. But as these Kings enter seldom into our Fables, we shall dwell no longer upon this Subject. All we shall observe here is, that the first Dynasty, answering to the Times we are now upon, includes twelve Kings; namely, *Eurotas*, who communicated his Name to the River that runs in the Country; *Lacedemon*, his Brother, after whom the Capital and Kingdom were called; *Amyclas*, who built a City of his own Name; *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, *Ebalus*, *Hippocoon*, *Tyndarus* the Son of *Ebalus* and Brother of *Hippocoon*; *Castor* and *Pollux*, the Sons of *Tyndarus*, and Brothers of *Helen*; *Menelaus* the Son of *Atreus*, who got the Crown by *Helen*; *Orestes*, the Son of *Agamemnon*, by his Marriage with *Hermione* the Daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helen*; *Tisamenes*, the Son of *Orestes*. It was under his Reign that the *Heraclidæ* entered into the *Peloponnesus*, and made themselves Masters not only of the Kingdoms of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, but also of *Lacedemon*. *Euristhenes* the Son of *Aristodemus* ascended the Throne, and began the second Dynasty of the Kings of *Sparta*, denominated *Agidæ* from *Agis* his Son.

ARTICLE VI.

The Arrival of Deucalion in Greece.

We have said in the History of the *Titan* Princes (1), that *Prometheus* had been banished into *Scythia*, to the Confines of *Caucasus*. His Son *Deucalion*, who married *Pyrrha* his Cousin, the Daughter of his Uncle *Epimetheus*, weary of that melanchonly Retreat, and having probably found some favourable Opportunity, came and settled in *Thessaly* (2), in the Confines of *Phthia*, or rather, according to the *Parian Marbles*, in *Lycoria* near *Parnassus*. These Authors explain that

Chronicle

(1) Vol. II. B. 1. (2) Apoll. l. 1.

Chronicle contrary to the Sentiment of *Pausanias* (1), who alledges, that *Lycoria* was not a Province, but a City, situated upon the Declivity of that Mountain. At Bottom there is no Contradiction between these two Authorities, since the City and the Province that depended upon it might both have the same Name.

The Æra of the Arrival of that Prince is well marked in the same Chronicle, and it was the ninth Year of *Cecrops's* Reign at *Athens*; that is about the Year 215 or 220 before the *Trojan* War, and about 1400 Years before the Christian Æra. Farther, every Thing concurs to justify the Æra of those Marbles, since 1. From *Cecrops* to *Theseus*, who died a short Time before the Siege of *Troy*, there are ten Reigns, whereof the first reached even to the Arrival of *Deucalion*. Now reckoning 22 or 23 Years for each, we will have the Date settled by the Chronicle. 2. By considering the Descendants or Generations from that Prince to the taking of *Troy*, as they are enumerated by the Antients, the Thing will be yet more certain, since we seldom find more than six or seven of them, which make about 200 or 230 Years. 'Tis true, in some of the Families of those Descendants we find sometimes to the Number of ten; but besides that they are more frequently only six or seven, we know that at the End of 200 Years, the Generations of two collateral Families are not always equal.

To conclude, nothing is more celebrated in the *Greek* History than *Deucalion*, who has been reckoned the Repairer of Mankind, since it was under his Reign that the Deluge happened which bears his Name, and he had a numerous Posterity who reigned in several Parts of *Greece*; Two Points upon which 'tis necessary to enlarge.

ARTICLE VII.

The Deluge of Deucalion.

Let us begin with the Fables relating to this famous Event. *Jupiter*, they tell us, seeing the Wickedness

(1) In Phoc.

edness of Man grow from Day to Day, resolved to extirpate the whole human Race (1). For that End he poured down such a Quantity of Rain as to drown the whole Earth : Even the highest Mountains were covered with Water, and frustrated the Hopes of those who fled thither for Refuge. Only Mount *Parnassus*, whose Top was not laid under Water, saved the pious *Deucalion* and his Wife *Pyrrha*. After the Waters were withdrawn, they went to consult the Goddess *Themis*, who delivered Oracles at the Foot of the Mountain (*a*), and there they learned that in order to repeople the World, they were to dig up the Bones of their great Mother. Their Piety was alarmed at so cruel an Oracle ; but *Deucalion* considering that as the Earth was their common Parent, her Bones might possibly signify the Stones contained within her Bowels ; they took some of them, and cast them behind their Backs, having their Eyes shut : Those which *Deucalion* threw formed Men, and those of *Pyrrha* Women. Let us see what this Allegory means.

'Tis obvious that this Narration contains many Fables ; but as the Substance thereof is true, it must be explained. In the ninth Year of the Reign of *Cecrops*, *Deucalion* came into *Greece*, and took Possession of *Leucoria* near *Parnassus*, where he reigned ; but not contenting himself with the petty State which he had seized upon, he made War upon his Neighbours, and made himself Master of Part of the *Lower Thessaly*, near the River *Peneus* ; the Name of the Province at that Time was *Phthiotis*, from *Phthius* of *Arcadia*, who had seized upon it 160 Years before, as we learn from *Pausanias* (2). As the Country before *Phthius's* Time

(1) See *Ovid's Met.* l. 1.

(*a*) *Ovid* in this follows the better Tradition ; for the Learned agree. that the Oracle of *Delphi* was not yet established in that Place. but that *Themis* at that Time delivered Oracles there. The Mythologists agree that there always was an Oracle in that Place : First *Terra*, or the *Earth*, gave Predictions there, then her Daughter *Themis*, then *Apollo*.

See the Article of the City of *Delphi*, and what we have said upon Oracles in the first Volume.

(2) In *Arc.*

Time was denominated *Hellas*, *Deucalion* thought fit, in order to gain the Good-will of his Subjects, to call one of his Sons *Hellen*; and he having ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father, and having made several Conquests, would needs have his Subjects take the Name of *Hellenians*, which was peculiar to them till what Time all the *Greeks* assumed it; which happened about the Beginning of the *Olympiads*, that is, about 775 Years before the Christian *Æra*. In the Time of *Homer* we know that none but *Deucalion's* Posterity were called *Hellenians*.

Most Authors are of Opinion that the Deluge which happened under the Reign of this Prince was occasioned by the River *Peneus*, whose Course was probably stopped by some Earthquake between Mount *Ossa* and *Olympus*, where is the Mouth of that River, through which it discharges itself into the Sea with the additional Water of five other Rivers: This, say they, together with a vast Quantity of Rain which fell that Year, laid all *Thessaly*, which is a low Country, under Water.

What *Herodotus* (1) says in his Description of that Province, sufficiently proves this to have been the Cause of that Inundation. “ ’Tis said that *Thessaly* “ once was nothing but a Lake, being environed on “ all Sides with Hills. The Country which lies between those Hills is what they call *Thessaly*, which is “ watered with Plenty of Rivers, the chief whereof “ are the *Peneus*, the *Apidanus*, the *Onsches*, the “ *Eripeus*, and the *Panito*. These five Rivers, falling down from the neighbouring Mountains, after “ having run through the low Country, disembogue “ themselves into the Sea by a very narrow Canal, “ where they all unite, and make but one great River, which retains the Name of *Peneus*. They tell “ us further, that before the Canal was made, these “ Rivers flooded the whole Country, and turned it “ into a great Lake; but that *Neptune* having formed that great Canal, all the Waters retired.”

IN

(1) L. 7.

In the mean time, as the *Parian* Marbles make *Deucalion* to have reigned not in *Thessaly*, but at *Lycbræa*, in the Confines of *Parnassus*, we must add to *Herodotus's* Relation, that Part of the Inundation was owing to a Breach in the Bank of the Lake, which was at the Bottom of *Parnassus*, and that *Deucalion*, to shelter himself from it, went up to the highest Top of the Mountain: As to which, you may consult the Travels of *Spoh* and *Wæler*, who have seen the Lake.

Some Time after, the Waters having retired, the Country was very soon re-peopled. The Children of those who were preserved, are the mystical Stones whereof the Poets make so frequent Mention, this Fable having no other Foundation but a mere Quibble, the *Phœnician* Word *Aben*, or *Eben*, signifying equally a *Stone* or a *Child* (1); and the Word *Laos* in *Greek* a *Stone*, or a *People*, as is observed by the learned Scholiast on *Pindar* (2). Thus those who gave Account of this antient Fact, took one Signification for another, and vented a mysterious Fable. We may even add, that the Ferocity and Obduracy of those first Men, by no Means belied their Original.

*Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati* (3).

To proceed. The Manner in which *Salmasius* reads a Passage in *Hesiod* in his Fragments, casts a great Light upon the Explanation of this Fable. The *Locrians* were antiently called *Leleges*, and they inhabited *Phocis*. That Poet says *Jupiter* gave them to *Deucalion* to re-people the World; and the Expression he makes use of, according to the Correction of that Critic, signifies not that *Jupiter* gave him Men of Stone, but come from a stony Country: *Erutos e terra lapidum dedit Deucalioni*. In a Word, instead of saying the Men who were not drowned in the Deluge, came from a stony Mountain, they fabled that they were sprung from the very Stones of that Mountain.

Pausanias,

(1) See *Bochart*. (2) See *Grant Menil*, p. 532. (3) *Ovid. Met. l. 1.*

Pausanias, in his *Phocica*, says the Wolves, by the Howlings they made for fear of being drowned, warned those who run the same Hazard to get up to the Top of *Parnassus*; and that having built there a City, they called it by the Name of *Lycoræa*, from the Wolves; but the *Arundel-Marbles* overthrow this Tradition, since we see by them that *Deucalion* reigned at *Lycoræa* before this Deluge.

The Poets, in order to veil the History of this Fact under an ingenious Fiction, fabled that *Neptune*, by a Blow of his Trident, separated Mount *Ossa* from *Olympus*, to open a Channel for the River *Peneus*; but *Herodotus* is more rational in his Relation of this Fable (1). “The Opinion of those who made *Neptune* the Author of that Separation, says he, was not quite groundless: For all who are for ascribing Earthquakes to *Neptune*, and who will have all Openings that are thus made, to be the Works of that God, will have no Difficulty to believe that *Neptune* made this Canal, when they take a View of it.” His Meaning is, that the Opening appeared so very surprising, as to be attributed to *Neptune*, according to the Custom of those Times. As to which it is observed (2), that the Festival of the *Peloria*, so famous among the *Thessalians*, where public Entertainments were prepared for Strangers, and even for Slaves, who were served by their Masters, came from this, that one *Pelorus* was the first who gave Intimation to *Pelias*, that by Means of an Opening in the Valley of *Tempé* the Waters were removed; which gave that Prince so much Joy, that he regaled *Pelorus* in a magnificent Manner, and would needs even serve him at Table.

When the Waters were thus assuaged, *Deucalion*, according to the *Parian Chronicle*, went to *Athens*, where, in Gratitude to the Gods for having preserved him from the general Inundation of his Country, he offered solemn Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, in a Temple which he built to his Honour, and which was still subsisting in

(1) L. 1. (2) *Athenæus*, l. 14.

in the Time of *Pisistratus*, who rebuilt it at an infinite Expence. This is the famous Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, begun by this Prince, continued by his Sons, by *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and which was finished at last by *Adrian*. The *Athenians*, in Commemoration of the Deluge, sacrificed every Year in this Temple a Cake of Meal and Honey, on the first of the Month *Anthisterion*.

Antiquity is not agreed as to the King who reigned at *Athens* in the Time of that Retreat. *Eusebius* alledges it was under *Cecrops*, but according to the *Marbles* it was *Cranaus*; and we readily subscribe to what is contained upon that antient Monument, which appears to have been compiled by public Authority, and with great Exactness. Thus we must fix the *Æra* of the Deluge not to the Year 1557 before Christ, as the Commentators on this Chronicle alledge, but to the Year 1380 or 90 before that Epocha, for Reasons given at the Beginning of this Article.

'Tis proper to remark, before we go farther, that the Tradition of the universal Deluge, which was carried even to the most distant Nations, had been very conducive to the Embellishment of the History of that of *Deucalion*; and this is what makes *Ovid* say, in giving the Description of it, that it had laid all the Earth under Water, and that the Waters overtopped the highest Mountains:

*Jamque mare & tellus nullum discrimen habebant,
Omnia pontus erant, deerant quoque littora ponto* (1).

That of all the Inhabitants of the Earth there remained but one Man and one Woman:

Et superesse videt de tot modo millibus unum, &c. (2).

The Poet *Lucan*, not to mention others, says much the same Thing (3), and *Diodorus* asserts that the Deluge had destroyed all the living Creatures that were then upon the Face of the Earth. But 'tis not only in this Idea that the Poets and Historians seem so conformable

(1) *Ovid. Met.* l. 1. (2) *Id. ib.* (3) *Lib.* 1.

formable to *Moses* in the History of *Deucalion's* Deluge. We discern so many in their Works, especially those of *Ovid*, that it would seem he had either read the *Genesis*, or learned what he says of it from Tradition still very lively. First he gives us a Description of the Disorders which abounded in the World; he mentions the Avarice, the Parricides, the Impurity, and other Crimes that reigned amongst Men; adding that Piety was sacrificed to the vilest of Passions.

Vieta jacet pietas; &c.

He mentions the War of the Giants armed against Heaven; he makes *Jupiter* hold a Council to declare to the other Gods his Resolution of punishing all those Crimes, much in the same Manner as *Moses* makes God Almighty: *I will destroy all Flesh* (1). He says afterwards that *Jupiter's* first Design was to consume the World by Fire, but calling to Mind that Fate had fixed the Time of the general Conflagration, which was to burn up the whole Universe, he was content for that Time to bury the Earth under Water.

*Jamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras:
Sed timuit - - - - -
Esse quoque in factis reminiscitur, affore tempus
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque Regia Cæli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.*

Lastly, the Poet remembers the Rainbow; and in one Word, the Manner in which he describes the Reparation of Mankind by two Persons of eminent Piety, proves that he had delineated *Deucalion's* Deluge from the Ideas of that of *Noah* (a).

All the other Poets, and several Historians speak in the same Strain; only substituting *Deucalion's* Name in Place of *Noah's*. *Lucian* (2), speaking of those antient People of *Syria*, among whom, according to themselves,

VOL. III.

C c

Deucalion

(1) *Delebo omnem carnem.* &c. Gen. c. 2.

(a) *Non illo melior quisquam, vel amantior æqui,
Vir fuit, aut illa metuentior ulla Deorum.*

Id. ibi

(2) De Dea Syria.

Deucalion lived, and who related the History of the Deluge, says: “ The *Greeks* assert in their Fables, that
 “ the first Men being cruel and insolent, void of
 “ Faith, inhospitable and inhuman, were all destroy-
 “ ed by the Deluge ; the Earth discharging from her
 “ Womb a vast Quantity of Waters, which swelled
 “ the Rivers, and together with the Rains made the
 “ Sea overflow, insomuch that all was laid under Wa-
 “ ter. *Deucalion* alone remained, who saved himself
 “ and Family in an Ark, and two of each Kind of
 “ Animals, both wild and tame, who followed him
 “ of their own Accord, without preying upon one
 “ another, or doing any Harm. Thus *Deucalion*
 “ floated till the Waters asswaged, then he repaired the
 “ human Race.”

Stephanus, and the Author of the *Etymologicon* say, this Vessel rested upon a high Mountain. *Berosus* and *Nicholas of Damas* even assert, that it was upon one of the Mountains of *Armenia*. *Plutarch* makes Mention of the Dove, and *Abydenus* of certain Fowls that flew out of the Ark, and returned twice, because they found no Place where they might take Rest. In fine, as the last Stroke of Resemblance, the Antients tell us, that *Deucalion*, a Man of Virtue and Piety, having gone to *Athens*, offered Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Saviour, and built him a Temple. In like Manner the sacred Writings tell us, that *Noah*, after he came out of the Ark, offered Sacrifices of clean Beasts, in Gratitude to God for having saved him and his Family.

Josephus tells us (1), that the History of the Deluge and of the Ark had been wrote by *Nicholas of Damas*, by *Berosus*, *Mnaseas*, and some others ; these are probably the Sources whence the *Greeks* and *Romans* took what they have inserted in their Works. In one Word, the Reason is, that the History of the Deluge was not peculiar to *Moses* ; it was a History of Mankind, not easy to be forgot.

Before I finish what relates to *Deucalion's* Deluge, I shall make some Remarks. The first is, that we find
 in

(1) Ant. l. 1.

in the King's Cabinet, a Medal of the Inhabitants of *Apamea*, representing this Event; and what is singular in this Monument, the last Letters of the Legion *APA-MEON* being reversed, instead of *EON*, we read *NOE*, and these three Letters being placed nearer to the Ark, which is represented there, it would seem their Intention was to exhibit the universal Deluge, unless it proceeded only from an Error of the Coiner. The second is, that the *Parian* Marbles, which fix the Date of *Deucalion's* Deluge, speak of it only as of an extraordinary Rain that flooded the Country. A third is, that the Author of the Book of *Meteors*, attributes this Deluge not to the Overflowing of the *Thessalian* Rivers, but to that of the *Achelous* (1). However, the most general Opinion is, that it flooded the Plain of *Lycoræa* in the Confines of *Parnassus*, a Country at a good Distance from *Acarmania* and *Etolia*, where that River runs. The fourth is, that though the Poets and Historians who have spoke of this Deluge, tell us there remained none upon the Earth but *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, yet the Inhabitants of *Megara* had an antient Tradition, which imported, that *Megarus* the Son of *Jupiter* by a Nymph, was saved from this Deluge, by getting up to the Top of Mount *Geranim*, which had then another Name. For according to that Tradition, this *Megarus*, guided by the Noise of a Flock of Cranes which were flying that Way, swam up to the Top of that Mountain, which from that Event was called Mount *Geranim*, from the Cranes, in *Greek* Γέρωνι (2). Again, *Pausanias* informs us, that within the Territory of *Olympian Jupiter* at *Athens*, there was to be seen an Opening of about a Cubit wide, through which, said the *Athenians*, the Waters had retired after *Deucalion's* Deluge; and he adds that it was customary to throw yearly into that Gulf a Kind of Paste made of Flower and Honey. This Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, according to that Author, was of very great Antiquity, and *Deucalion* himself was given out to be the Founder of it; and in Proof of *Deucalion's* having died

(1) Meteor. l. 1. c. ult. (2) Pausan. in Att.

at *Athens*, his Tomb was shewn near the Temple. We may remark by the Way, that *Pausanias* is mistaken in making the Temple which *Deucalion* founded to have been consecrated to *Olympian Jupiter*. It was *Pisistratus*, by whom it was rebuilt, that dedicated it to *Jupiter* under that Name; whereas *Deucalion* had consecrated his to *Jupiter Phrygius*, as much as to say, *Jupiter by whose Aid he was preserved from the Deluge*. That Prince, besides the Temple now mentioned, instituted also a Feast in Honour of those who had perished in the Deluge; and this Feast named *Ἰδπο-φρία*, lasted to the Time of *Sylla*, as may be seen in *Plutarch* (1).

Cedrenus and *John of Antioch Malala*, as has been said in the History of *Ogyges*, have asserted that *Deucalion* had left in *Attica*, the History of the Deluge which had obliged him to fly thither for a Retreat: But as we don't believe the *Greeks* had then the Use of Letters, 'tis better to say he left them a living History of it by the Temple and Feast which he instituted in Memory of that Event.

Lastly, I remark farther that *Xenophon* reckons five Deluges: The first happened under an antient *Ogyges*, and lasted three Months. The second, in the Time of *Hercules* (2) and *Prometheus*, was but of one Months Duration. The third, under another *Ogyges*, whereby *Attica* was laid waste. The fourth, under *Deucalion*, laid *Thessaly* under Water for the Space of three Months. The fifth and last happened in the Time of *Proteus*, during the War of *Troy*; this is that which was termed *Pharonian*, and that overflowed a Part of *Egypt*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions also a sixth Deluge that happened in *Samothrace* (3).

ARTICLE VIII.

The Posterity of Deucalion.

Deucalion having been saved from the Deluge, and repopled *Thessaly*, is therefore accounted by the Poets and Historians, the Repairer of the human Race, as we

(1) In *Sylla*. (2) This is the *Phœnician Hercules*. (3) L. 5.

we find in *Justin* after *Trogus* (a). All Authors are agreed that this Prince was the Son of *Prometheus*, and married to *Pyrrha* his Uncle *Epimetheus*'s Daughter. The *Prometheus* here in Question, is quite different from him who in the Time of *Jupiter* reigned over the *Scythians* in the Confines of *Caucasus*, since *Deucalion*, whose Genealogy is so consistent, lived long after *Jupiter*; and it was perhaps this Difficulty in adjusting the Chronology, that led *M. le Clerc* (1) to take *Deucalion* not for a proper Name, but a Name compounded of two Words, *Digle-Ion*, *Vexilla-Ionum*, the Chief of the *Ionians*, that is of those who escaped the Deluge: And that of *Pyrrha*, according to the same Author, signifies *Earth*, or *Red*.

Let that be as it will, nothing is so famous in ancient Authors as the Posterity of *Deucalion*: They served to people a Part of *Greece*, and founded there several Kingdoms: And as we shall have often Occasion to speak of them in the Sequel, 'tis proper briefly to lay open their History.

Deucalion had two Sons, *Hellen* and *Amphiſſion*. The Latter, whose Line was of less Extent than that of his Brother, came and settled in *Attica*, where he reigned after having expelled from thence his Father-in-Law *Cranaus*. That Prince established his Dominion in the Confines of *Thermopylae*, and in the second Year of his Reign assembled the People of the Neighbourhood, and from his own Name called the Council of those who had the Regulation of Affairs, the *Amphiſſionian* Council. The fifth Epoch of the *Arundel* Marbles, marks the Institution of this Council.

Nothing is more celebrated in Antiquity, than the Council of the *Amphiſſions*, who assembled at the Charge of the Public twice a Year, in the Spring-Time and Autumn, in the Temple of *Ceres* at *Thermopylae*, near the Mouth of the River *Asopus*. No

(a) *Superfuerunt quos refugia montium receperunt; Et ad Regem Theſſalicae Deucalionem ratibus arceſti ſunt; a quo propterea genus hominum conditum dicitur.* L. 11. c. 28.

(1) *Comp. Hiſt. Univ.*

private Causes were there determined (*a*), as of too small Importance to imploy so august an Assembly; but only such as concerned the Public, whether in Matters of Peace, or War, or Religion; and the Decrees of that Senate were to be signed by the High-Priest of *Delphi*, before they were engraved upon Marble Columns, in order to be preserved as authentic Monuments. We shall not dwell any longer upon this celebrated Court; referring the Reader to the learned Dissertation of *Van-Dale*.

Hellen, *Deucalon*'s second Son, reigned in *Phthiotis* (*i*), and communicated his Name to the *Hellenians* (*b*), as we learn from the sixth *Æra* of the same Marbles. The Beginning of his Reign falls in the third Year of that of his Brother *Amphiction*.

This Prince had by his Wife *Orseis* three Sons, *Eolus*, *Dorus*, and *Xuthus*. *Eolus*, the eldest of the three Brothers, succeeded his Father, and gave the Name of *Eolians* to the People whom he had denominated *Hellenians*. Having married *Enarete*, *Deimechus*'s Daughter, he had by her seven Sons, *Cretheus*, *Sisyphus*, *Athemans*, *Salmones*, *Deion*, *Magnes*, and *Perieres*; and five Daughters, *Canache*, *Halcione*, *Pisidice*, *Calyce*, and *Perimedes* (*c*). Let us begin with the Descendants of the Daughters.

Calyce married *Eteolus*, and had by him the famed *Endymion*, who removed the *Etolians* from *Thessaly*, and settled them in *Elis*. *Eteolus*, the Son of *Endymion* and *Nais*, retired to the *Curetes*, and called their Country *Etolia*. Of him and *Pronoe*, the Daughter of *Phorbas*, were born *Pleuron* and *Calydon*, noted for the Cities which they built in that Country. *Agenor*, the Son

(*a*) Except that of *Ephialtes*, who shewed *Xerxes* a Passage into Greece by Mount *Oeta*. Herod. l. 2.

(*i*) This is a Part of the Lower *Thessaly*.

(*b*) Whatever relates to this Name of *Hellenians*, is to be found in *Lodius*'s Remarks upon the Marbles. p. 20, and upon the Notes *ad Marmora*, p. 134, 135, & seq.

(*c*) Consult for all these Genealogies, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, and among the Moderns, *Petavius*, and the Commentators on the *Arundel Marbles*.

Son of *Pleuron*, married his Cousin *Icarte*, the Daughter of *Calydon*, and had by her four Children, among whom was *Althæa*, who having matched with *Oenæus*, became Mother to *Meleager*, whom she devoted to the *Furies*. The same *Oenæus* after the Death of *Althæa* married *Peribæa*, the Daughter of *Hipponous*, by whom he had *Tydeus*, who having married *Deiphile* the Daughter of *Adrastus*, had by her *Diomedes*, so famed in the History of those Times.

Perimedes married *Achelous*, and had by him *Hippodamus* and *Oresteus*. *Pisidia* became the Wife of *Myrmidon*, who communicated his Name to the People about the River *Peneus*, whom his Uncle *Acheus* had named *Acheans*, and by him had a Son called *Aëtor*, who succeeded his Father; he having taken in Marriage *Egina* the Daughter of *Asopus*, who had already bore *Eacus* to *Jupiter*, had by her *Menetius* and several others, who being grown up, formed a Conspiracy to dethrone their Father: He discovered their Plot, expelled them the Kingdom, and married his Daughter *Philomela* (a) to *Peleus* the Son of *Æacus*, and left the Kingdom to him. It was of this Marriage that *Achilles* was born.

Menetius retired into the Country of the *Locrians*, whom he subdued. His Son *Patroclus*, forced to fly his Father's Kingdom for having slain *Cleonimus*, or *Orantes*, the Son of *Amphidamas*, came to the Court of *Peleus* his Kinsman, and contracted an inseparable Friendship with *Achilles*.

Canache, seduced by *Neptune*, had by him several Children, among others *Iphimedia* who was married to the Giant *Aloeus*, and brought him the two *Aloides*, *Ephialtes*, and *Otus*, who, as we are told by *Pausanias* (1), built the City *Asera*, at the Foot of *Helicon*, a Mountain which they consecrated to the *Muses*: But because they served *Phlegyas* in the War which he waged against the People of *Delphi*, the Poets have represented them as two Monsters of Impiety who attempted to dethrone the Gods.

C c 4

We

(a) We assign the Reason elsewhere why she passed for *Thetis*, the Goddess of the Sea.

(1) In Beotic.

We know nothing of *Alcyone*, but that it was she, or at least her Daughter, who married *Ceyx*, the King of *Trachine*, distinguished by his Misfortunes. Let us now speak of the Sons of *Eolus*.

Sisyphus having built *Ephyre*, which was afterwards called *Corinth* (1), married *Merope* the Daughter of *Atlas* (a), by whom he had *Glaucus* the Father of *Bellerophon*, known by the Fables of the *Chimæra*.

Perieres having destroyed the whole Race of *Polycaon*, who had reigned long over the *Messenians*, was declared their King; and having married *Gorgophone*, the Daughter of *Perseus*, had by her *Aphareus* and *Leucippus*. The former having succeeded his Father, gave Reception to *Neleus* who had been banished from *Colchos* by his Father *Pelias*, and shared his Dominions with him. *Leucippus* had one Daughter, named *Arfinoe* (2), who was Mother to that *Esculapius*, whose Sons *Podalirius* and *Machaon* assisted at the War of *Troy*. The Children of *Aphareus*, *Lynceus* (3), and *Idas*, having died without Issue, the Kingdom of *Messene* devolved upon *Nestor*, the Son of *Neleus*.

Magnes established his Dominion in the Confines of *Oeta* and *Pelion*, upon the Confines of *Thessaly* towards the Sea, and communicated to that Country the Name of *Magnesia*, as well as to the City, which was the Capital of it. Having married *Neis*, he had by her *Alceus*, *Pisus*, *Diocles*, and *Polydeces*. The two last retired into the Island of *Seriphus*; it was under their Reign that *Perseus*, persecuted by his Grand-father *Acrisus*, landed there, as shall be taken Notice of upon another Occasion, together with all the Histories, whereof I only give here a short Sketch, for the Sake of the Connection. *Pierus* reigned over that Part of his Father's Kingdom, which was since called *Pieris*, and his nine Daughters were often confounded with

(1) Pausan. in Corinth. Apollod. l. 1.

(a) This is another *Atlas* than he who was King of *Mauritania*, and contemporary with *Jupiter* the third.

(2) Others make him the Son of *Coronis*. See his Hist. Vol. V. B. 5. (3) So famed for his Quickness of Sight.

with the *Muses* (1). *Alektor* succeeded his Father, and his Great Grand-son *Prothous* passed into *Asia* after the War of *Troy*, and there built the celebrated Town of *Magnesia* (2).

Salmoneus, having dwelt some Time in *Thessaly*, retired into *Elis* (3), where he built a City of his own Name : His Impiety cost him his Life, as has been said (a). *Tyro* his Daughter (4), being brought up with *Cretheus* her Uncle, the King of *Argos*, had two Children upon the Banks of the River *Enipeus*, whose Father not being known, they were fathered upon *Neptune* ; that is upon some *Sea-Captain*, or a Priest of that God. These two Children having been exposed, were found by Shepherds, who named the one *Pelias*, and the other *Neleus*. Having grown up, they were owned by their Mother, and put in Possession of their Dominions. *Neleus*, expelled by his Brother, retired into the Country of the *Messenians*, and there built the City *Pylos*. Not long after he married *Chloris* the Daughter of *Amphion*, by whom he had twelve Sons who were all put to Death by *Hercules*, except *Nestor*, famed at the Siege of *Troy* no less for his Wisdom than for his great Age. Those Princes had taken up Arms for *Augeas*, King of *Elis*, on whom *Hercules* made War, to be avenged on him for having cheated him of his Hire promised him for cleansing his Stables, as shall be said in the History of that Heroe : Thus *Hercules* victorious put them all to Death but *Nestor*, who being then too young to go to War, was still in *Gerania* where he had been brought up, and for this Reason *Homer* frequently gives him the Appellation of *Γεράνιος*. *Tyro* having afterwards married her Uncle *Cretheus*, had by him *Amithaon*, *Pheres*, and *Eson*.

Cretheus

(1) The Poets often call the *Muses* *Pierides*. (2) See *Eustathius* upon *Homer*. (3) *Apollod. Strabo, &c.*

(a) Here however it is to be remarked, that as *Homer*, *Odyss.* 1. calls him, *ἀνύμνα*, *inculpatus*, *Eustathius* considers this Imputation of *Jupiter's* Thunder rather as the Effect of his admirable Address, than of his Impiety.

(4) *Apollod.* l. 1.

Cretheus being dead, was succeeded by *Pelias* in the Kingdom of *Colchos* ; and the Oracle having warned him to beware of *Jason* his Brother's Son, he sent him to *Colchis*, to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

Amithaon dwelt long at *Pylos*, married *Idomene*, the Daughter of *Pheres*, and had by her *Bias* and *Melampus*. *Bias* demanded in Marriage *Perone*, *Neleus*'s Daughter; but as that Prince had resolved to give her only to him who should bring him the Oxen of *Phylacus*, which were kept by Maltives, he found a Way to come at them with the Assistance of his Brother, and married *Perone*. *Talaus*, his Son, took to Wife *Lyfmache*, the Daughter of *Abas* ; and among the Children whom he had by her, *Eriphyle*, the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, who signalized himself in the *Theban War*, is the most noted.

Pheres built a Town of his own Name in *Thessaly*, and had two Children, *Lycurgus* and *Admetus*. The first dwelt near *Nemæa*, and he is distinguished by the Misfortune of his Son *Archemorus*, who was devoured by a Serpent, while his Nurse was shewing the *Argive* Chiefs a Fountain, as they were conducting their Army to the *Theban War*. The second was the King of *Pheres* ; and he is famed for his Wife *Alcestes*, the Daughter of *Pelias*, King of *Thessaly*, who was content to die to save his Life.

Athamas, the sixth Son of *Eolus*, settled in *Beotia*, and had by *Nepbelé* a Son named *Phryxus*, and a Daughter called *Hellé*. After the Death of his Wife, he married *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, by whom he had *Learchus* and *Melicerta*. This Step-Mother having a Mind to destroy the Children of the first Marriage, they were obliged to fly into *Colchis* with Part of their Father's Treasures ; this was the *Golden Fleece*, which their Cousin went to recover, as shall be said in the Article of the *Argonauts*.

Lastly, *Deion*, or *Deioneus*, the last Son of *Eolus*, reigned in *Phocis* (a), and he was married to *Diomedé*, his

(a) This is the Opinion of *Apollodorus*, from whom this Account is taken. Other Authors alledge that we must read *Phiotis*.

his Uncle *Xuthus's* Daughter, by whom he had several Children ; the most noted of them was *Cephalus* who was carried off by *Aurora*, and who unhappily slew his Wife *Procris*, without knowing who she was. Being exiled by the *Areopagus*, he retired into one of the Islands of the *Teleboans*, whereof he made a Conquest together with *Amphitryon*, and called it from his own Name, *Cephalenia*. He was succeeded by his Son *Celeus*, and he again by *Arcegius* the Father of *Laertes*, famed for his Son *Ulysses* who led to the *Trojan War* the *Ithacians*, the *Zacynthians*, and the *Cephalenians* (a). The other Son of *Cephalus* was *Oeneus*, who had the Dominions of his Grand-father *Deioneus*.

Such is the Posterity of *Eolus* the Son of *Hellen*; let us now say something of that of *Dorus* and *Xuthus*, his two other Sons.

The former settled first in *Estiotis*, which made a Part of *Thessaly*, where his Father reigned (1), and he gave to it the Name of *Doris*, and to the People that of *Dorians* : But his Descendants having been expelled that Country, a Part of them retired into *Macedonia* to the Confines of *Pindus* ; and *Teuclamus* his Son went to *Colchos* to his Father-in-Law *Cretheus*, where having drawn together a small Army, consisting of *Dorians*, of *Eolians*, the Subjects of *Cretheus*, and of some *Pelasgians*, who had followed him from *Thessaly*, he equipped a Fleet, and passed over into *Crete* (2), and was the first of the *Greeks* who reigned in that Island. His Son *Asterius*, surnamed *Jupiter*, became famous for the Rape of *Europe*, and the Birth of *Minos*, the first of the Name. Those of the *Dorians* who had settled in *Macedonia*, again left that Country ; and arriving at the Foot of *Parnassus*, between *Phocis* and the *Oetæan* Mountains, resumed their first Name of *Dorians*, and built several Cities. (3)

Xuthus, the third Son of *Hellen*, having seized upon his

(a) The People of three small Islands in the *Ionian* Sea, of which he was King.

(1) Herod. l. 1. Strabo, Apollod. l. 1. (2) Diod. l. 2.

(3) Herod. l. 1. Strab. l. 8 & 9.

his Father's Treasures (1), was banished from *Theffaly* by his two Brothers. *Erechtheus*, the King of *Athens*, to whom he offered Assistance against the *Chalcidians* of *Eubæa*, received him kindly, gave him a small Country, where he founded four Cities, *Oeneon*, *Marathon*, *Probalynthus*, and *Tricosythus*, and to crown all, gave him in Marriage, after a signal Victory he had gained over the Enemies of that Prince (a), his Daughter *Creusa*, by whom he had *Ion* and *Acheus*, from whom the *Acheans* and *Ionians* were afterwards denominated.

Ion, who was one of the greatest Captains of his Time, served his Father-in-Law in the War he had with *Eumolpus* and the *Eleusians*, gained a decisive Victory over them, and slew their Leader with his own Hand (b); which won him so much the Hearts and Confidence of the *Athenians*, that according to *Conon* in *Photius* (2), they made him King after the Death of *Erechtheus*. We seldom find *Ion* among the *Athenien* Kings. *Pausanias* asserts that after the Death of *Erechtheus*, his Children disputed the Crown; and having chosen for Arbiters *Xuthus* the Father of *Ion*, and *Acheus* his Brother, they gave Judgment in Favour of *Cecrops*. Perhaps *Ion*, proclaimed King by the People, was not able to support himself against the Factions of his Brothers-in-Law; and this may be the Reason why he is excluded from the Catalogue of the Kings of *Athens*.

Be that as it will, being banished *Attica* by his Competitors, he retired with his Father and Uncle into that Part of the *Peloponnesus*, to which *Acheus* gave the Name of *Achaia*; there he married *Helice*, the Daughter of the King of *Selinus*, and succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Achaia*, formerly denominated *Egiale*, which he changed to *Ionie*; there he built a
City

(1) Pausan. in Achaic. Strab. l. 8, &c.

(a) Strabo l. 8. Pausan. in Att. Conon apud Photium Nar. 27.

(b) Strab. l. 8. Pausanias in Att. Arist. in Eleusina, &c.

(2) In Achaicis.

Mimas, who reigned { *His*
in *Æolis*, { by.

Perieres married *Gorgopbon*
Perseus, by whom he had sc

Dorus, of whom nothing is said, but that the

Xuthus, who being exiled by his
Brothers, fled for Refuge to *E-*
richtheus, whose Daughter he
married,

{ *Achæus*,
Peloponne
Ægiale.
Ion, who
by the *A*
Ionians.

Amphietyon, who after the Expulsion of *Cranæus*, reigned at *Arb*

say the *Greeks* derived the Name of *Ionians* from *Javan* their
founder, whence they were called *Javonians*, *laonians*, as *Homer*
designs them, and afterwards *Ionians*. These Authors say the same
of the Name of *Hellenians* and others; and *F. Pczron* adds, that
Deucalion, to reconcile the *Greeks* to his Government, gave to his
sons the Names of *Hellen*, *Dorian*, &c. known in the Country
long before him.

The POSTERITY of DEUCALION, King of Thessaly.

Deucalion, who reigned in *Thessaly*, where happened the Deluge denominated from him, about the Year of the World 2373, or 1611 before the vulgar *Æra*. He had by his Wife *Pyrrha*,

Hellen had by *Orseis* his Wife three Sons, who gave Rise to three Kinds of Greeks. viz. the *Eolic*, the *Doric*, and the *Ionic*; namely, *Eolus*, *Dorus*, his Sons; and *Ion* his Grandson.

Eolus, who by *Enarete* the Daughter of *Deimachus*, had five Daughters, *Canache*, *Alcyone*, *Pisidice*, *Calyce*, and *Perimedes* and eight Sons, according to *Diodorus*,

Cretheus married *Tyro* his Brother *Salomoneus*'s Daughter,

Æson } *Jason*, Chief of the *Argonauts*.

Melampus married *Iphianira*, the Daughter of *Anaxagoras*, Son to *Megapenthes*, King of *Argos*. He cured the Daughters of *Prætus*, who were delirious, and *Anaxagoras*, in Gratitude, made him King of *Argos* with his Brother *Bias*,

Antiphas.
Manto.
Bias.
Promoe.

Bias shared with his Brother *Melampus* the Kingdom of *Argos*. By his Wife *Perone* he had a Son named,

Talaus } *Adrastus*.
 Parthenopæus.
 Eriphile the Wife of *Amphion*.
 raus.

Pheres, } *Admetus*, } *Opheltes*, also named
 Lycurgus, } *Archemorus*.

Sisyphus, the Founder of *Corinth*, had by *Merope*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, } *Glaucus*, } *Bellerophon*.

Athamas, the King of *Beotia*, } By *Nephele*, } *Phryxus*.
 Helle.
 By *Ino* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, } *Learchus*.
 Melicerta.

Salomoneus, who reigned first in *Thessaly*, then in *Elis*, } *Tyro*, Wife to *Cretheus*. She had before by *Neptune*,

Neleus, who fled to *Messene*. He had by his Wife *Chloris*, Daughter of *Amphion*, } *Nestor* and ten other Sons, who were slain by *Hercules*.
 Perone, Wife of *Bias*.
Pelias, King of *Thessaly*, } *Acastus*.
 Alcestes, Wife of *Admetus*.

Deione, who reigned in *Phocis*, } *Cephalus*, the Husband of *Procris*.

Magnes, whose two Sons, } *Polydeutes*, } Had the Island of *Seriphus*.
 Dictys, }

Mimas, who reigned in *Æolis*, } *Hippotes* had by *Menalippe*, } *Eolus*, whose Daughter } *Arne* had by *Neptune*,

Eolus, King of the *Eolian* Islands near *Sicily*.
Boeotus, from whom *Boeotia* had its Name.

Perieres married *Gorgophone*, the Daughter of *Perseus*, by whom he had four Sons: namely, } *Aphareus*.
 Leucippus.
 Tyndarus.
 Icarus.

Dorus, of whom nothing is said, but that the *Dorians* came from him.

Xuthus, who being exiled by his Brothers, fled for Refuge to *Erichtheus*, whose Daughter he married,

Achæus, who having committed an accidental Homicide, fled to the *Peloponnesus*, and communicated his Name to *Achaia*, which was called *Ægialé*. He returned however to *Thessaly*, where he reigned.
Ion, who is said to have reigned at *Athens* after his Grand father by the Mother Side. From him the *Athenians* were denominated *Ionians*.

Amphiæyon, who after the Expulsion of *Cranaus*, reigned at *Athens*.

City

(1) Pausan. in Achaic. Strab. l. 8, &c.

(a) Strabo l. 8. Pausan. in Att. Conon apud Photium
Nar. 27.

(b) Strab. l. 8. Pausanias in Att. Arist. in Eleusina, &c.

(2) In Achaicis.

City which he called *Helice*, after the Name of his Wife, which was afterwards overthrown by an Earthquake, in the last Year of the hundredth and fourth *Olympiad* (1). But while he had Thoughts of extending his Dominion, the *Eleusians*, who esteemed his Valour, imploring his Assistance against the *Athenians*, whom he had Reason to hate, chose him for the General of their Forces, and after several illustrious Atchievements, he died in *Attica*.

Acheus his Brother at first passed into the *Peloponnesus*, and gave the Name of *Achaia* to that Part which his Brother had called *Ionia*, as has been now said; but not long after he retired into *Thessaly*, where, with the Assistance of the *Athenians*, and of *Ion*, who was at their Head (2), he possessed himself of the Kingdom of *Phthiotis*, after the Death of *Eolus* his Uncle, and likewise gave the Name of *Achaia* to that Part of *Greece* (a). His Descendants had several Adventures whereof we shall say nothing here.

Such was the Posterity of *Deucalion*, of *Hellen* and *Amphietyon*, his two Sons, who peopled the greatest Part of *Greece*, founded several Kingdoms, and derived their Names to the *Greeks*, who were called sometimes *Ionians*, *Acheans*, *Hellenists*, sometimes *Dorians*, &c. Thus it is that the *Greek* Authors (b), *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Hesychius*, *Pausanias* after the *Arundel-marbles*, speak of the several People of *Greece*, to whom the Descendants of *Deucalion* communicated their Names, as well as to the different Dialects of their Language; and that at a Time when that Country was very little peopled, as appears from the

(1) Diod. l. 15. (2) Pausan. l. 7. Didym. in 1. Iliad.

(a) Scholiast. Apollonii ad l. 1. Eustath. Didymus, &c.

(b) Some Moderns, among whom are *F. Pezron* in his Antiquity of the Language of the *Celts*, and *Loerquer*, in a Book intitled *Ion*, say the *Greeks* derived the Name of *Ionians* from *Javan* their Founder, whence they were called *Javonians*, *Iaonians*, as *Homer* designs them, and afterwards *Ionians*. These Authors say the same of the Name of *Hellenians* and others; and *F. Pezron* adds, that *Deucalion*, to reconcile the *Greeks* to his Government, gave to his Sons the Names of *Hellen*, *Dorian*, &c. known in the Country long before him.

the Facility they found of settling in the Places whither they came.

This short History of *Deucalion's* Posterity I thought necessary for understanding what is to be said afterwards. And indeed, when we come to the Events of thole fabulous Times of *Greece*, whereof we shall explain the Fables at great Length, we shall every now and then meet with Successors of this Prince, and the Reader may easily call to Mind what has been now said, especially if he will take the Trouble to cast his Eye upon the following Table *.

C H A P. VI.

The Arrival of Lelex in Greece.

I Have no where read but in *Pausanias* (1) the History of the Arrival of this *Lelex* in *Greece*, nor does he say whether he planted a Colony there, or if he arrived alone. However, as he became King of *Megara*, where probably he was powerful enough to form a Party, and had some Successors; as he communicated his Name to the *Megareans*, and his History relates to the fabulous Times, I thought it deserved a Place in this History.

“ The *Megareans*, according to the Author now
 “ quoted, reported that twelve Generations after *Cae-*
 “ *tes* the Son of *Phoroneus*, *Lelex* came from *Egypt*
 “ into their Country, and reigned there; that from
 “ his Time they assumed the Name of *Leleges*;
 “ which *Lelex* was the Father of *Clefon*, whose Son
 “ was *Pylas*, of whom was born *Scyron*, who married
 “ *Pandion's* Daughter. They add, that after this
 “ Alliance he disputed the Kingdom with *Nisus* the
 “ Son of *Pandion*, and that each of them chose for
 “ Judge of their Controversy *Eacus*, who adjudged
 “ the Kingdom to *Nisus* and his Heirs; but on Con-
 “ dition that *Scyron* should have the Command of the
 “ Troops: In fine, that after the Death of *Nisus*,
 “ *Megareus*, the Son of *Neptune*, having married
 “ *Iphinoé*,

(1) In Attic.

* See the Table fronting Page 398.

“*Iphinoë*, that Prince’s Daughter, succeeded to his “Father-in-law.” This is all that we know of this *Lelex*; but this Relation requires some Reflections.

First, ’Tis easy to trace the Time when *Lelex* arrived in *Megaris*, namely, five or six Generations, or about two hundred Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, since his Great-Grandson, who was in the third Generation after him, was contemporary with *Eacus*, who lived two Generations before the same *Æra*. We also know the Time when *Nisus* his Competitor lived, since he was contemporary with *Minos* the II. who waged War with him, as shall be said in the History of this King of *Crete*.

Secondly, It appears that the Reign of *Lelex*’s Race ended with *Scyron*, and tho’ he was to have the Command of the Troops, according to *Æacus*’s Decision, yet we hear no more of him from that Time.

Thirdly, We must distinguish this *Lelex* the *Egyptian* from another *Lelex* the first King of the Country, that has been since designed *Laconia*, and had been called *Lelegia* from him (1). This last was a *Greek* originally.

Fourthly, We are far less to confound these *Leleges* of *Greece* with those of *Ionia*, who, according to *Homer* (2) and *Strabo* (3), inhabited that Part of *Asia* which was upon the Banks of the *Satnion*, and over whom *Alces* reigned in the Time of the *Trojan* War, and kept his Court at *Pedafus*, the Capital of his Kingdom.

C H A P. VII.

The Colony of Cadmus settled in Greece.

THE Rape of *Europa*, the Flight of *Cadmus*, his Settlement in *Beotia*, the Misfortunes of his Family, the Conquests of *Bacchus* his Grandson, and his Deification, make a considerable Part of the History of the fabulous Age.

In the fourth Year of the Reign of *Hellen* the Son of

(1) In *Lac.* (2) *Il.* l. 21. (3) *L.* 13.

of *Deucalion*, 200 Years, or thereby, before the taking of *Troy*, and 1350 or 60 before the Christian *Æra*, *Cadmus* came by Sea from the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, and the Confines of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, in quest of a Settlement in *Greece*. He possessed himself of a Part of *Beotia*, built the Citadel, which from him was called *Cadmea*, and there fixed the Seat of his Government. But then it was not without a great deal of Resistance from the antient Inhabitants of the Country, that *Cadmus* formed his new Settlement. The *Hyantes* especially made vigorous Opposition to it; but a decisive Battle obliged them to quit the Country, and to go in quest of a Retreat elsewhere. The *Amians*, grown wise at the Expence of their Neighbours, made a voluntary Submission to the Conqueror, who admitted them into the Number of his Subjects, and leaving them in the Possession of their Villages, united them into one People with the *Phœnicians*.

Such is the general History of this Colony; but as the *Greeks* always intermixed a Number of Fictions with their Antiquities, we must trace it up to its Source, and explain it from the most authentic Monuments left us by Antiquity.

Jupiter, as we read in *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, falling in Love with *Europa*, Daughter to *Agenor* King of *Phœnicia*, ordered *Mercury* to convey her to the Seashore, where that God having transformed himself into a Bull, took her upon his Back, and transported her into *Crete* (a).

Palephatus (1) takes the Foundation of this Fable to have been, that a Captain of *Candia* named *Taurus*, carried off that Princess, after he had taken the City *Tyre* from *Agenor*: But *Echemenides*, who had wrote the History of *Crete*, says with more Probability, that

(a) ————— *Sceptri gravitate relicta,
Ille Pater, Reſtorque Deum, cui dextra triſulcis
Ignibus armata eſt, qui nutu concutit Orbem,
Induitur Tauri faciem, &c. Ovid. Met. l. 2. Hygin;
Tab. 178.*

(1) Lib. de Incredibil.

that some Merchants of that Island having arrived upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, and seen the young *Europa*, whose Beauty struck them, carried her off for their King *Asterius*; and as their Ship bore upon the Fore-castle a white Bull, and that King of *Crete* had assumed the Name of *Jupiter*, hence it was fabled that the God had transformed himself into a Bull to carry off this Princess.

Herodotus in the Beginning of his History, agrees with *Echemenides*, that it was by *Cretans* the Daughter of *Agenor* was carried off; but then he adds, it was done by way of Reprizals, the *Phœnicians* having before bore away *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus*. These Testimonies are positive, and I know not why *Bochart*, not quite satisfied with either of the Explanations I have given, and imagining he has a Right to expect in the Equivocations of the *Phœnician* Language the Solution of a *Phœnician* Fable, says after *Fullerus*, that this Fable had taken its Rise from the double Signification of the Word *Alpha* or *Ilpha*, which signifies either a Bull or a Ship. He adds, that the *Greeks* not fully understanding that Language, when they met with that ambiguous Expression in the Annals of that People; instead of saying *Asterius* had carried off *Europa* in a Ship, fabled that *Jupiter* had transported her into *Crete* (1).

Be that as it will, 'tis certain from the Testimony of all Antiquity, that *Europa* was conveyed from *Phœnicia* into *Crete*, where she arrived by the Mouth of the River *Lethé* which ran by *Gortyna*, as we learn from *Solinus* (a).

The *Greeks*, who carried the Fabulous to extremity, seeing upon that River Plane-trees always green, gave out that it was under one of those Trees *Jupiter* had carried on his first Amours with *Europa*; which gave Occasion to the Inhabitants of *Gortyna* to strike a Medal, where on one Side was *Europa* in some Distress,

VOL. III.

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seated

(1) *Bochart* Can. l. 1. c. 28. & l. 2. c. 11.

(a) *Gortynam Lethæus amnis præter fluit, quo Europam Tauri
orso Gortynii ferunt vestitatam.*

seated upon a Tree half Plane and half Palm, at the Foot whereof is an Eagle from which she is turning away. The same Princess is represented on the other Side, seated upon a Bull, incircled with a Border of Laurel-Leaves, with the Legend, ΓΟΡΤΙΝΙΩΝ (1).

Authors are not agreed as to the Name of the Prince who carried her off. Some call him *Taurus*, as has been said; Saint *Augustine* names him *Xantus*, and that Father adds he had several other Names besides (a). But the most common Opinion is that he was called *Asterius*, as we learn from *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Eusebius*, and several others; with this Difference that *Diodorus* alledges, that Prince being too young when *Europa* arrived in the Island of *Crete*, she had first by *Taurus*, *Minos*, *Sarpedon*, and *Rhadamanthus*; and that *Asterius* having married her afterwards, and not being able to get Children, had adopted them: Whereas others contend they were his own Off-spring.

Asterius, if we may credit the same *Diodorus*, was not a Native of *Crete*, and his Parents came from *Greece*. *Teuſtanes* the Son of *Dorus*, having matched with the Daughter of *Cretheus*, took with him some *Pelasgians* and *Eolians*, the Subjects of his Father-in-Law, and having gone over with them into *Crete*, was the first who reigned there. After his Death, his Son *Asterius* ascended the Throne, and assumed the Name of *Jupiter*.

Apollodorus tells us who were the Parents of *Europa*. *Libya* had two Sons by *Neptune*, *Belus* and *Agenor*; the latter having removed into *Europe*, married *Telephassa*, by whom he had three Sons, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, and one Daughter named *Europa*; though there are Historians, according to the same Author, who assert that this Princess was the Daughter of *Phœnix* and Grand-Daughter of *Agenor*.

Europa having brought forth the three Princes now named,

(1) This Medal is in the King's Cabinet.

(a) *Per eos annos a Rege Xanto Cretensium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, & inde geniti Rhadamanthus, Minos, & Sarpedon, quos magis ex eadem muliere filios Jovis esse vulgatum est.* August. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 12.

named, gained the Esteem and Regard of all the *Cretans*, who worshipped her after her Death as a Divinity. They even instituted a Feast in her Honour, which *Hesychius*, after some Authors, names *Hellotia*; and as the *Greeks* changed the Names of those whom they took into the Number of their Gods, they called *Europa Hellotes*, a Name which the Author of the *Etymologicon* translates *Virgin*; which has puzzled *Bochart*: for what Probability, says he, is there, that they would call the Mother of three Princes a Virgin? This inclines him to think that the Word comes from the Phœnician *Hallots*, which imports an *Encomium*, or *Epithalamium*, and that it was designed to signify that the Arrival of *Europa* and her Marriage had been solemnized by Verses and Songs; which Solemnity probably was renewed every Year during her Life, and continued after her Death in the Festival instituted to her Honour, which retained the same Name *Hellotia*, or the *Epithalamium*, as well as the City *Gortys* where it was celebrated: *Itaque Hallots, vel Hellots Hellotia dici potuere a Cretensibus Europæ festa epithalamia, quæ renovabantur quotannis* (1).

Those who are not satisfied with *Bochart's* Conjecture, may adopt the following one which I am going to offer. *Minerva*, among several other Names, had that of *Hellotis*; which Name was given her upon the following Occasion. The *Dorians* having set Fire to the City *Corinth*, *Eurithion* and *Hellotis*, who were two Sisters, fled into the Temple of that Goddess, and died there. The Pestilence afterwards laying waste the whole Country, they consulted the Oracle, who answered that they were to appease the *Manes* of the two Virgins now named: Accordingly a Temple was built to *Minerva Hellotis*, and a Festival instituted to her under that Name. The *Cretans* having afterwards worshipped *Europa* as a Goddess, gave her the Surname of *Minerva*, and celebrated to her Honour the Festival which was consecrated to that Goddess among the *Corinthians*. What further confirms this Opinion,

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(1) *Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 18.*

the *Sidonians*, to console *Agenor*, likewise deified that Princess, and confounded the Worship which they paid to her, with that of *Astarté*; which makes *Lucian* say, that they were both but one and the same Divinity.

We are farther to observe that several Authors were of Opinion *Europe* had taken its Name from that Princess; but the learned *Bochart* believes with more Reason, that this Part of the World was so denominated from the Whiteness of its Inhabitants, as has been said in the Origin of Fables. We may however presume that had *Europe* been so called from its Whiteness, the Name should have extended to all that Part of the World whose Inhabitants are of that Complexion. As to what remains, that Princess must needs have been extremely white, since the Poets on that Occasion invented the Fable, importing that the young *Angelo*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, had stole her Mother's Paint and given it to *Europa*, who made Use of it with such Success that she acquired a Complexion bright to the last Degree, as we learn from the Scholiast on *Theocritus*.

Upon the News of the Rape of *Europa*, *Agenor* her Father, King of *Phœnicia*, sent every where in search of her, and ordered his Sons to imbark, and not return till they found her. *Hyginus* (1) names the three Princes whom *Agenor* sent out to make the Discovery. The first was *Cadmus*, who fixed his Residence in *Beotia*; the second *Cilix*, who settled in that Part of *Asia Minor*, which goes since under the Name of *Cilicia*; and the third *Phœnix*, who passed into *Africa*. Thus the Poets and Mythologists relate this Fact; but *Conon* in *Photius* (2), says, the true Reason of *Cadmus's* Voyage, which is also to be understood of his two Brothers, was the Hope of making some Conquest in *Europe*, and of settling there a Colony, adding that the Rape of his Sister had only been a Pretext for his Voyage.

Cadmus having traversed a Part of *Greece* without any Information of her, thought fit to settle in *Beotia*, where

(1) Fab. 178. (2) Narr. 37.

where he built the famous City *Thebes*, upon the Model of that of *Egypt*, whereof he was a Native; or to speak more accurately, he built a Citadel which was called from his Name *Cadmea*, and only laid the Foundations of the City *Thebes*, built by his Successors, and inclosed with Walls by *Amphion*. There is nothing but what is natural in such a Settlement, and a Narration quite simple would have sufficed for transmitting the History of it down to us; but this was not the Manner in which the *Greeks* laboured for Posterity. This Relation they have interspersed with all the Marvellous they could think of. *Cadmus*, say they, having sent his Associates into a Grove consecrated to *Mars*, there to draw Water for a Sacrifice he designed to offer to the Gods, before he laid the Foundations of his new City, a Serpent which had the Keeping of that Place, devoured them, and *Cadmus* to revenge their Death, fought the Monster and slew him, sowed his Teeth, whence sprung up a Body of armed Men: They added that he threw a Stone among them; which put them into such Disorder, that they fought together and slew one another, all but five, who assisted him in building the City now named (*a*): Which cost him dear afterwards, as shall be said.

Those who have no Mind to dive into Subjects of this Kind, content themselves with saying after *Palephatus* (1), and some others (2), that the Serpent was a King of that Country, whose Name was *Draco*, a Son of *Mars*, that his mysterious Teeth are his Subjects, who rallied again after his Defeat; that *Cadmus* put them all to the Sword except *Echthonius*, *Edeus*, *Hiperenor*, *Pelorus*, and *Echion*, who joined with him. Or with *Heraclitus* (3), that *Cadmus* actually slew a Serpent which made great Havock in *Beotia*; a Thing

D d 3

usual

(*a*) *Martigenam ille aggressus Belluam
Magnus Europæ quæstor, anguineo
Repente hostes peperit seminio, & pugnata illa pugna
Frater trudebat fratrem hasta & galea.*

Plaut. *Amphit.* Act. 4. Ovid. *Met.* l. 3. Apollod. l. 3. &c.

(1) *Lib. cit.* (2) First Supplement to *Velleius*. (3) *De reb. Incredibil.*

usual enough in Countries where Colonies were settled. But *Bochart* (1), and after him *M. le Clerc* (2), take the Rise of the Fable to be a *Phœnician* Word, which signifies either *a Serpent's Teeth*, or *Javelins trimmed with Brass*, and that which signifies the Number *five*, likewise signifies *armed*. Thus the *Greeks* in writing the History of that Planter from the *Phœnician* Annals, instead of saying that *Cadmus* upon his Arrival in their Country had armed his Soldiers with Javelins trimmed with Brass, with Helmets and Cuirasses, which were then quite unknown in *Greece*, chose rather to take Advantage of the equivocal Meaning of the Word, and say agreeably to their own Taste, that he had five Companions sprung from the Teeth of a Serpent (a).

And to be sure, nothing can be a fuller Proof that this Fable had taken its Rise from a figurative Expression, than what we read in *Herodotus* (3) of *Psammeticus*, King of *Egypt*, who having been banished to the *Fœnus*, sent to consult the Oracle of *Latona*, who told him he was to be re-instated by Men of Brass sprung from the Sea; which at first seemed to him a Chimera. However some Years after, a Band of *Ionians* who had been necessitated to land in *Egypt*, appeared upon the Shore with their Arms and Cuirasses of Brass, and those who perceived them told the King that Men armed with Cuirasses were pillaging the Country. Then that Prince comprehended the Meaning of the Oracle, and having made a League with them, regained the Crown by their Means. Further, those Men sprung from the Sea, and those others sprung from the Earth, are only the Soldiers who assisted *Cadmus* and *Psammeticus* to resettle their Affairs; and what confirms *Bochart's* Conjecture, *Cadmus* was he who introduced into *Greece*, or invented the Use of Cuirasses and Javelins, as we are told by *Hyginus*. However,

(1) *Cæn. Pref. & ch. 19. l. 1.* (2) Upon *Hesiod*.

(a) The same Phrase which ought to have been rendered : *Conscribere exercitum virorum armatorum cuspidibus æneis*, was interpreted by this : *Fecit exercitum quinque virorum armatorum ex dentibus serpentis*. *Bochart. lib. cit.*

(3) *L. 2.*

However, I am of Opinion that, without refining so much, we may very rationally take those Men who sprung out of the Earth and from the Dragon's Teeth, to have been the People of the Country, whom *Cadmus* found a Way to bring over to his Side, and who having assisted him to get rid of his Enemies, served him afterwards in building the Citadel which secured him against the Insults of his Neighbours.

According to the Fable told by *Ovid* (1), *Apollodorus* (2), and *Seneca* (3), the Oracle had informed *Cadmus*, that in the Place where he should find a Heifer, he was to build a City, which accordingly he did; and this was the Reason of his giving to the Country the Name *Beotia*, *Boeotia*, a *Bove*. But this Fiction has no other Foundation but either the Ignorance or Credulity of the *Greeks*, who did not know that *Cadmus* had assigned that Name to the Country where he settled, upon account of the Nature of the Soil full of Clay and Fens, as *Bochart* also remarks (4).

Cadmus having reigned a long Time in *Beotia*, with his dear *Hermione* (a), a Conspiracy was formed against him, which drove him out of the Kingdom. Being thus forced to retire with his Wife, and his Son *Polydorus* into *Illyricum*, he there led a very reclusive Life (b); which perhaps gave a Handle to say that after his Death he was transformed into a Serpent, as we learn from *Ovid* (5) and *Plautus* (6).

The *Phœnicians*, or rather the *Idumeans*, were antiently called *Achivians*, or *Heveans*, a Name which they always kept from their Settlement in *Greece*: Now *Chiva* in *Hebrew* imports a Serpent; and this is doubtless

D d 4

(1) *Met.* l. 3. (2) *L.* 3. (3) *In Oedip.* (4) *Chan.* l. 1.

(a) She was the Daughter of the *Grecian Mars* of whom we have spoke. *Apollodorus* says, *Cadmus* had been eight Years a Slave to that Prince for slaying the Dragon.

(b) Yet *Apollodorus* says, *Bib.* l. 3. he commanded the Army of the *Illyrians*, who chose him afterwards for their King.

(5) *Met.* l. 3.

(6) - - - - - *Et nostræ auctorem gentis,*

Cum Veneris filiâ, angues repisse tellus

Illyrica vidit.

Plaut. Amphit. Ac. 4.

doubtless what gave a Handle to his Subjects, firnamed *Achiviens*, who had nothing better to say of the obscure Life and Death of their Heroes, than to publish by Means of that Word, that *Cadmus* and *Hermione* had been transformed into Serpents (*a*); and to give more Countenance to the Thing, they even erected in *Illyricum* Serpents of Stone, as Monuments of the Supernatural Transformation of their Founder. Thus all those Ideas of Dragons and Serpents which we find scattered up and down in the Poets who speak of that Prince, derive their Original from thence. But if we chuse not to give Credit to the Author now quoted, we may account for this last Fable, from what *Aulus Gellius* says of the *Illyrians*.

According to that Author, the antient Inhabitants of *Illyricum* had two Eye-lids to each Eye; and such a piercing Look, that if they fixed their Aspect upon any one, they killed him as a Dragon or Basilisk would have done. This Opinion, true or false, which was conceived of the *Illyrians*, a People otherwise rude and savage, made the *Greeks* probably call them Serpents and Dragons; and consequently when *Cadmus* had retired among that People, they must have said he was become an *Illyrian*, a Dragon, a Serpent; a metaphorical Expression, which was afterwards understood in the literal Meaning.

Cadmus had built a City in *Illyricum*, which he called *Lygnes*; and *Bochart*, always ingenious and fruitful in Conjectures, produces a pretty probable one as to the Name of that City, and the Lake of the same Name in the Country of the *Ancheleans*, a People of *Illyricum*, among whom *Cadmus* retired. 'Tis probable, says he, that he gave it a *Phœnician* Name: Now as the Place where he built was very fenny, he called it *Licbnoth*, which is the Contraction of *Lecanoth*, which in that Language imports a Reed; thus

(*a*) *Ptolomy Ephestin* is, I believe, the only one who says that *Cadmus* and *Hermione* was transformed into Licens.

The *Hebrews* said they had given a People of *Canaan* the Name of *Cbiwa*, because they dwelt in Caves, after the Manner of Serpents.

thus the City and the Lake were called from that Time by the same Name, unless you will derive this Original from the *Greek Language*, which however is not so probable, and say the Foundation of the Name was that the Lake abounded with Eels, whence it was thus denominated, as well as the People and the neighbouring City : *Ἐγχελύναι, Enchelavians, quasi Anguilares* (1).

'Tis not universally agreed that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor* ; some alledge he was but one of his Officers, and *Hermione* a Singing-Woman whom he had debauched, and that it was only to do him Honour that the *Greeks* made him the Son of that Prince. *Eubemerus*, as we have it in *Athenæus*, who has preserved the Fragment of that Author (2), says *Cadmus* was the King of *Sidon's* Cook, and that he fell in Love with *Hermione*, one of that Prince's Singing-Women, carried her off, and retired into *Greece*, a Circumstance which does no great Honour to *Bacchus* his Grand-Son, whom the *Greeks* enrolled among their Gods.

Others even alledge, that *Cadmus* is not a proper Name, but an Appellative, which signifies *Leader*, because in Fact he came from *Phœnicia*, not to go in quest of *Europa*, but to plant a Colony of *Heveans* in *Greece* ; and *Bochart* contends that he was called *Cadmus*, only because he came from the East of *Phœnicia*, a Country which the Scripture calls *Cadmonim*, which imports *Oriental*, and from about Mount *Hermion*, which was the most eastern Part of *Phœnicia*, whence probably was derived the Name of *Hermione*, given to his Wife.

According to the Antients, it was *Cadmus* taught the *Greeks* the Use of Letters, which they knew not before. These Letters, which *Herodotus* calls *Cadmian* or *Phœnician*, were afterwads called *Ionian* : Which is to be understood in the Manner I am going to explain. There is no Ground to think that the Use of Letters, which is
pro-

(1) See *Grant-Menil* in his *Greece*, c. 25. p. 207. (2) *Athen.* 948.

probably as old as the World (*a*), was unknown in *Greece* until the Time of *Cadmus*. But the Foundation of that Opinion, is, that he introduced into the Country a new Alphabet which the *Greeks* afterwards made Use of, instead of the *Pelasgian* which was there in Use long before. 'Tis however to be observed that this Alphabet had only sixteen Letters ; *Palamedes* added to it four (1), and *Simonides* of *Melos* the other four (2). Thus was compleated that Alphabet whereof the first sixteen Letters were *Phœnician* ; which is so certain, that the old *Greek* Characters are entirely like those of the *Phœnicians*, as all the Learned are agreed.

'Tis beyond Doubt that Letters were not unknown in *Greece* before *Cadmus*, as has been now said : The *Pelasgians*, the most antient People of that Country, had the Use of them. My Author is *Eustatbius*, who explaining the Epithet of Divine, *θεῖος*, which *Homer* gives the *Pelasgians* (3), says : *Homer calls them Divine, because they alone after Deucalion's Deluge preserved the Use of Letters.* *Pliny* (4) seems to confirm this Opinion, by saying : *Pelasgos in Latium Literas attulisse.* 'Tis true *Diodorus* (5) reckons the *Pelasgians* to have been the first who changed the *Phœnician* Characters of *Cadmus*, and that their Letters were therefore called *Pelasgian* ; which would prove that those People had them not before. However *Vossius* (6) cannot be justified for saying *Se non legisse ullas fuisse in Græcia litteras Cadmæis antiquiores*, since he had read *Eustatbius*, who says the Contrary. *M. de Grant-Menil* in his *Greece* (7), gives a favourable Gloss to the Passage in *Diodorus*, by saying, he means that upon the *Cadmean* Letters being received in *Greece*, the antient Writing came to be called *Pelasgian* ; and if this was not his Meaning he has contradicted himself, since he asserts elsewhere (8) that the *Greeks* had the Use of Letters before *Cadmus*.

But we shall not dwell longer upon this Article, as to which

(*a*) See Father *Kirker* in his *Obelisks*. Joseph. l. 1. Antiq. &c.

(1) ΘΣΨΧ. (2) ΖΗΨΩ. (3) Upon the 6. Book of the *Iliad*.

(4) L. 7. (5) L. 3. (6) Art. Gram. (7) Ch. 9. (8) L. 5.

which I refer to *Montfaucon's Paleography*, & *Olaus Rudbeck* (1).

Besides the Alphabet which we have been speaking of, *Cadmus* introduced into *Greece* the Worship of most of the Divinities of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, as *Diodorus* and the most antient Authors inform us ; but especially that of *Osiris* or *Bacchus*. This Prince having travelled into *Samothrace*, got himself initiated into the Mysteries of the Gods *Cabiri* and of the Mother of the Gods, whose Worship was then famous in that Country ; and *Diodorus Siculus* informs us (2), that when he stopped in the Island of *Rhodes*, he there built a Temple to *Neptune*, to make that God propitious to him in the rest of his Voyage. 'Tis probable, to mention it by the Way, that the *Rhodians* had received the Worship of *Neptune* by their Commerce with the *Libyans*, who, according to *Herodotus* (3), worshipped him Time immemorial. Lastly, *Cadmus* is said to have taught the *Greeks* the Art of casting Metals, then unknown to *Greece*, to make it subservient to several Uses ; which agrees with what we have said of those Javelins of Brass whereof he was the Inventor.

The History of *Cadmus's* Family is preserved to us by the Antients, especially by *Apollodorus* (4), and we find it also conform to that Author upon a Fragment of the *Isiac* Table, conceived in these Terms : *Cadmus had by Hermonia four Daughters, Ino, Agave, Autonoe, Semele, and a Son named Polydorus. Aristæus and Autonoe had a Son Acteon. Athamas and Ino had Learchus and Melicerta. Echion and Agave, Pentheus. Jupiter had Commerce with Semele, and having burnt her with his Lightning, took out of her Womb Dionysius or Bacchus, and carried him in his Thigh, whence he afterwards brought him forth, and gave him to be nursed by Juno (a).*

As

(1) *Atl. v. 1. c. 38.* (2) *L. 5.* (3) *L. 2.* (4) *L. 2.*

(a) 'Tis *M. Bianchini* has given a Draught of the Fragment where we find this Genealogy ; *Fabretti* knew nothing of it, when in 1683 he published the *Isiac* Table.

As this whole Family was extremely unhappy, it was given out, in order to support the Fable of the Rape of *Europa*, that the Jealous *Juno* had persecuted her Rival even in the Posterity of *Cadmus* her Brother; or that *Vulcan*, to revenge the Infidelity of his Wife *Venus*, gave to *Hermione*, whom she had by *Mars*, a Vestment dyed in all Sorts of Crimes, which had Effect to make all the Children of *Cadmus* wicked. Whatever be in that, 'tis certain that the greatest Crimes and Disasters were the Lot of this Family; *Ino*, who married *Athamas*, died miserably with her Children, as has been said in the History of the Sea-Gods (1). *Agave* the Wife of *Echion*, saw her Son the unfortunate *Pentheus* torn in Pieces by the *Bacchanals*, for having attempted to oppose the Irregularities that entered into the Ceremonies of *Bacchus*; unhappy for not having profited by the Example of *Cadmus*, who was banished for that same Reason (a). Farther the Manner in which *Ovid* describes the tragical End of that unfortunate Prince, is but too historical; the *Bacchanals* having made Choice of a Day for celebrating the Feasts of *Bacchus*, whereof one of the principal Ceremonies was to run up and down all disheveled, as delirious, they went to the Palace of *Pentheus*, and most inhumanly tore him in Pieces. *Ovid* had taken this whole Relation from *Euripides*, who had employed it in the Tragedy of the *Bacchanals*; and it evidently appears that under the Veil of this Fiction they intended to transmit down to us the History of the Introduction of *Bacchus's* Worship into *Thebes*, and to inform us that *Pentheus's* Opposition, which succeeded that of his Grandfather *Cadmus* after he had been exiled, cost him his Life.

Autonoe the Wife of *Aristeus*, was so unhappy as to see her Son *Alceon* transformed into a Stag, and torn in Pieces by his own Dogs, for having seen *Diana* in the Bath; and though this Catastrophe is expressed in
a poetical

(1) Vol. II. B. 2.

(a) Here the Reader may reflect on what has been said to this Purpose in the History of *Bacchus*. Vol. II. B. 2.

a poetical Manner (1), 'tis not the less real; whether this Prince was slain by his Dogs turned mad, as some Authors will have it (2), or that having shewed some Disregard for that Goddess, he had been reckoned impious, as we learn from *Diodorus* (3) and *Euripides* (4), who adds that he was going to eat of the Meat that had been offered to her in Sacrifice, and with insupportable Pride had preferred himself to her; which *Ovid* describes under the Parable of a vain Curiosity. The Poet *Stesichorus*, as we read in *Pausanias*, added to this dismal Adventure, that *Diana* herself had covered *Acteon* with the Skin of a Deer, which provoked his Dogs to fall upon and destroy him; and that as a Punishment for having designed to marry *Semele*; a Circumstance not told by *Ovid*. In fine, *Semele* perished miserably, if we may credit the Poets, for her fatal Curiosity to see *Jupiter* in all his divine Majesty.

From all that we have now said, we may draw these Conclusions; 1. *Cadmus* was a foreign Prince, a Native of *Phœnicia*. 2. The Country which he inhabited before his Retreat into *Greece*, being upon the East of Mount *Hermon*, the *Hebrews* gave that Country the Name of *Quadmi* or *Quadmon*. 3. The People whom he brought with him, were named *Heveans*, whence came the Fable of the Serpents or Dragons, which *Bockart* has very well explained. 4. That the *Greeks* have made *Cadmus* the King of *Sidon's* Son, tho' he was only his Master-cook. 5. That the *Cadmoneans* and *Heveans* were but one and the same People; and that the first of those Names was given them only because they dwelt in the East. Accordingly we read in *Joshua*, and in the Book of *Judges*, that the *Heveans* were surnamed *Orientals* and *Quadmonim*. 6. That from Mount *Hermon*, *Cadmus's* Wife *Harmonia*, or *Hermione*, had her Name. 7. That both of them were said to be transformed into Serpents, only from the Name of *Heveans* which they went by. 8. That

(1) *Ovid. Met.* l. 3. (2) *Pauf. in Beot.* c. 1. (3) *Lib.* 4. (4) *In Bacchis.*

8. That what gave a Handle to say that *Cadmus's* Soldiers were five in Number, was the Equivocation of the Word *Camosh*, which signifies either *five* or *armed*: For the Sake of the Fable the first Signification was chosen preferably to the second. 9. That such another Mistake gave the *Greeks* a Handle to say, as we are told by *Hyginus*, that *Cadmus* was the Inventor of the Uses to which Brass was afterwards applied, and that he had found out the Stone for making Brass, named by *Pliny* *Cadmia*. 10. That *Cadmus*, banished from *Thebes* by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, according to *Eusebius*, or by the People named *Encbēlean*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, led a Part of his Colony into the Place of his Exile. The eleventh Inference is, that we may, and that we ought perhaps, entirely to detach the History of *Cadmus* from that of the Rape of *Europa*, tho' the *Greek* Authors have joined them together. The last Inference is, that by the Generations from *Tbersander*, who lived at the Beginning of the *Trojan* War, tracing back to *Cadmus*, the Number whereof is preserved to us in *Herodotus*, *Pausanias*, and almost all the Antients who had Occasion to mention them, especially if with the Author of *The Critical Reflections* we join to them the History of the Kings of *Troy*, from *Dardanus* Contemporary with *Cadmus*, to *Priam*, we may fix the Æra of the Entry of the *Phœnician* Chief into *Beotia*, as well as that of *Dardanus* into *Pbrygia*, to the Year 200 before the taking of *Troy*. Accordingly, we find between *Cadmus*, and *Tbersander*, who was slain by *Thelephus* in the first Year of the Siege of that City, only six Generations, *Cadmus*, *Pentheus*, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Polynices* and *Tbersander*, which, according to the usual Manner of reckoning, amount only to 200 Years.

We may remark, 1. That I name indeed eight Persons, which would make seven Generations; but *Pentheus* and *Polydorus* make but one, their Reigns, especially that of the first, having been very short. 2. It will be objected, that I mention neither *Amphion*,
on,

on, nor his Uncle *Lycus*, who both reigned at *Thebes*, as well as *Creon*, after the Death of *Laius*, slain by *Oedipus*; but these three Princes who usurped the Crown, the two first from *Polydorus*, and the last during the Interregnum which followed upon *Laius's* Death, make no Addition to the Number of Generations in *Cadmus's* Family, which followed one another equally during the Space of Time that these three Princes reigned; and we are only to look upon them as precarious Reigns, which had it not been for the Misfortunes that befel that Family, might equally have been filled up by the Successors of *Cadmus*. But a short History of those Reigns will clear up what seems obscure in this Place.

Cadmus being dethroned, as has been said, *Pentheus* was substituted in his Place; but he being torn in Pieces by the Bacchanals, *Polydorus* ascended the Throne, whence he too was expelled for having attempted to reform the Worship of *Bacchus*, which was become very indecent. He was succeeded by his Son *Labdacus* (1), who married *Nyctis*, the Daughter of *Nycteus*, by whom he had a Son named *Laius*, who was but an Infant in the Cradle when his Father died; which induced *Lycus*, the Brother of *Nycteus*, to seize upon his Nephew's Crown.

Not long before the Death of *Nycteus*, his Daughter *Antiope*, who had hearkened to the Solicitations of her Gallant, whom she alledged to be *Jupiter* (2), had been obliged, in order to shun her Father's Displeasure, to retire to the Court of *Epopeus* King of *Sicyon*, who married her. *Nycteus*, upon his Death-bed, engaged his Brother *Lycus* to punish his Daughter and his Son-in-law, which he faithfully put in Execution; for having put *Epopeus* to Death, he brought away his Niece, who was delivered by the Way of two Sons, who were therefore called *Zethus* and *Amphion* (3). When *Antiope* was in a Condition to be transported, *Nycteus* delivered her to his Wife *Dirce*, who

(1) Apollod. l. 3. (2) Id. ib. Pausan. in Cor. &c. (3) That is, *quasi in Bivio nati*.

who for several Years treated her in the most cruel Manner possible ; but she at last having found a Way to make her Escape, went in quest of her two Sons to the Persons with whom she had intrusted them, who having entred *Thebes* Sword in Hand, slew *Lycus*, and bound *Dircé* to the Tail of a wild Bull, whereby she died a miserable Death, made themselves Masters of the City, and banished *Laius* from it, who did not recover the Kingdom till after their Death, as shall be said in resuming the History of *Thebes*, upon occasion of *Oedipus* the Son of the same *Laius*.

The Punishment of *Dircé* is represented in a fine Groupe which *Montfaucon* has published, where you see that Princess bound to the Tail of a monstrous Bull. Again, *Amphion* is he who built the Walls of *Thebes* during his Reign ; and the Poets fabled that he had built them by the Musick of his Lyre, by which Figure they give us to know, that besides his Skill in playing upon that Instrument (*a*), he had been so eloquent as to persuade a rude People to quit the Fields and Woods, where they led a wandering and unsettled Life, to repair into a City, and secure themselves by Walls both against their Enemies and the wild Beasts (*b*). For sure no Body will understand literally what *Pausanias* relates (*i*) of some Stones neither polished nor cut, that were to be seen near the Tomb of that Prince, and which were said to be the Remains of those which he had drawn after him by the Sound of his Lyre.

We may remark however, 1. That as the poetical Fables were invented at different Times, 'tis probable

(*a*) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. and after him *Pausanias* in Beot. c. 5. say that *Amphion*, *Tantalus*'s Kinsman, had taught the *Lydians* Musick, wherein he excelled, and introduced the Harmony thereof into *Greece*, having added three Strings to the four which the Lute then had. See the Notes of M. Burette upon Plutarch's Dialogue of Musick. Mem. of the Acad. of the Belles Lettres, Vol. 9.

(*b*) *Diſtus & Amphion Thebanæ conditor arcis*

Saxa movere sono testudinis, & prece blanda

Ducere quo vellet. Horat. de Art. Poet.

Memia Phebeæ structa canore lyre. Ovid. Met. l. 6.

(*i*) In Beot.

probable that this is pretty late, and that it was not propagated till after *Homer*; since that Poet, so knowing in the Pagan Mythology, would not have failed to speak of it in that Passage of the *Odyſſey* (1), where he makes Mention of thoſe two Princes who fortified *Thebes* by ſeven good Gates, and raiſed Towers at proper Diſtances, without which, ſays he, however formidable they were, they could not have lived ſecure in that great City. But, as *Pauſanias* very well remarks (2), “ That Poet ſays not a Word “ of *Amphion*’s miraculous Voice, nor of the Walls “ of *Thebes* built by the Muſick of his Lyre.” It was probably the Author of the Poem upon *Europa*, mentioned by the ſame Author, that invented this Fable, ſince in that Work *Amphion* was ſaid to have learned from *Mercury* to play upon the Lyre, and by his melodious Muſick to have made the wild Beaſts and the very Stones to follow him.

Again, the Author of the Poem of the *Myniad*, whereof the ſame *Pauſanias* makes mention, is the only one of the Antients, ſo far as I know, who ſays that *Amphion* ſuffered in Hell the ſame Punishment with the *Thracian Thamyris*, and that for having ſlighted *Latona* and her Children (a).

2. That as theſe antient Hiſtories were not very conſiſtent, *Pauſanias* (3) relates ſomewhat differently the Hiſtory of *Antiope* and her Amours. *Antiope*, ſays he, the Daughter of *Nycteus*, was then famous through all *Greece* for her ſingular Beauty; ſhe was even ſaid to be the Daughter, not of that Prince, but of the River *Aſopus*, which waters the Lands of the *Plateans* and *Thebans*. Whether it was that *Epopeus* wanted to marry her, or being violently in love with her, was willing to gratify his Paſſion at any Rate, he committed a Rape upon her. The *Thebans* determined to avenge this Injury, marched directly againſt him;

VOL. III.

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(1) L. 2. (2) In Corinth.

(a) See what has been ſaid to this Purpoſe in the Hiſtory of *Niobe*, B. 1.

(3) In Corinth.

him ; the Battle was bloody ; there *Nycteus* received a mortal Wound, whereby *Epopeus* gained the Victory, but he too was wounded. *Nycteus* being carried back to *Thebes*, and perceiving he had but a short While to live, left the Administration of the Kingdom to his Brother *Lycus*, which by Right belonged to *Labdacus* his Pupil, the Son of *Polydorus* and *Cadmus*'s Grandson. He also gave the Tutorage of the young Prince to *Lycus* ; but at the same Time adjuring him to revenge his Death, by engaging *Epopeus* with stronger Forces, and to punish *Antiope*, if she fell into his Hands. In the mean time *Epopeus* was chiefly concerned to give Thanks to the Gods for the Success of his Arms, and to build a Temple to *Minerva*. When the Temple was finished, he prayed the Goddess to let him know by some Sign whether the Consecration of it was agreeable to her ; and 'tis said, that immediately after his Prayer an Olive-tree was seen to spring up before the Gate of the Temple ; notwithstanding, in a few Days after *Epopeus* died of his Wound which he had neglected. His Death put an End to the War, for *Laomedon*, who succeeded him, again delivered up *Antiope* into the Hands of *Lycus* : She was carried back to *Thebes*, and in the Way thither, not far from *Eleutherae*, she was delivered of her two Sons, upon which Subject *Asius* the Son of *Amphiptolemus* made Verses to the following Effect.

The charming Antiope, Daughter of Asopus, was Mistress to Epopeus, and to Jove himself : No Wonder then if she was the Mother of two Heroes, Amphion and Zethus.

3. Tho' *Dircé* has been reckoned a very cruel Princess, because of the Evils she was the Cause of *Antiope*'s suffering, yet as she paid singular Honour to *Bacchus*, that God espoused her Quarrel, by depriving *Antiope* of the Use of Reason (1). She was rambling thro' *Greece* like a Vagabond, when *Phorcas*, the Son of *Ornytion*, and Grandson of *Sisyphus*, hav-

ing

(1) Pausan. in Beot.

ing found her by Chance, first cured, and then married her.

4. That the Transformation of *Dircé* into a Fountain is only one of those Embellishments that used to be superadded to the History of Persons distinguished either by their Birth or Beauty; and the Foundation of this Fiction is the Name of a Fountain that runs near *Thebes*, which in *Arabic* was called *Zarca*, or *Zirca*, which imports *clear*; a Name which had been given to it to signify the Purity and Clearness of its Water; which *Statius* (1) expresses in this Verse :

Cærulea cum rubuit leoneo sanguine Dircé.

The *Greeks* changing the *Z* into a *D*, and softening the Pronunciation of the Word, made it *Dircé*; and to celebrate more magnificently the tragical End of the Wife of *Lycus*, who was dragged about that Fountain, they thought fit to say that *Bacchus* had transformed her into that Fountain round which she had been dragged (2).

5. That notwithstanding all the Misfortunes that befel *Cadmus's* Family, several of those who belonged to it, were advanced either to the Rank of Gods or Demi-Gods. I have already mentioned from *Pausanias* the heroical Monuments that had been raised in Honour of that Prince, as also of the Worship that had been paid to *Aristeus* one of his Grandsons, and to the unfortunate *Æteon*, who, according to *Pausanias*, was acknowledged for a Hero by the *Orchomenians*; to *Semelé* and *Ino* his Daughters; but an Altar, dug up lately near *Cologne*, and explained by an Academic of *Lyons* (3), informs us also, that the other two Daughters of *Cadmus* participated of the same Honours; the Inscription which is upon the Altar bearing, *DEÆ SEMELÆ ET SORORIBUS EJUS DEABUS*, &c. (a).

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No

(1) Thebaid. (2) Bochart Chan. l. i. c. 78. (3) See the Journal of *Trevoux*, July 1738.

(a) See what has been said of them in the History of the Mother-Goddesses, Vol. III. B. 6.

No Body hitherto questioned the Deification of *Semelé Bacchus's* Mother, nor that of *Ino* the Nurse of that God, and of this we have occasionally said enough: But as to their two Sisters *Autonoe* and *Agavé* little or nothing is known about them: Only *Pausanias* tells us, that the first having left *Thebes*, came and settled in a Town dependent upon *Megara*, where her Tomb was to be seen; but as for *Agavé*, the barbarous *Agavé*, the most zealous in exciting her Companions to tear in Pieces the unhappy *Pentheus*; by what Means had she arrived at divine Honours? Perhaps it was for that same Zeal she had shewn for the Worship of *Bacchus*. Besides, she had contributed with her Sisters to the Education of that God, and nothing more was necessary to intitle her to the same Honours with her Sisters; but it suffices that the Altar in question is an incontestable Proof that she shared therein.

We might further cite a Monument published by *Gruter*, on which are represented four Women, with this Inscription, *To the four Sisters*; but the Antiquaries are not all agreed that it relates to the Daughters of *Cadmus*. To make what I have said of the Posterity of *Cadmus* the more intelligible, I here subjoin his Genealogy, and that of his Alliance with the House of *Nycteus*.

The POSTERITY of CADMUS.

<i>Agenor</i> had by <i>Telephossa</i> his Wife, three Sons and one Daughter,	<i>Cadmus</i> ; sent by his Father in Quest of his Sister <i>Europa</i> , built the City <i>Thebes</i> .	<i>Polydorus</i> married <i>Nycteis</i> , Daughter of <i>Nycteus</i> , <i>Autonoe</i> , who mar- ried <i>Aristeus</i> . <i>Ino</i> , the Wife of <i>Athamas</i> Son of <i>Eolus</i> . <i>Agave</i> , who married <i>Echion</i> . <i>Semele</i> , Mistress to <i>Jupiter</i> , Mother of the <i>Grecian Bacchus</i> .	<i>Labdacus</i> , { <i>Laius</i> , dethroned by <i>Lycus</i> his Un- cle and then slain by his Son,	<i>Oedipus</i> had by his Mo- ther, { <i>Antigone</i> , a Daughter, <i>Etheocles</i> , <i>Polynices</i> ,	{ They killed one another.

Phœnix, from whom the *Phœnicians* derived their Name, who were then very powerful in *Asia*. The Seat of his Empire was at *Thebes* in *Egypt*.
Cilix, who gave Name to *Cilicia*.
Europa, ravished by *Jupiter*.

I said that *Laius* was dethroned by his Grand-Uncle *Lycus*, and the following Table will shew their Degree of Consanguinity.

The ALLIANCE between the Family of CADMUS and of NYCTEUS.

Who was their Fa- ther is not known,	<i>Nycteus</i> , come from <i>Eubœa</i> with his Bro- ther,	<i>Nycteis</i> , who mar- ried <i>Polydorus</i> Son of <i>Cadmus</i> ,	<i>Labdacus</i> . {	<i>Laius</i> dethroned.
		<i>Antiope</i> , who had by <i>Jupiter</i> ,	<i>Zethus</i> , <i>Amphion</i> ,	Brought up by a Priest, they avenged the Injuries done to their Mother <i>Dirce</i> .
	<i>Lycus</i> , Brother of <i>Nycteus</i> ,	He had to Wife <i>Dirce</i> , and dethroned <i>Laius</i> . He took <i>Antiope</i> his Niece, who had married <i>Epopeus</i> . <i>Dirce</i> having used her very ill, she was avenged by <i>Zethus</i> and <i>Am- phion</i> , who slew <i>Lycus</i> and bound <i>Dirce</i> to a mad Bull.		

C H A P. VIII.

The Arrival of Pelops in Greece.

TO conclude : The last Foreigner who arrived in *Greece* before the Destruction of *Troy*, was *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*. This Prince, forced to fly his Country upon account of the War which *Tros* had waged with him, to revenge the Rape of *Ganymede*, retired into *Greece*, where he married *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father-in-law, and communicated his Name to that Part of the Peninsula, which was from that Time called the *Peloponnesus*, or the Island of *Pelops* : Nor was his Dominion confined to that Count y, since he possessed himself of *Ætolia* from *Ætolus* the Son of *Endymion*, who was King thereof ; and by his vast Riches he became one of the most powerful Kings of *Greece*.

This Prince had two Sons, *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, famous for their mutual Hatred to one another. *Atreus* was the Father of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who assisted in the *Trojan* War. I shall handle more particularly the History of *Pelops* and his Descendants, who reigned at *Mycenæ* until the Return of the *Hercleide*, in speaking of *Agamemnon* and his Family.

The only Question here is to settle the *Æras* : Now that of *Pelops's* Arrival in *Greece*, must necessarily fall about the 110 or 120 Year before the *Trojan* War. 'Tis true, between that Prince and *Agamemnon* who commanded the *Grecian* Troops at the Siege of that City, there are only two Generations, which would not require so great an Interval ; but on the Side of his Daughter *Lysidice*, who married *Mestor*, and of his Son *Pitheus*, who reigned at *Trezen*, there is a far greater Number. *Ethra*, the Daughter of this *Pitheus*, was the Mother of *Theseus*, who was born upwards of 60 Years before the War now in question : Thus, taking a just Medium between these several Generations, we ought to place the *Æra* of
Pelop's

Pelops's Arrival in *Greece* in the Time where I have now fixed it.

Such are the principal *Æras* of the History of the heroic Age. No doubt the Reader will have observed that I contract a little the Duration until the *Trojan* War; for as to the taking of that City, I always place it either in the Year 1183, or 1184 before the Christian *Æra*, according to the Opinion of *Eratoſthenes* and *Apollodorus*; and tho', in my other Works upon Mythology, I have followed another Chronology, I thought myself bound to alter it, for the Reasons which I am going to offer. Why then, in beginning with that which is better known to us, and tracing back from the taking of *Troy* to the Arrival of the Colonies in *Greece*, I have only found the Space of Time which I have fixed; namely, from the taking of that City to *Pelops*, only about three or four Generations, which yield only 100, or 120 Years: From the same *Æra* to *Cadmus* there are only six; so that we can fix that Interval only to about 200 Years. From *Dencalion* to the same *Æra* are only seven Generations; therefore I thought proper to reckon only two hundred and thirty Years Distance between the Arrival of that Prince in *Thessaly* and the *Trojan* War; the Succession of the Kings of *Athens* alone is Confirmation thereof. The Arrival of *Cecrops*, which gives Occasion to the first *Æra* of the *Parian* Marbles, can only reach back to two hundred and sixty Years before the *Trojan* War, since that City was taken under the Reign of *Mnestheus* his eleventh Successor, and we must even lengthen a little the Reigns of these Princes. The same Number of Generations from *Danaus* to the foreſaid *Æra*, and that of *Inachus's* Descendants to *Danaus*, have served me for a Guide in determining the Time which elapsed from the Foundation of the Kingdom of *Argos* until my last *Æra*. I say nothing here of the Kingdom of *Sicyon*, because most Authors reckon fictitious the first Kings whom I have named from *Syncellus*, and since *Homer* makes the first of those Kings to have lived only about the Time of the *Trojan* War.

Of these different Colonies came the Heroes who gave Name to the Age under our Consideration in this Volume ; and as in after Ages they made *Greece* exceedingly famous, the Recital of their Actions is to make the most considerable Part of this History.



B O O K II.

Of the HEROES.

THE Heroes, as we have already observed, were not known out of *Greece*, where their Names were synonymous with that of Demi-Gods. A very high Opinion was conceived of those illustrious Men, and they were considered as Persons signalized by their glorious Deeds, and as a kind of Giants, or at least Men of a Stature far superior to that of ordinary Mortals. This is the Idea we have of them from the Poets, from *Homer* especially, who makes them throw Stones which four Men of his Time could hardly have raised from the Ground. The Historians have sometimes described them like the Poets ; and *Pausanias* (1) says *Polydamas* was the tallest Man had been seen since the heroic Age. But before we speak of the Honours that were paid them, we must enquire into the Original of their Name.

C H A P. I.

The Original of the Name of Heroe, and what Kind of Worship was paid to them who acquired it.

THE most known Names are often those whose Original is most obscure : Accordingly the Antients assign several Etymologies of the Name *Heroe*. Some derive it from the Word *Eros*, *Love*, to denote that the Heroes were the Offspring of the Love of the Gods for mortal Women, or of the Goddesses for Men ;

(1) In Att.

Men; for there were Heroes of both these Kinds. *Servius* is not far from this Opinion, since he says the Appellation of Heroe was given to those who sprung from the Embraces of Spirits under visible Forms with Women; and according to that Author, the Name was synonymous with that of *Demon* or *Genius*; but this Original cannot hold, since we find several Heroes who were the Sons of mere Mortals. *St. Augustine* (1) derives the Name from that of *Juno*, called in *Greek* *Hera*, whence, according to him, the Name of Heroe was given to one of her Sons (a). But as I know no Author names this Son of *Juno*, whom *St. Augustine* himself was not acquainted with, I reckon we are not to lay much Stress upon this Etymology; and I would rather adhere to the Opinion of those who derive the Name from the Valour and Courage of the Persons on whom it was conferred, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρετῆς.

Herodotus (2) and *Pausanias* (3) let us know the Distinction that was made between the Gods and the Heroes; and tho' I have said something of this in the very Beginning of this Work, I judge it proper to go deeper into the Subject. According to these two Authors, the Worship of the Gods consisted in Sacrifices and Libations, which, say they, are Honours due to the Divinity; whereas that of the Heroes was only a kind of Funeral Solemnity, wherein the Memory of their Exploits was celebrated; which makes the first of these Historians say in that Passage where he speaks of the Temple which the *Greeks* had erected in Honour of *Hercules*; “Wherefore methinks the
“*Greeks* have acted wisely in building Temples to
“*Hercules*, sacrificing to one of the two surnamed the
“*Olympian*, as being of an immortal Nature, and
“performing in Honour of the other, as to a Heroe,
“Funeral Obsequies rather than Sacrifice.” *Pausani-*
as

(1) *De Civ. Dei*, l. 10. c. 21.

(a) *Heroum* nomen ab *Junone* dicitur tractum, quod *Græce* *Juno* *Ἥρα* appellatur, & ideo nescio qui filius ejus, secundum *Græcorum* fabulas, *Heros* fuit nuncupatus.

(2) *Lib. 3.* (3) *In Att.*

as makes also the same Distinction, when he says, that to *Alexanor* were ascribed the usual Honours that belong to Heroes, and that after Sun setting; but to *Evemerion* divine Honours were paid. The same Author adds, that at the Dedication of Cities, Sacrifices were offered to the Gods, and that Heroes were invoked merely by Prayers. When *Epaminondas*, says he (1), was designed to re-establish the *Messenians*, and build them a City, after having consulted the Augurs, and upon their Report made Choice of the Place where it was to have been built, the *Arcadians*, the *Messenians* and *Thebans*, offered each to their own Gods private Sacrifices, then they all invoked the Heroes of the Country; especially *Messenus* the Son of *Triopas*, *Eurytus* and *Aphareus*, with their Children, and among the Descendants of *Hercules*, *Cresphontes* and *Ephytus*. Besides, they invoked *Aristomenes* in a particular Manner, and his Memory was more honoured than any other. But this Distinction did not always subsist, since the Heroe often became a God, as I have proved from the Authority of the Antients, in the third Book of the first Volume. Farther, I believe we may assert, that the due Promotion of Heroes to the Rank of Gods, was owing to the Doctrine of the antient Philosophy, which taught that the Souls of great Men were advanced even to the Stars, the Mansion of the Gods; and hence it was thought necessary to honour them like the Gods themselves with whom they dwelt. The *Stoics*, on the contrary, settled only the Habitation of the Heroes in a pure and serene Climate, which they believed to be above the Moon; which makes *Lucan* say, *That vast Expansion which is between Heaven and Earth, is the Mansion of the Demi-Gods* (a).

So firmly were they persuaded that the Heroes interested themselves as well as the Gods in the Affairs of this World, that they were believed to be the Avengers

(1). In Mess.

(a) *Quodque patet terras inter cœlique meatus
Semidei Manes habitant.* Phars. l. 9.

vengers of Impiety. The Examples of this, quoted by *Pausanias* (1), are very authentic. *Cleomenes*, says he, having corrupted the Priestess of *Delphi*, to oblige her to declare, that *Demaratus* was not the legal Son of *Aristo*, and thereby to exclude him from the Crown, to which he had a Right, having stabbed himself in one of those Fits of Madness to which he was subject, his Death was looked upon as a Punishment from the Gods and Heroes. “ And indeed, says that Historian, it was not the first Instance of the Vengeance the Gods and Heroes had taken upon Men. *Protesilaus* who is worshipped at *Eleus*, and who in his Time was a Heroe no less celebrated than *Argus*, punished with his own Hand the *Persian Artacetus* (2); and ever since the *Megareans* presumed to appropriate to themselves and cultivate the Lands consecrated to the Divinities of *Eleusis*, they have never been able to appease their Wrath.”

This in few Words is what the Antients taught as to the Heroes and their Worship. We shall speak afterwards at more Length of those who by their Achievements attained that high Rank, which at Bottom was much the same with that of the Gods. But before we close this Chapter, 'tis proper to examine what the Antients understood by the Tomb of the Heroes *Ἡρώων μνημα*, an Expression which often occurs in *Pausanias*. The Abbé *Sallier*, who has treated this Subject in a Memoir which he read to the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres*, says, that by these two Words was understood the Tomb of a Heroe erected in a Place inclosed with a sacred Grove, and near which was an Altar, which they used to frequent at set Times, and offer upon it Gifts and Libations. In Proof of this Proposition, he quotes several Authorities from *Homer* and *Euripides*, which may be seen in his Dissertation (3), and he concludes with a Passage in *Virgil*, and with the Testimony of *Servius* his Commentator, which set the Matter in full Light :

Solennes

(1) In Lacon. (2) Herodotus relates the same Fact. (3) Mem. de l'Acad. Tom. V.

*Solemnes tum forte dapes & tristia dona
 Ante urbem in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam,
 Libabat cineri Andromache, manesque vocabat
 Hecloreum ad tumulum, viridi quem cespite inanem
 Et geminas, causam lacrymis, sacraverat aras.*

Æn. l. 3.

Since in these Verses we actually find the three Things requisite to the Tombs of Heroes, the sacred Grove, *Lucus*, the Heroe's Shade; *Has tenent Heroum animæ*, says the same Poet in another Place; and lastly the Offerings, *Libabat cineri Andromache*. *Servius* (1) in his Commentary upon this Passage of *Virgil*, says, the Poet never uses the Word *lucus*, but he means a Place consecrated by Religion (a). The heroic Monument was not peculiar to Heroes alone, since we learn from *Pausanias* that it was also erected in Honour of Heroins (2), as we shall see afterwards.

CHAP. II.

At what Time and in what Manner the Practice of worshipping Heroes was introduced into Greece, &c.

TIS not easy to determine at what Time the Worship of Heroes commenced. The Antients, and *Pausanias* himself, who says so much of this Worship, give us no Account of its Original; but among the Moderns we have Men of Learning, who not discerning any Traces of this Worship before the Arrival of *Cadmus*, conclude from thence, that he had brought it from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*. From that Period, say they, commenced the Practice among the *Greeks*, of honouring the Funerals of their Relations by Festivals, Invocations, and Offerings; of erecting to them remarkable Tombs, whither they repaired, especially on the Day of their Anniversary, there to perform Libations.

(1) In 3 Æn.

(a) *Lucum nunquam ponit sine Religione, nam in ipsis habitant Manes piorum, qui Lares viales sunt.*

(2) In *Corinth*.

bations. To these Tombs very soon succeeded Statues, and afterwards Altars. Every private Person was permitted to pay his Respects to his Ancestors, but often their Fame reached no farther than their own Family. It was otherwise as to those on whom Cities or Kingdoms conferred Honours. As it was commonly to Persons who had done good Service to the State, and had signalized themselves by great Atchievements, their Names became thereby exceeding famous, and were propagated every where. Thus we are to distinguish two Sorts of Heroes; some were so only in their own Families, and were as their Gods *Penates*: Others were so by public Decrees, and became the Heroes of a whole People. To the one were erected only Tombs of Stone which served for Altars, while those which were raised to others differed but little from the Temples of the Gods; and that the Homage paid them might be the more solemn, Mysteries were instituted in their Honour, with Ceremonies and Feasts; and a Succession of Priests destined to their Service.

As the Number of the Heroes and Heroins is almost beyond Reckoning, and it would be impossible to name them all, I shall collect into one Chapter the Names of all whom I know, reserving till afterwards what further Enlargements I have to make on those of them that are more illustrious.

C H A P. III.

The Names of the Heroes and Heroins worshipped in Greece.

FIRST of all we find in the single Family of *Cadmus*, that Prince himself, *Europa* his Sister, and *Atymnus* his Brother, his four Daughters, *Melicerta* the Son of *Ino*, *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, *Aristeus* the Husband of *Autonoë*, and *Jasius* the Brother of his Wife *Harmonia*. In that of *Minos*, that Prince himself, *Rhadamanthus*, *Androgeos*, &c.

In the Family of *Inachus*, *Danae*, *Perseus*, *Hercules*,
Alcmena,

Alcmena his Mother, and many more. At *Athens*, *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, *Pandion*, *Theseus*, and *Hippolitus* his Son. The latter was even honoured as a God. *Diomedes*, as is thought, built him a Temple, and consecrated to him the Ground that encompassed it. This Heroe was reckoned the first who paid divine Honours to him. The Priests who had the Charge of his Worship, had it for Life, and the Festival of the God was solemnized every Year. Among other Ceremonies performed in his Honour the young Virgins before Marriage cut off their Hair, and consecrated it to him in that Temple. At *Eleusis*, *Triptolemus* and *Celeus*. In the Family of *Pelops*, this Prince himself, and *Hippodamia* his Wife, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen*, *Menelaus*, and *Agamemnon*. In that of *Æacus*, this Prince, *Peleus* his Son, and *Achilles*. In that of *Priam*, *Hector* and *Cassandra* his Daughter, and *Helenus*, one of his Sons. We may also reckon in the same Number the Soothsayer *Amphiaraus*, and his Son *Amphilochus*, *Phoroneus*, *Orpheus*, *Protesilaus*, *Arcas* the Son of *Callisto*, *Idomeneus*, *Emeriones*, *Melampus*, *Adrastus*, *Iolaus*, *Macbaon*, his Son *Polemocrates*, and his Brother *Podalirius*, *Areotopotes*, or the great *Wine-biber*, honoured as a Heroe at *Munichia*, according to *Atheneus*, as *Alabandus* was in *Actaia*, according to *Cicero* and *Asius*, if we may believe *Strabo*; *Amicleus* and *Apollonius Tyanus* (1). *Calchas* the Soothsayer, so famous at the Siege of *Troy*, had a Temple, according to *Strabo*, at *Daunia* upon a Hill, and *Caystrius*, according to the same Author, an Altar near the River *Cayster*. The *Apotheosis* of *Homer* represented upon an antient Monument, explained by *Cuper*, leaves no Room to doubt of that Poet's having been worshipped at least as a Demi-God.

A Passage of *Pausanias* (2) gives us the Names of several Heroes; whom he calls *Eponymes*: *A little above the Place where the Senate was held, are the Statues of these Heroes, from whom the Athenian Tribes took their Names afterwards; the first is Hippocoon, the Son of Neptune,*

(1) Philost. Vita Apoll. Tyan. (2) In Att.

Neptune, and Alope, the Daughter of Cercyon; *Antiochus* the Son of Hercules and Medea, is the second, and the third is Telamon the Father of Ajax. Among the Athenians is reckoned Leos, who by the Advice of the Oracle devoted his Daughter for the Safety of the State; Erechtheus (a) who defeated the Eleusians, and slew their General; Immarandus the Son of Eumolpus, Egeus who is well known, Ceneus the natural Son of Pandion, and Acamas one of the Sons of Theseus. I have seen in the same Rank, adds he, the Statues of Cecrops and Pandion. Cleodea, the Daughter of Hilus, Oebalus and Telechus had their heroic Monuments in Laconia (1): The latter was the Son of Archelaus King of Sparta. Eurylnus the Son of Menecus, was worshipped in Oechalia on the Day of his Anniversary (2). Theagenes of Thasos, who was so often Conqueror at the Olympic Games (b), received divine Honours; and as his Adventure is singular, I shall relate it. A Statue had been consecrated to him of Bronze (3), and as one of his Enemies was once a beating of it by Way of Revenge upon him, the Statue falling down suddenly upon the Fool, and crushing him to Death, his Sons sued it in Judgment, as being guilty of Murther, and the People of Thasos condemned it to be thrown into the Sea; so one of Draco's Law ordained. In the mean Time the Thasians being sore distressed with Famine, had Recourse to the Oracle of Delphi, who answered them that it would cease when they had recalled all those whom they had banished. They obeyed, but the Calamity still continuing, they sent a second Time to the Oracle, and the Priests answered, that their Theagenes it seems passed with them for a Cypher. Upon this they got the Statue fished up, and from that Time began to honour the Memory of that Heroe.

Pyritheus,

(a) Herodot. l. 8. makes also Mention of the Temple of that Prince which was in the Citadel of Athens.

(1) Id. in Lacon. (2) Id. in Messen.

(b) The ordinary Text of Pausanias bears that he had won 1400 Crowns, an exorbitant Number, which some Interpreters reduce to 400, which still appears very great.

(3) Id. in Eliac.

Pyritheus, *Oedipus*, and *Adrastus*, as we learn from *Pausanias*, had their heroic Monuments in *Attica*; *Pallas* the Son of *Lycaon* had his in *Arcadia*, and *Pelops* had a Temple in *Alces*, and a Piece of Ground consecrated to him: For, as the same Author remarks, the *Eleans* set that Prince as far above other Heroes, as they set *Jupiter* above other Gods. It is thought to have been *Hercules* himself that consecrated that Piece of Ground to *Pelops*, from whom he was descended in the fourth Generation. They added (1), that he had sacrificed to him by the Side of a Ditch, where the *Archons* were wont every Year to offer Sacrifice before they entered upon their Office; and their Sacrifice had this Singularity in it, that no Part of the Victim was allotted to Divination.

Telephus received the Honours of Sacrifice at *Per-gamus* upon the *Caicus* (2). *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, was too illustrious not to acquire heroic Honours; accordingly he had in *Alces* a Chapel built in Form of the *Rotondo*, where he had a Statue of Gold, by the Hand of *Leochares*. However ambitious his Son *Alexander* was to be taken into the Number of the great Gods, as has been said elsewhere, I know not if he ever attained even to Heroic Honours; at least if any Worship was paid to him, it was not very extensive. *Phylacus*, for having relieved the City *Delphi*, obtained a heroic Monument. *Polydorus* the Son of *Alcamenes* the King of *Sparta*, received extraordinary Honours from the *Lacedemonians* after his Death; but *Pausanias* has not told us whether he was reckoned a God or a Heroe (3).

Deucalion had Altars in *Greece*, and was honoured there as a Divinity. *Diomedes* was esteemed a God, and had a Temple and a sacred Grove at *Timavus*, according to *Strabo* (4). *Ergane* a Goddess had also her Altar. The Descendants of *Phidias* sacrificed to him, according to *Pausanias*. *Hermotimus* was worshipped as a God among the *Clazomenians*, and had there a Temple,

(1) In *Eliac*. (2) Id. in *Arcad*. (3) Id. in *Eliac*. (4) P. 146.

Temple, according to the Testimony of *Tertullian* (1). *Palamedes*, according to *Philostratus* (2), was honoured as a God. He had a Statue erected to him with this Inscription, *To the God Palamedes*. *Pandarus* (3) was worshipped in *Lycia*. *Pasithea*, says *Cicero* (4), had a Temple near *Lacedemon*: Others take her for *Pasiphae* the Wife of *Minos*. *Phoroneus*, as we learn from *Pausanias* (5), had one at *Corinth*, near that of *Nemean Jupiter*; and even in *Pausanias*'s Time they still celebrated the Anniversary of that Heroe. *Acesidas* and *Acesius* had also heroic Monuments in *Greece*, as we read in the same Author, as also *Acratus*, a Genius of *Bacchus*'s Retinue, and *Adrastus* the Son of *Talaus*, *Æthlius* the Son of *Eolus*, who was surnamed *Jupiter*; *Agamedes* and *Trophonius* his Brother, the same who had the famous Oracle; *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, and *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, participated of the same Honours, while *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* received them in the small Island of *Leuce*, where a particular Worship was also paid to *Achilles*. *Pyræus* his Son was worshipped principally at *Delphi*. *Lycurgus*, if we may believe *Strabo* (6), had a Temple at *Lacedemon*.

Pausanias, who of all the Antients has enlarged most upon this Subject, having travelled over *Greece* which was full of heroic Monuments, makes Mention of those of *Alalcomedes*, the Foster-Father of *Minerva*, of *Alcathous*, *Alcimedea*, *Alcines*, *Aleon*, *Ambryssus*, *Anaxis*, *Mnasinous*, *Aratus*, *Archemorus*, *Astrabacus*, *Atys*, *Augæas*; of the *Arcadian Aulon*, of *Baton* Squire to *Amphiaræus*, of *Perseus*, *Thyestes*, whose heroic Monument was upon the Highway that led from *Mycenæ* to *Argos*; of *Bellerophon*, *Butes*, *Chilon*, *Cladeus*, *Cleodeus* the Son of *Hyllus*; of *Chiron*, so celebrated in the heroic Age, of *Cleomedes*, *Cleoneus*, *Cranius*. He makes also Mention either of the Temples or Statues of *Stemmu-tius*, of the *Curetes*, of *Tenes*, *Hyacinthus*, peculiarly honoured in *Laconia*, of *Iolaus* the Companion of
VOL. III. F f Hercules,

(1) Lib. de Anima. (2) Life of Apoll. Tyan. (3) Strabo, l. 14. (4) L. 1. de Divinat. (5) In Corinth. (6) L. 7. (7) L. 7.

Hercules, worshipped in *Sardinia*; of *Iphicles*, Brother to the same *Hercules*; of *Orestes*, *Lacedemon*, *Latius*, *Laphistius*, *Lycurgus*, *Melampus*, *Hippoton*, whose heroic Monument was at *Athens*; of *Preugones*, to whom heroic Honours were paid at the Time of the Festival of *Diana Limnatis*, whose Statue he had carried off at *Sparta*; of *Prometheus* who had a Statue in *Phocis*, with a Chapel and Altar; Games were also instituted in Honour of him; of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, whom this Author reckons in the Number of the Heroes *Eponymes*; of *Sebrus*, *Alcimus*, *Enarephorus*, whom *Apolodorus* calls *Arcinus*, of *Dorycles*, and *Tebrus*, whose heroic Monuments were in *Laconia*; of *Stinyclerus*, the *Messenian* Heroe, of *Tberas* the Son of *Autesion*, whose Anniversary was celebrated by the *Thereans*, who derived their Name from him; of *Triptolemus*, whose Temple was to be seen at *Eleusis*; of *Zarax*, a Man of great Fame, who had learned Music from *Apollo* himself, and whom this Author reckons to have been not from *Athens*, but the Extremities of *Laconia*, where was the City of *Zaraxa*, to which he communicated his Name.

This curious Traveller, after naming so many Heroes, has not forgot the illustrious Women who had attained to the same Honours; such as *Alexandra*, or *Cassandra*, the Daughter of *Priam*, who had a Temple in *Greece*; *Almena*, whose Altar was at *Athens* in the Temple of *Hercules* her Son; *Andromache*, who had a heroic Monument in the same Country; *Anaxandra*, who had likewise an Altar there, as also *Aphea* and the *Trojan Aïmené*; *Coronis*, the Daughter of *Phlegyas*, and Mother of *Esculapius*, who was worshipped there with her Son; *Helen*, who had a Temple at *Lacedemon*; *Cynisea*, the Daughter of *Archidane*, who gained the Prize at the Olympic Games. *Hilara* and *Phæbea*, the Wives of *Castor* and *Pollux*; *Iodamia*, who though transformed into a Stone, had the Honour of an Altar; *Iphimedeia*, *Laphria*, *Latria*, *Ladona* the Mother of *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Manto* the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who professed the Art of Prediction like her

her Father ; *Meganira*, *Rhadina*, whose Tomb was honoured by unfortunate Lovers ; and lastly *Octavia*, whose Temple was in high Reputation.

These in general were the Heroes and Heroins, to whom *Greece* had destined Religious Worship ; but as there were some among them who had signalized themselves more than the rest, in the Events which make the most considerable Part of the History of the Heroic Age, 'tis proper to give a fuller Account of them : This is what I shall do in the following Chapters, observing, as near as possible, the Order of Time.

As *Perseus* is one of the most celebrated, both for his Antiquity and Atchievements, with him I shall begin.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Perseus, Andromeda, the Gorgons, &c.

THERE are few Histories of those Times more obscure and fuller of Fables, than that which is to be the Subject of this Chapter. 'Tis in several Parts of it quite inexplicable. However, let us try to clear it up as far as we are able ; let us take for certain what Antiquity acknowledges, and for Conjectures only the Explanations of the Fables which are so closely interwoven into the real Adventures of that Prince.

Perseus was of the Blood of *Danaus*, who had usurped from *Gelanor* the Kingdom of *Argos*, by *Hypermetra* his Great-Great-Grand-Mother. *Acrisius* his Grand-Father, who had but one Daughter, named *Danaë*, having learnt from the Oracle, that one Day his Grand-Son was to bereave him of his Life and Crown, shut her up in a Tower of Brass, and would give Ear to no Proposal of Marriage for her. In the mean Time, *Prætus* his Brother, being desperately in Love with his Niece, found a Way, by Means of Money, to corrupt the Fidelity of the Keepers of the Princess ; and having entered through the Roof into the Place where she was imprisoned, made her the Mother of *Perseus*.

A Fable which *Ovid* has comprehended in this single Verse:

Persea quem pluvio Danaë conceperat auro. (1)

And which *Horace* has applied to a moral Sense, to demonstrate the Power of Gold over Mankind, among whom no Obstacle is to be found powerful enough to surmount its Force :

*Aurum per medios ire satellites
Novit, &c.*

Those who wrote the History of this Adventure, to palliate the Disgrace which this Intrigue intailed upon the Royal Family, gave out, that *Jupiter*, enamoured of *Danaë*, had transformed himself into a Shower of Gold; which was the more probable, that *Prætus*, if we may believe *Vossius* (2), took upon him the Surname of *Jupiter*, as has been already said in the History of that God (3).

Here is the whole Mystery, for the Ground of the Story is true. *Pausanias* (4) mentions that Tower, or rather that Apartment of Brass, in which *Danaë* had been shut up, and assures us that it subsisted till the Time of *Perilaus* the Tyrant of *Argos*, who demolished it; adding that even in his Time some Remains were still to be seen of the subterraneous Palace whereof *Danaë's* Chamber made a Part.

To conclude, there is nothing very extraordinary in this Adventure; that a Prince affrighted by an Oracle (and we know how far they carried their Credulity for Oracles) being averse to the Marriage of his Daughter, because the Child to be born of her was one Day to dethrone and bereave him of his Life, kept her close confined; nor that a Man so powerful as *Prætus* his Brother bribed the Guards; and far less, that this Adventure, according to the Practice of those Times, was laid in *Jupiter's* Name.

The Commerce of that Prince with *Danaë* was kept
very

(1) Met. l. 6. (2) De Orig. & Prog. Idol. l. 1. (3) Vol. II. B. 1. of the *English*. (4) In Corinth.

very secret for a Time; but at Length the Princess being delivered of *Perseus*, *Acrisius* ordered her to be exposed upon the Sea with her Child, in a pitiful Barge, which after being a long Time driven along at the Mercy of the Winds, stopped near the little Island of *Seriphus*, one of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* Sea. *Polydestes*, who was King of the Island, being apprized of it, gave a favourable Reception to the Mother and the Child, and took great Care of the Education of the young Prince. But afterwards falling in Love with *Danaë*, and afraid of *Perseus* now grown up, he sought a Pretext for dismissing him. It was a very singular one he made use of. He pretended that he was courting one of the *Grecian* Princesses, and that in order to have the Marriage celebrated with more Magnificence, he designed to furnish out an Entertainment upon that Occasion with all the Rarities the World could afford. He actually invited the Princes of the neighbouring Isles, begging each of them to bring with him to the Feast the best Things his Country produced. He even prescribed to them what Things he was desirous to have; and to make *Perseus's* Expedition the longer, ordered him to go and fetch the Head of *Medusa*, one of the *Gorgons*.

C H A P. V.

The Explanation of the Fable of Medusa and the Gorgons.

NEVER did either Poets or Historians allow themselves more Scope than in the Fable of the *Gorgons*. I begin with what the Poets say of them, then shall come to the Historians and Mythologists, and shall close this Chapter with an Explanation of the Fable.

All the Method I here propose, is to range the Poets according to the Time when they wrote, that we may see with one Glance of the Eye the progressive Steps of this Fable, incomparably more simple in the first, than in those who came after. As *Homer* is

the most antient, I ought to begin with him ; but what he says of the *Gorgons* amounts to so little, that *Hesychius* makes no Scruple to assert, that this Poet had no Knowledge of them ; but that Critic is in an Error, as we shall see. *Homer* in the Description of *Minerva's Ægis* (1) thus speaks : *In the middle thereof was to be seen the Head of the Gorgon, that frightful Monster, that enormous and formidable Head, the amazing Prodigy of the Father of the Gods.* He says elsewhere (2), that the same Head was engraved upon *Agamemnon's* Buckler, accompanied with *Terror* and his Retinue.

Hesiod enters into a much fuller Detail : I shall not quote what he says on this Subject in the fine Description he gives of *Hercules's* Buckler, which the Abbé *Massieu* has translated with so much Elegance, that I may come to the *Theogony* of that Poet, where he relates this Fable with all its Circumstances as they were known in his Time. “ *Phorcus*, says he, had
 “ by *Ceto* two Daughters, *Pepbredo* and *Enyo*, who
 “ came into the World with gray Hairs—He had
 “ also by her the *Gorgons*, who dwelt beyond the
 “ Ocean, at the Extremity of the World, near the
 “ Regions of Night—The Names of those *Gorgons*
 “ are *Stbeno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa*, so famed for her
 “ Misfortunes. She was mortal, while her two Sisters
 “ were subject neither to Old-age nor Death. The
 “ God of the Sea was captivated with *Medusa's* Charms;
 “ and upon the grassy Couch of a beautiful Meadow,
 “ adorned with all the Gay Flowers of the Spring, gave
 “ her convincing Proofs of his Love. She died afterwards an untimely Death : *Perseus* cut off her Head,
 “ and from the Blood that issued from it sprung the
 “ Hero *Chrysaor* and the Horse *Pegasus*. *Chrysaor* derived his Name from a golden Sword which he
 “ had in his Hand, at his Birth. He fell afterwards
 “ in Love with *Callirhoe* the Daughter of the *Ocean*,
 “ and had by her *Geryon*, the famous Giant with three
 “ Heads. *Pegasus* was so named, because he was
 “ born

(1) *Iliad*. l. 5. (2) *Iliad*. l. 11.

“ born near the Sources of the Ocean : He instantly
 “ left the Earth, and winged his Way to the Man-
 “ sions of the Gods. There he now resides, in the
 “ Palace of *Jupiter* himself, whose Thunder and
 “ Lightning he bears.”

Eschiles in his *Prometheus* has only copied *Hesiod* :
 But as the Fables still grew as they passed from one
 Poet to another, the former adds that the Daughters
 of *Phorcus* had but one Eye and one Tooth among all
 the three, which they made Use of one after another,
 and that the *Gorgons*, their younger Sisters, had Hair
 interwoven with Serpents, and killed Men with a single
 Glance of their Eye. The Scholiast on that Poet
 adds, that their Tooth was longer than the Tusks of the
 strongest Boar, and that their Hands were of Brass.

Pindar (1) goes farther than either *Eschiles* or his
 Commentator, since he heightens the Fable by three
 Circumstances unknown to his Predecessors. The first
 is that the *Gorgons* turned those into Stone whom they
 looked upon, and that it was by this kind of Death
 that *Perseus*, in presenting *Medusa's* Head, desolated
 the Island of *Seriphus*, whose Inhabitants he petrified,
 together with their King whom he surprized at Table.
 The second is, that *Minerva*, who aided *Perseus* while
 he was struggling with *Medusa*, being surprized with
 the Melody of the *Gorgons* Sighs intermingled with
 the Hissings of their Serpents, felt certain Charms in
 that mixed Composition of doleful Accents ; and to
 renew the Idea of the Harmony, she invented a Flute
 in Imitation thereof which she imparted to Men ; and
 in Allusion to its first Model she called the various
 Sounds it produced, *a Harmony with many Heads*. The
 third is, that the Horse *Pegasus* whom *Hesiod* makes
 to have taken Flight to the Mansion of the Gods, was
 afterwards broke by *Minerva*, and given to *Bellerophon*,
 who mounted him to combat the *Chimera* ; but that
 Heroe having attempted to ascend to Heaven on the
 Wings of that Horse, was thrown down to the Earth,
 and *Pegasus* placed among the Stars (a). As

(1) *Pyth.* 12.

(a) See his third Olympiad, and the seventh *Pyth.*

As this Fable still grew in its Progress by passing from one Hand to another, *Apollonius Rhodius*, and *Ovid* add, that *Perseus* having taken his Flight over *Libya*, all the Drops of Blood that trickled from the fatal Head, were transformed into so many Serpents, and that hence came the prodigious Quantity of those venomous Animals, which have since infected that Country.

The *Latin* Poets, though faithful Copiers of the *Greek* ones, have yet loaded the Fable of the *Gorgons* with new Circumstances. *Homer* had said that the *Gorgon's* Head was engraved upon the tremendous *Ægis* of *Minerva*; *Virgil* adds, and upon her Cuirass too, in the Place which covered the Goddess's Breast.

- - - - - *Ipsamque in pectore Divæ*
Gorgona descēto vertentem lumina collo.

Æn. l. 8.

The other Poets speak no more of the *Gorgons* after the Defeat of *Medusa*: *Virgil* says, they had their Residence near the Gates of Hell, with the *Centaur*s, the *Chimera*, and the other fabulous Monsters (a).

Ovid of all the Poets has most enlarged upon the Fable of the *Gorgons*, and he lets us know a good many Circumstances which are no where to be found but in his *Metamorphoses* (1). According to him, *Medusa* was a consummate Beauty, and kindled the Desires of many Lovers, who sought to marry her; but of all the Charms of her Person none was more attractive than her fine Hair. *Neptune* made Love to her, not in a Meadow, as it is in *Hesiod*, but in *Minerva's* Temple, with which that Goddess was so incensed, that she changed that Beauty's Hair into Serpents; and this is the Reason why among the three *Gorgons*, *Medusa* alone has her Hair interwoven with Snakes; though *Eschylus* had said long before him, that

(a) *Vestibulum ante ipsum* - - - - -
Centauri - - - - -

Gorgones, Harpyiæque, &c.

Æn. l. 6.

(1) L. 4. & 5.

that her Sister's Locks were branded with the same Deformity. That Poet goes on to relate after what Manner *Perseus* surprized the single Eye which we have mentioned, while one of the *Gorgons* was giving it to the other; after which he went to the Place where *Medusa* lay, whom he found fast asleep, and cut off her Head. Of the Blood which issued from it, came forth *Pegasus*, on whom he mounted; and flying through the airy Regions, went into *Mauritania*, where he transformed *Atlas*, who had given him a bad Reception, into that Mountain which has since bore his Name. From thence, continues he, he went into *Ethiopia*, where he rescued *Andromeda* from the Monster that was ready to devour her, and punished *Phineus* his Rival, together with all those who had sided with him, by shewing them the *Gorgon's* Head, which turned them all into Stones. This Poet adds several other Fictions, which we shall endeavour to explain as we go along.

Though the Mythologists and Historians have in Relation to this Fable followed the Poets who hatched it, yet they have altered some Circumstances in it, and also give us some additional ones. *Phericides*, and after him *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus* say, that *Mercury*, as well as *Minerva*, had a great Hand in the Expedition of our Heroe, and that as the Goddess lent him her Looking-Glass, so *Mercury* provided him with a Sword made in Form of a *Scythe*; that by the Advice of them both *Perseus* went to the Habitation of certain Nymphs, to borrow some Arms deposited with them, among which were the winged Shoes, the Sandal and Helmet of *Pluto*; that this Helmet had the Property to leave all Objects open to View, while the Person who wore it was himself invisible; that the Looking-Glass of *Minerva* produced also the same Effect; in fine, that these were the Means of saving the Heroe who appeared before *Medusa*, without being perceived by her. The same Mythologists add farther, that it was *Minerva* herself guided the Hand of *Perseus* when he cut off the *Gorgon's* Head. Lastly, that
after

after this Victory the Heroe returned the Arms to those from whom he had them, reserving to himself *Medusa's* Head, of which after his other Expeditions he made a present to *Minerva*, who put it upon her *Ægis*.

When we lay together on one Hand, the little which History has left us in relation to the *Gorgons*, and on the other the numberless Prodigies told on that Occasion by the Poets, we cannot but imagine at first Sight that it is in vain to pry into this Fable. In the mean Time several Authors, both antient and modern, have undertaken to explain it ; and I think myself obliged to give the History of their Sentiments before I offer my own (a). *Theopompus* (1) was of Opinion that the *Gorgons* were such ugly Women, that the very Sight of them turned those who looked upon them into Stones, so to speak, their Astonishment being so great. Others, on the contrary, affirm that *Medusa* was exceedingly handsome, until Debauchery rendered her hideously ugly. *Proclus* of *Cartbage* said this same *Medusa* was one of those barbarous *African* Women who conducted the Troops, whereof *Perseus* by her Death made himself Master, and led them into *Greece*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very full upon this Subject, after observing that *Libya* antiently produced whole Nations of Women, who by their warlike Disposition and Courage were become the Astonishment of the World, adds that the *Gorgons*, who were of that Number, maintained a War against *Perseus*, where they signalized their Valour and Prowess exceedingly, under the Conduct of *Medusa* their Queen.

What *Pausanias* tells us of these Women, has a considerable Affinity to what the Author now quoted had said before. The *Gorgons*, according to him, were the Daughters of *Phorbus* ; for thus that Name is read in the printed Copies and Manuscripts ; tho' the Learned think it ought to be read *Phorcus*, since this is the Name given to the Father of the *Gorgons* by all the Antients.

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(a) See the curious Dissertation of the Abbé *Massieu*, Mem. de l'Acad. T. 3. p. 51.

(1) L. 17.

Be that as it will, after the Death of *Phorbus*, says the same *Pausanias*, *Medusa* his Daughter reigned over the People who inhabited in the Confines of the Lake *Tritonis*. As she had a violent Passion for Hunting and War, she laid waste all the Lands of the neighbouring People; but at last *Perseus* having surprized her one Night, defeated the flying Camp wherewith she was escorted, and killed herself in the Encounter. The next Day he was desirous to view her, and dead as she was, she appeared so beautiful, that he cut off her Head, and carried it into *Greece*, to make it a Spectacle to the People, who could not behold it without being struck with Astonishment.

Alexander of *Myndus*, a City of *Caria*, cited by *Athenæus* (a), contended that the *Gorgons* were a kind of savage Beasts, whose very Look turned Men into Stones. In *Libya*, says he, the *Nomades* give the Appellation of *Gorgon* to a certain Animal which has very much the Air of a wild Sheep. The Breath of it is said to be so pestilentious, that it infects all those who approach to it. A long Main falls down from the Top of its Forehead, and deprives it then of Sight. This Main is so ponderous, that the Animal has much ado to raise it up again; but when it gets this brought about by some extraordinary Effort, it overthrows all those who look upon it, and kills them, not with its Breath, but with a Poison which it darts from its Eyes. One of these Animals was discovered in the Time that *Marius* was carrying on War in *Africa*. Some *Róman* Soldiers, who took it for a Sheep, fell upon it; but having raised its Main, it killed them all with a single Glance of its Eye. Other Soldiers, who came up after them, had the same Fate, till some having learned from the People of the Country the Nature and Qualities of the Animal, slew it with their Javelins, and carried it to their General.

Xenophon of *Lampsacus*, followed by *Pliny* and *Solinus*,

(a) This Passage is taken from the second Book of *Alexander* of *Myndus* upon Animals, and cited in the third Book of *Athenæus*.

linus, was of Opinion that the *Gorgons* were female Savages, who dwelt in the Island *Gorgades*. Near that Promontory, says *Pliny*, which we call the western Cape, are the *Gorgades*, the antient Residence of the *Gorgons*. *Hanno*, the *Cartbaginian* General, says he after the same *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus*, penetrated as far as the *Gorgades* Islands, where he found Women, who, in Swiftneſs, outrun the Flight of Birds. Among ſeveral he met with, he was able to catch no more than two, whoſe Body was ſo brifling with Hair, that in order to preſerve the Memorial of them, as of ſomething prodigious and incredible, their Skins were ſet up in the Temple of *Juno*, where they continued ſuſpended, until the Ruin of *Cartbage*.

Palephatus and *Fulgentius* will have the *Gorgons* to have been young Women of opulent Fortunes, who improved their vaſt Revenues with ſingular Oeconomy. The former adds, that *Phorcus*, their Father, had a golden Statue of *Minerva*, four Cubits high, which he deſigned to have depoſited in the Temple of that Goddeſs. But having died before the Conſecration of the Statue, his three Daughters, *Stheno*, *Euryale*, and *Meduſa*, lodged it among their Treafure, and *Perſeus* carried it off. *Phorcus*, according to the ſame Author, was a Native of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, but he had in his Poſſeſſion three Iſlands in the Ocean. The three *Gorgons*, after his Death, reigned, one after another, in one of thoſe Iſlands. They had but one Miniſter, who paſſed from the one Iſland into the other; and this is what gave Riſe to the Fable of their having but one Eye, which they lent one another by Turns.

As *Perſeus* was then navigating upon thoſe Seas, he ſurprized this Miniſter while he was paſſing from one Iſland into the other; which explains that Circumſtance of his having ſtole their Eye, while one of them was giving it to her Siſter.

They were inſoluble for the Loſs of ſo neceſſary a Miniſter; but *Perſeus* gave them to know that he ſhould be returned to them, provided they would deliver

liver up to him the *Gorgon Medusa*, and in case of a Refusal threatened them with Death. *Medusa* would never hearken to this Demand, but her two Sisters consented to it; wherefore *Perseus* put *Medusa* to Death, carried off the Statue, and restored to *Stheno* and *Euryale* their Minister.

The attentive Reader will easily observe that *Palephatus* had in his Eye to trace all the Parts of this Fable Step by Step, to reduce them to Probability, without dreaming that most of the Circumstances were added to it at different Times. He does not even explain that of the Tooth and Horn which the three *Gorgons* had in common.

Gerard Vossius, in his excellent Treatise upon the Origine and Progress of Idolatry, is persuaded that the Fable of the *Gorgons* took its Rise from the Relation of *Hanno* the *Cartbaginian* General, which we have cited from *Xenophon* of *Lampsacus*; namely, that he believed they were the same with those Women who run so fast as to equal the Flight of Birds. *M. Le Clerc*, on the contrary, in his Notes upon *Hesiod*, takes them for the Mares of *Libya*, -which we have also spoke of. That learned Author alledges, that under the obscure Allegory of *Perseus's* Expedition, was designed to be preserved the Memory of an ancient Voyage which the *Phœnicians* had once made to *Africa*, whence they carried away a vast Number of Horses; that the Name of *Perseus*, which perhaps was given to the Leader of that Expedition, comes from the *Phœnician* Word *Pharscha*, signifying a *Horseman*, which perfectly agrees to the Name of the Horse *Pegasus* which the Poets give him to ride upon, it being derived from the *Phœnician* Word *Pag-sous*, which signifies a harnessed Horse, as *Bochart*, from whom he borrows this Conjecture, had said before him (1); whence he concludes that the *Gorgons* were the Mares of that Country, which the *Phœnicians* carried away.

M. Le Clerc confirms this Explanation by the very
Passage

(1) Hierog. l. 1. c. 6.

Passage in *Hanno's* Relation, where it is said (*a*), that the Women of that Part of *Africa* where he had travelled, were all overgrown with Hair, and that they were impregnated without the Concurrence of their Husbands; which agrees to the Mares, according to popular Belief, whereof *Virgil* makes Mention in his *Georgics*, where he says they conceived by turning towards the *Zephyrs*. That same Author confirms his Opinion by the Reflection he makes, that all the vast Expeditions of the *Greek* Heroes were nothing but the Enterprizes of Merchants, who navigated into Countries then unknown to *Greece*.

Those who would allow of M. *Le Clerc's* Conjecture, might confirm it from the *Greeks* having called the Isles which were said to be inhabited by the *Gorgons*, by the Name of *Gorgates*, or rather *Gorgades*, in Allusion to the Velocity of those Mares, as is very well observed by *Osman* in his Dictionary (1), and by *Isaac Vossius* upon *Pomponius Mela* (*b*).

Olaus Rudbeck, one of those who have wrote the most learnedly upon the Fable of the *Gorgons*, reckons they were Princesses of great Wisdom and Valour, who governed their Dominions with excellent Order, and that they were possessed of those Talents in the highest Degree which are conducive to the good Management of a Kingdom, Talents which he reduces to three; Prudence, Strength, and Foresight. These are the excellent Qualities possessed by the *Gorgons* which the Poets had in their Eye, when they said in their figurative Stile, they had but one Eye, one Tooth, and one Horn; since by the Eye they have marked out their Prudence; by the Tooth their Strength and Courage; and by the Horn the Care they had to procure Plenty in their Dominions by Commerce. One of their Ships was called *the Horn*, because it carried upon its Prow this Symbol of Plenty,

(*a*) See *Pomponius Mela*, who relates this Fact, c. 3.

(1) On the Word *Gorgades*.

(*b*) Γόργαδες, sic dictæ a pernicitate sæminarum quas *Plinius* *Gorgades*, id est, pernices vocat, sicut Græci ἀλᾶδες, cito navigia vocant.

ty, and another the *Dragon*. From this Conjecture the Author draws the Explanation of two mysterious Circumstances that enter into the Fable of *Medusa*, and which have not been hitherto mentioned. The first, that *Medusa's* Horn was said to have grown out of a *Dragon*, all covered with Gold and Gems, because the Ship called the *Dragon* had once returned loaded with Gold and precious Stones. The second bore, that *Medusa's* Horn was full of Poison, and that it poisoned those who approached it; whereby we are given to understand the Strength of *Medusa's* Fleet, which no Body durst attack. This Explanation is fortified in the *Suedish* Author, by the very Etymologies of the Names of the three *Gorgons*, since *Stheno* implies *Strength*; *Euryale*, *Admiral*; and *Medusa*, *Care of the State*: Names which doubtless were given them from a Regard to their Qualities and Functions.

These Conjectures appear happy; but that Author takes off from their Value, by endeavouring to accommodate them to his Chimera; I mean, when he would prove that the *Gorgons* dwelt in the North, upon the Coasts of the *Baltick* Ocean, where he pretends to find Vestiges of almost all the *Greek* Fables (*a*). 'Tis true, in order to confirm his Conjecture concerning the Residence of the *Gorgons*, he has Recourse to the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who says the *Gorgons* were often at War with the *Amazons*, who are known to have inhabited *Scythia*; but he ought not to have dissembled that this Historian positively asserts, that both the *Gorgons* and the *Amazons*, whom he speaks of in that Passage, dwelt in *Libya*.

In fine, M. *Fourmont* is of Opinion, that in order to understand this Fable, we must have Recourse to the oriental Languages, as *Bochart*, M. *Le Clerc*, and some others had thought before him; but we ought to do him the Justice to own, that without treading in their Steps, he chalks out a new Path to himself. *Greece*, says he, having been partly peopled by Colonies

(*a*) See the third Vol. of his *Atlant.* intitled *Manheim*.

nies that came thither from *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, 'tis natural to suppose she derived most of her Traditions from the East: Thus to attempt to explain the *Greek* Fables, without the Assistance of the Languages whence those Traditions came, would be fruitless Presumption, since in fact these are the Languages wherein they had either been first broached, or written, or expressed.

This Fable, according to him (1), is reducible to five Articles. 1. *Phorcys*, a Sea-God, who had to Wife *Ceto*. 2. His five Daughters; two of whom, namely *Pepbredo* and *Enyo*, had the Appellation of *Graia*, *Greeks*; the other three named *Gorgons*, are *Stbeno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa*. 3. These *Gorgons* have among all the three only one Tooth, one Horn, and one Eye. 4. From *Medusa's* Blood sprung a Man, namely, *Cbrysaor the Forger*, and a Horse, which is *Pegasus*. 5. The Horse carried into *Greece*, is subservient only to *Perseus* and *Bellerophon*. To these Hints the Author subjoins, that in the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* Languages, the Words *Ben*, *Benei*, *Bar*, *Banot*, signify equally the Possession and the Offspring; thus the Ships of a Prince were called his Sons, and the Gallies his Daughters. In all Ages, continues he, Ships had Names, *the Pristis*, *the Centaur*, *the Whale*, &c. and 'tis no Wonder that they were taken for Monsters, and had the Names of Monsters given them. The *Americans* looked upon the first *Spanish* Ships as such. Therefore, concludes the Author, the five Daughters of *Phorcys* were nothing else but the five Ships whereof his small Fleet consisted. Further, says he, the five Names now mentioned, and which we find in *Hesiod* (2), are *Phœnician*. *Enyo* signifies a Ship of Burden, *Navis oneraria*; *Pepbredo*, and by Transposition *Perpbredo*, *Navis aquaria*, for carrying sweet Water; *Stbeino*, a Vessel with Oars, or a Galley; *Euryale*, *Navis transitoria*, a Shallop; *Medusa*, an imperial Ship, *Navis imperatoria*, the Word *Sepbinale*, a Ship, being understood. Of these five

(1) Mem. de l' Acad. Tom. 7. p. 120. (2) Theog.

five Vessels two were called *Greeks*, because they had been carried off from one of the Ports of *Greece*; the other three were at first named *Kúpos*. Now *Kópos* or *Képos*, is the first and the most antient Isle of the *Pheacians*, since called *Corcyra*, whence *Perseus* carried them off into *Greece*. In the *Odyssey*, *Minerva* shews *Ulysses* *Ithaca* his Country, and among other Things, the Port of the old maritime Prince *Phorcys*: Here then we have the Father of the *Gorgons*, *Phorcys* King of *Ithaca*, who is Master of five Ships, two of them taken from the *Greeks*, and three from *Cyros*, who are the three *Gorgons* sent out from that Island to trade in *Africa*, and upon the Coasts of the Ocean, where they trafficked in Gold, Elephants Teeth, the Horns of divers Animals, the Hyenas and Fishes Eyes, and other precious Stones. This Commerce was known in the Time of *Perseus*, according to *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pausanias* and *Hesiod*. Now if it be well considered that the same Country bears the Name at this Day of the Gold-coast, the Ivory-coast; that Animal's Horns are one of the chief Branches of that Trade; that the Eyes of some Fishes, and of some Animals are reckoned by *Pliny* (1) in the Number of precious Stones; that it is there also the *Potasse* is found, a kind of Buffalo, of which they made their *Pegasus*: If these Things, says M. *Fourmond*, be considered, the whole Secret will be cleared up. In a Word, *Perseus* carried off three Ships of *Phorcys*, loaded with Gold, Elephants Teeth, and some precious Stones: Here is the whole Mystery laid open. But the Reader should have Recourse to the Work itself of this Author, which I have abridged as much as possible.

Such are the Explanations which the Mythologists and Historians have given of the Fable of the *Gorgons*: The Misfortune is, that what they say of it is big with Contradictions: For under what various Forms have they represented these same *Gorgons*? They have made of them Heroins, wild and ferocious Ani-

VOL. III. G g mals,

(1) Lib. 30.

mals, industrious and thrifty young Women, Prodiges of Beauty, Monsters of Ugliness, lewd Courtezans, and lastly Mares (1). They vary no less as to the Place of their Abode; some place them in *Libya*, others in the *Orkney* Islands, and that without knowing well where these same Islands lay. Some make our Heroe go as far as the Ocean, at a Time when that Sea was hardly known, and in which few durst venture themselves. Others mount him upon *Pegasus*, whom *Hesiod* makes to have winged his Way to Heaven from the Moment of his Birth, and with this Equipage they make him fly through the Air over a great Part of *Africa*. In fine, they have made a Horseman of a Sailor, and instead of a Ship give him a Horse for a maritime Expedition.

For my Part, I am of Opinion, in the first Place, that the Residence of the *Gorgons* was not so remote from *Greece* as is commonly thought. In proof whereof it must needs be allowed, 1. That in the Time of *Perseus* Navigation was not greatly improved in *Greece*; that it was difficult to undertake long Voyages; and, in short, that the Ocean was reckoned inaccessible. Even *Hercules*, the greatest Heroe of *Greece*, and who lived not long after *Perseus*, bounded his Conquests by the western Extremities of the *Mediterranean*, where he erected those famous Pillars, which intimate that he was able to go no farther, *Ne plus ultra*.

2. We recede but little either from Tradition, or from the Opinion of the best Authors, in saying that the *Gorgons* dwelt in that Part of *Libya*, which was afterwards called *Cyrenaicum*. *Palephatus*, who might have learned it from Authors which are not now subsisting, asserts, that *Phorcys* their Father was a *Cyrenian*; and tho' *Homer* mentions the Port he had at *Ithaca*, that Prince very probably might have conquered that Island, which is not far from the Coast of *Africa*, where he resided.

3. We may easily believe that this Prince would employ

(1) See the Abbé Maffieu.

employ his Fleet in carrying on an advantageous Trade, and that *Polydeſtes*, King of *Seriphus*, either to get rid of *Perſeus*, whose Mother he was in love with, or to enrich himself with the Spoils of the *Libyan* Prince, engaged this young Heroe to undertake an Expedition which promised him a great Deal of Gain, and gave him some Ships to go and play the Pirate upon the Coasts of *Africa*.

Perſeus's Voyage was not therefore so difficult as is imagined: He set out from the Isle of *Seriphus* for the Coasts of *Libya*, where having found the Fleet of *Phorcys*, he made himself Master of some of his Ships, and a Part of his Riches. That these Ships bore the Names of *Medusa*, *Stheno*, and *Euryale*, is no ways improbable. Ships have always had Names. The Resolution of one Fable is often a Key to others. These Ships were loaded, as M. *Fourmond* has very well observed, with Elephants Teeth, with Horns of Fishes, and with *Hyænas* Eyes, which *Phorcys* bartered for other Goods: Here is the Mystery of that Tooth, that Horn and Eye which the *Gorgons* borrowed by Turns; that is to say, the Ships, when arrived in the Port, took each of them Goods proper for the Place to which they were bound.

The other Fictions that accompany this History will explain themselves. 'Tis evident, in the first Place, that *Perſeus's* Expedition was a Sea-voyage, and that those are mistaken who have taken this Prince for a Horseman who had broke *Pegasus*. Thus the Conjectures of *Bochart*, and of M. *le Clerc*, which we have quoted above, should go for nothing. To go from the Island of *Seriphus* to the Coasts of *Libya*, required Ships, not a Horse, and *Pegasus* himself was a Ship with Sails which *Perſeus* carried into *Greece*, after having made use of it to rescue *Andromeda*, as shall be said afterwards. *Pindar*, who is the first that said *Perſeus* rode upon *Pegasus*, and flew across the vast Expansion of the Air, is to be reckoned a very modern Author, in Comparison of the Antiquity of this Fable; and *Ovid*, who has copied him, is still

more so. Further, we may suppose, with a great deal of Probability, that under this allegorical Fiction both of them intended the Description of a good Ship under Sail, which cuts the Waves with vast Rapidity; *Volaticus dicitur, quod navibus venerit*. Thus *Virgil* elegantly gives the Epithet of Wings to a Ship, *Remigio alarum*. If *Hesiod*, and after him the other Poets, say that *Pegasus* sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, the Reason is, that *Perseus* did not carry off the Ship which went by that Name, till after a sharp Engagement, wherein much Blood was shed. *Pegasus* was in a Manner the Offspring of that *Gorgon*, because he belonged to her Father *Phorcys*'s Fleet. When *Hyginus* adds (1) that *Neptune* was his Father, the obvious Meaning is, that so fine a Ship was considered as the Work of the God of the Sea. If *Pausanias* says that *Pegasus* was broke by *Minerva*, we may suppose he would have us thereby to understand that *Perseus* found Occasion for a good Share of Prudence to manage to Advantage a Ship with Sails, the Use whereof was then unknown to him; for *Dedalus*, who was the first in *Greece* that made use of such Ships, was not yet born. To conclude; if according to *Ovid*, *Perseus* mounted *Pegasus* for his *Mauritanian* Expedition, we need not be told that it was meant of a Ship, not a Horse; For no Body sets out from an Island, nor travels across the Seas on Horseback.

But it will be said, *Hesiod* relates that so soon as *Pegasus* was born, he left the Earth, and flew away to the Mansions of the Gods. I answer first, tho' it were not possible to explain all the Circumstances of a Fable so complicated, and at the same Time so obscure, that *M. le Clerc* has been forced to own one would need *Ariadne*'s Clew to get out of such a Labyrinth, yet the Explications given of other Circumstances, would have never the less Probability; but this same may be reduced to a plausible Meaning, by saying that *Perseus*, upon his Return into *Greece*, as an Acknowledgment to the Gods for his happy Voyage,

confe-

(1) Cœl. Poet. Astron. l. 2. c. 13.

consecrated the Prow of the Ship *Pegasus* in *Jupiter's* Temple, according to the Custom immemorial of lodging those Sorts of Offerings in Temples. And if this Temple stood upon Mount *Olympus*, which was accounted Heaven, and the Mansion of the immortal Gods, nothing more would be wanting as to this Circumstance. As for the Poets that are later than *Hesiod*, who make *Pegasus* to have taken Flight upon Mount *Parnassus*, where with a Blow of his Foot he made the Fountain *Hippocrene* to spring up, and which became so famous afterwards for the Seat of *Apollo* and the *Muses*, we may reckon that *Perseus* consecrated likewise in the Temple of *Apollo*, which was upon that Mountain, some other Part of his Ship.

The Assurance with which I undertake to explain all these Fictions, will justify the Reader to ask me an Account of others; and as to some of them, I shall endeavour to satisfy him. Why does *Ovid* alledge that from the Blood of *Medusa's* Head sprung Coral? I answer it is because *Perseus* found thereof in the Seas to which he voyaged, and that it was his Victory enabled him to fish for that Commodity, and to trade therein with Ease. But how is the same Poet to be understood, when he says the Monsters and Serpents of *Africa* sprung from the Drops of Blood that trickled from *Medusa's* Head? That is to say, *Perseus* found and carried off Ships which bore the strange Names of some Monsters, or of some Serpents. If *Hesiod* says that *Phorcys* had five Daughters, whereof two came into the World with grey Hairs, and were therefore denominated *Graia* (a), and that the other three, whom he calls *Gorgons*, resided beyond the Ocean, it is because that Prince's Fleet consisted of five Ships; the two first, as being older, went to no great Distance from the Port; the other three were destined to long Voyages. In fine, as to *Chrysacr*, who, together with *Pegasus*, issued from the Blood of *Medusa*, holding a golden Sword in his Hand, as we read in the same Poet, I heartily embrace the Explanation

G g 3 thereof

(a) See M. le Clerc's Notes upon this Passage.

thereof given by M. *Fourmond*, who reckons him some ingenious Artist who wrought in Gold and Ivory ; which is sufficiently intimated by the golden Sword, whence he had the Name of *Chrysaor*, which signifies one who works in Metals. *Phorcys* employed him to work the Elephant's Teeth, and the Horns of the other Animals which his Ships brought home. Might I be allowed to offer a Conjecture as to the golden Sword with which *Chrysaor* came into the World, I would say he had appeared with that Sword for the first Time at the Court of *Phorcys*. If the same Poet says *Chrysaor* married the beautiful *Callirhoë* the Daughter of the Ocean, by whom he had *Geryon* ; the Meaning is, that *Phorcys*, to engage so great an Artist to continue in his Dominions, had procured him a considerable Match : For, in short, we must explain these Fictions by the Rules of common Sense, and suppose Men acted then as we would now do in a parallel Case.

In fine, what shall we say as to that pretended Quality in the Head of *Medusa* to turn into Stones all those who looked upon it ? I might answer first, That this is a moral Fable, whereby we are to understand the Astonishment those were seized with who saw *Perseus* return Victorious from so dangerous an Expedition. And indeed the Effect of violent Surprise is to make us quite immovable. But *Palephatus* (1), besides this Moral, informs us of a Circumstance that may serve for a Key to this Fable. The Inhabitants of *Scriphus*, says he, seeing *Perseus* arrive with *Medusa's* Head upon the Prow of his Ship, deserted the Island ; and that Heroe having entered into it, and finding there nothing but Rocks and Stones, propagated the Fable of the Transformation of those Islanders. *Bochart*, after *Eustatbius*, has come nearer the Mark than *Palephatus*, in making it to have no other Foundation but the Etymology of the Word *Scriphus*, the Name of the Island, which imports *Stones*, and which *Tacitus* therefore calls not an Island, but

(1) De Rebus Incred.

but a Rock, *Saxum Seriphum*. And as to the additional Circumstance of *Perseus's* putting *Polydeſtes* to Death, to avenge the Wrong done to his Mother, whom probably he had compelled to marry him, whatever Reluctance ſhe had to the Match, and of his diſmiſſing or deſtroying moſt of his Courtiers, it will be eaſily granted that this Event might have been deſcribed as a real Transformation.

When *Ovid* ſays *Meduſa's* Head had alſo petrified ſome Plants of Coral under which *Perſeus* had concealed it, before he undertook the Reſcue of *Andromeda*, and that it had turned them into a red Hue: This is a Circumſtance of a phyſical Nature, which is eaſily explained, when we are told that Coral is a ſoft Plant in the Sea, which hardens in the Air, and acquires thoſe Colours with which it appears.

After the Conqueſt which we have related, this Heroe, ſays *Ovid*, paſſed through *Mauritania*, where the famous *Atlas* reigned. That Prince, warned by an Oracle to be on his Guard againſt a Son of *Jupiter*, denied him the common Rights of Hoſpitality; upon which, *Perſeus* producing the *Meduſa's* Head, turned him into a Stone; that is, flew him in the Mountains which bear his Name, and carried off the golden Apples from the Gardens of the *Hesperides*, which was kept by a Dragon given them by *Juno*.

Several Authors have ſet themſelves to work in examining where the Gardens of the *Hesperides* lay, and every one preſumes he has found out their true Situation. *Rudbeck* fancies they were near the *Baltic* Ocean. Others have placed them in the Heart of *Africa*, and beyond the *Cape Verd* Iſlands. *Salmaſius* was of Opinion that they were near the Straits of *Gibraltar*. But 'tis more probable that they lay in that Part of *Africa*, which is called *Mauritania Tingitana*, between the Ocean and the Extremity of Mount *Atlas*, which is at preſent the Kingdom of *Morocco*: This is the Opinion moſt conformable to the Authority of the Antients, and the Beauties of the Country are a Confirmation of this Conjecture; the very Name

of *Hesperides*, which is given to these Gardens, is an Indication that they were near the Place where the Sun was believed to go every Evening to Bed, as has been already said elsewhere. *Hesiod*, in the Description he gives of these Gardens, leaves no Room to doubt of this Conjecture. *Atlas*, says that antient Poet (1), props the Skies at the Extremities of the Earth, near the Country of the *Hesperides*.

Again, if it be asked why the Poets make these Gardens to have been kept by a Dragon, I answer with *Solinus*, it is because the Sea in that Extremity of *Africa* makes various Turnings and Windings in the Land, whereof the Inequality of the Coasts are an ample Testimony (a). As to the golden Apples, they were either Oranges and Citrons, wherewith the Country abounds, or according to some Antients, Sheep whose Fleece was exceedingly rich (2). But 'tis needless to dwell longer in examining into a Circumstance which is rather the Result of poetical Fancy, than of an exact Description of that Part of *Africa*, which they knew only from the Relation of *Hanno*, wherewith they have intermixed so many Fables; which induced *Pliny* to call Mount *Atlas*, *Montem Fabulosissimum* (b).

The Poets, who have traced the History of this Heroe, tell us that after the Adventure of *Atlas*, he penetrated as far as *Ethiopia*, where he rescued *Andromeda*, the Daughter of *Cepheus* and *Cassiopeia*, from the Monster to which she was exposed, married her, and brought her with him into *Greece*. This Piece of History, (for 'tis true that *Perseus* married *Andromeda*, and had several Children by her) is intermixed with Fictions,

(1) Theog. V. 517.

(a) I explain this Particular of the History of *Perseus*, only because it is in *Ovid*; for I am persuaded, as I have already said, that this Heroe never travelled so far from *Greece*.

(2) See the History of *Hercules*.

(b) *Fluctuoso meatu æstuarium e mari fertur, adeo sinuosis lateribus tortuosum, ut procul videntibus lapsus angueos fracta vortigine mentiat, idque, quod hortos appellare, circumdat; unde pomorum custodem interpretantes, struxerunt iter ad mendacium fabulandi.* Solin. c. 24.

Fictions, which must be related before we reduce them to exact Truth.

Ovid, who has described this Fable at very great Length (1), says *Cassiopeia*, the Mother of *Andromeda*, having offered to compare her Beauty to that of the *Nereids*, incensed them; and that the Effects of their Displeasure having been felt in the Country, they were obliged to consult the Oracle of *Ammon*, who made Answer, that to appease those Goddesses *Andromeda* must be exposed to a Sea-monster: The Poet considers this Oracle as unjust (a).

And indeed he had Reason; for why inflict such a cruel Punishment upon the Daughter for the Vanity of the Mother? In the mean Time, the young Princess, adds the same Poet, was exposed upon a Rock, and the Monster that came out of the Sea was ready to devour her, when *Perseus*, mounted upon *Pegasus*, perceived her from the Air, came to her Relief, slew the Monster, broke *Andromeda's* Chains, and returned her to her Parents Witnesses of this Spectacle. As she was to be the Prize of him who should save her, *Perseus* got her to Wife: But while the Nuptials were celebrating, *Phineus*, the Nephew of *Cassiopeia*, to whom *Andromeda* had been promised, entered the banqueting Hall with a Band of armed Men, and began a very bloody Fight, which undoubtedly had proved fatal to *Perseus* overpowered by Numbers, had it not been for his having Recourse to *Medusa's* Head, the Sight whereof petrified *Phineus* and his Associates.

'Tis easy to see that *Ovid* grounds this Narration of his upon History; but that he borrows the Help of Fiction by way of Ornament to it. *Gerard Vossius* (2), who attempted to trace out the mysterious Meaning, says: *Andromeda* had been promised to an insolent inhuman Pirate, who by his Incursions infested the Coasts of *Ethiopia*, on Condition that he would give no Molestation to Commerce; *Perseus*, who arrived

(1) Met. l. 4.

(a) ————— *maternæ pendere linguæ*
Andromedam pœnæ, injustus jusserrat Ammon.

(2) De Orig. & Progr. Idol. l. 1.

rived at that Time at *Cepheus's* Court with his small Fleet, gave Chace to the Pirate, slew him, and married *Andromeda*. Perhaps in the Epithalamiums that were composed upon Occasion of his Marriage, the Pirate was represented as a Monster from whom *Andromeda* had been delivered by the Valour of *Perseus*.

There are Mythologists of Opinion, that what gave Rise to the Fiction, is, that the Ship with which the Pirate, now mentioned, ravaged the Coasts of *Ethiopia*, was called *the Whale*, and bore the Representation of that Fish upon the Prow. This Opinion wants not Probability: This Ship might be called *the Whale*, as that of *Perseus* himself was named *the Pegasus*.

I am persuaded however, that we are not to seek for the *Ethiopia* which *Ovid* speaks of in the Extremity of *Africa*, *Perseus* never having penetrated thither. That Prince, after he left the Island *Seriphus*, came to the Coasts of *Libya*, which are at no great Distance from it, and from thence to the Country where the Father of *Andromeda* reigned. 'Tis beyond Doubt that the Antients knew two *Ethiopias*; that which lies to the South of *Egypt*, and another which they took to lie in *Asia*; this last is the *Ethiopia* in question in the History of *Andromeda*. Its Bounds are not determined by Authors, but nothing hinders us from believing that one of its Extremities is upon the Coasts of *Asia*; and as I have very good Reason for saying that the Adventure now in debate happened in the Confines of *Joppa*, now *Japha*, upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, or rather *Palestine*, there we are to look for the *Ethiopia* referred to by *Ovid*, and make it the Scene of this Event, or else grant this Poet to have been mistaken, in making *Perseus* traverse *Ethiopia*.

From the *Libyan* Coasts, where he then was, it was easy for him to go to those of *Palestine*; and he might have got some Information of the Oracle of *Ammon*, which had ordered a young Princess to be exposed

exposed to a Monster, by whom she was to be devoured; a Supposition the more probable, that this Oracle was in *Libya* where he then was. The Love of Glory animated him to the Adventure, and he set Sail from that Coast of *Joppa*. 'Tis to little Purpose to enquire whether it was indeed a Monster that ravaged the Country, or some of *Cepheus's* Enemies. All we need to know is, that the young Princess was to be the Prize of him who should rescue her: My chief Business is to prove that the Coast of *Phœnicia*, and not *Ethiopia*, was the Theatre on which this Scene was acted.

In proof of which, I have in the first Place the Authority of *Josephus* (1), who says this Adventure was thought to have happened near the City *Joppa*, where was still to be seen upon a Rock the Marks of the Chains with which the lovely *Andromeda* had been bound. 'Tis true this Historian adds, that those Marks had perhaps been engraved thereon to give Credibility to the Fact; but it will still be true that this was an antient Tradition of *Joppa*. *Strabo* (2) says the same in two Places of his Geography; and this Author, speaking of *Ethiopia*, asserts that there were not wanting Authors who placed it upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, adding, it was near the City now named, that the Adventure of *Andromeda* happened, according to the same Authors, who did not advance this Opinion concerning *Ethiopia* from Ignorance of Geography, but only on Occasion of the Fable now in question.

What we read in *Pliny* (3), is a further Proof that this Tradition of *Joppa* was not without Foundation. " *Scaurus*, says he, brought from *Joppa* to Rome, " during his Edileship, the Bones of the Monster " that was to have devoured *Andromeda*." *Belluæ cui dicebatur exposita fuisse Andromeda, ossa Romæ apportata, ex oppido Judææ Joppe, ostendit inter reliqua miracula, in Ædilitate sua M. Scaurus, longitudine pedum 40, altitudinis coararum Indicos Elephantos excedente, spinæ crassitudine*

(1) De Bell. Jud. l. 5. (2) L. 1. & l. 16. (3) L. 9. c. 5.

dine sesquipedali. *Solinus* his Copyist says the same, differing from him only in the Thickness of the Skin of the Backbone, which he makes but Half a Foot; instead of a Foot and a Half. *Pomponius Mela* (a) says something still more particular. “*Joppa*, says
 “ he, is a City thought to have been built before the
 “ Deluge : The Inhabitants assert that *Cepheus* reign-
 “ ed there, relying on what is still to be seen upon
 “ antient Altars, namely, the Name and Title of
 “ that Prince, and of his Brother *Phineus*. As for
 “ the Fable, so much celebrated by the Poets, of the
 “ Rescue of *Andromeda* by *Perseus*, they have for
 “ Proof of this the Bones of the Monster that was
 “ going to devour her, which they shew with a great
 “ deal of Ostentation (b).”

Pausanias (1) delivers the same Tradition, when speaking of the different Colours of Water, he says near to *Joppa* was a Fountain, whose Water was red like Blood ; and that the People of the Place gave out, that *Perseus* being stained with Blood in killing the Sea-monster to which *Cepheus*’s Daughter had been exposed, bathed himself in that Fountain, and thereby gave that red Tincture to the Water.

Here then, according to *Josephus* and *Strabo*, we have the Marks of *Andromeda*’s Chains upon a Rock near *Joppa*. According to *Mela*, the Bones of the Monster are preserved in that City ; these same Bones transported to *Rome*, according to *Pliny*, under the Edileship of *Scaurus*, and the Dimensions of these Bones, and that of the Thickness of the Monster’s Skin, according to the same Author and his Copyist *Solinus*. Thus nothing hinders us from believing that under the Reign of *Cepheus* there appeared a Sea-monster
 near

(a) *Mela* here recedes from the Opinion of other Antients, who made *Phineus* the Nephew of *Cassiopeia* *Cepheus*’s Wife.

(b) *Est Joppe ante Diluvium, ut ferunt, condita, ubi Cephea regnasse eo signo accolæ affirmant, quod titulum ejus, fratrisque Phinei, veteres quædam aræ cum religione plurima retinent. Quin etiam rei celebritate carminibus & fabulis servatæque a Perseo Andromedæ, clarum vestigium, Belluæ Marinae ossa immania ostentant.*

(1) In *Mess.* c. 25.

near the Coasts of *Joppa*, which overfet the Barges, and was an Interruption to Trade; and that the Oracle being confulted, gave a Refponfe that *Andromeda* must be expofed to it. This is not the firft Time that Oracles have enjoined fuch Kind of Victims: What will not Superftition do! As to the Exiftence of the Monster, befides that antient History is full of fuch Prodigies, the Adventure of *Jonas* is a Proof that there were upon that Coaft Fifhes of a monftrous Nature both for Bulk and Voracity; for we may pre-ferve all due Faith for the facred History, without multiplying Miracles to no Purpofe; nor need we imagine the Fish that fwallowed up the Prophet came from fome remote Country, tho' we acknowledge in this Event the Punifhment which God inflicted upon his Difobedience.

'Tis therefore upon the Coasts of *Phœnicia*, or to fpeak more accurately, upon thofe of *Paleftine*, that the Adventure of *Perfeus* and *Andromeda* happened; and tho' the Reafons now offered fhould make but little Impreffion, yet I have another Argument which has not hitherto been ufed, and that ferves very much to evince it. This Argument I take from the De-fcription which *Ovid* gives of the Skirmifh between *Phineus* and *Perfeus* his Rival. The Poet names feve-ral Perfonages, which it will not be eafy to find in the Place which has been taken for the Scene of this Ad-venture; but who, being in the Neighbourhood of the *Syrian* Coasts, were very likely to take up Arms in behalf of *Phineus*. The firft whom *Perfeus* put to Death in this Scuffle is the young *Athis*, whom the Nymph *Limnias* had brought forth in a Cave near the River *Ganges*, or rather in a City of *Syria*, which *Ptolomy* calls "Αἰς, and which was the patronymic Name of that Youth. He who avenges this Death is called by the Poet *Lycabas*, a Native of *Affyria*, *Affyrius Lycabas*, the neighbouring Country to *Paleftine*. *Ovid* names *Phorbas* next, of the City of *Syenna* in the higher *Egypt*, and the *Libyan Amphimedon*: Then *Polymedon*, who was defcended from *Semiramis* the Queen

Queen of the *Assyrians*; and *Halcioneus*, to whom he gives the Epithet of *Baëtrius*, or, as it is in some Manuscripts, *Barcæus*, who came from *Barce*, a City of *Cyrenais*; *Celadon*, a Native of *Mendes* in the lower *Egypt*, or rather of the City of *Myndes* in *Syria*; for there are Manuscripts in which we read *Myndesius Celadon*, instead of *Mendesius*; *Astrius*, whose Mother was of *Palestine* itself, *Matre Palæstina*; *Molpheus*, to whom he gives the Epithet of *Chaonius*, that is, who derived his Original from the *Chaonians*, a neighbouring People to *Arabia*, according to *Pliny* (1); *Ethemon*, a *Nabathæan* or *Arabian*; *Nileus*, who pretended to be the Son of the *Nile*; *Qui se genitum septemplice Nilo ementitus erat*; that is to say, who was born in *Egypt*, or on the Confines of that River; lastly *Astyages*, whose Name is evidently *Assyrian*.

By this Detail we see, that all these Captains, or, if you will, all these Soldiers of *Phineus's* Army, came from Countries not far from the Place which I make to have been the Scene of this Adventure; which proves that it was near to *Joppa* the Battle was fought between *Perseus* and *Phineus*. That Country had Commerce at that Time with *Greece*, which had received several Colonies from thence; and it was easy for *Perseus* to go thither-upon his Departure from *Libya*.

The Result therefore of all that has been now said, is, that *Perseus* is not to be reckoned a Horseman, who performed so many glorious Exploits on the Horse *Pegasus*, but a Commodore, who performed some Expeditions; first in Ships with Oars, which he had brought from *Seriphus*, then in Ships with Sails which he seized upon the Coasts of *Libya*.

Our Heroe, after this Expedition, carried his Spouse to *Seriphus*, where having put *Polydeës* to Death, he went with her and his Mother into *Greece*, where he slew *Prætus*, who, not content with his own Inheritance, which was the City of *Tyrinthia*, *Mydea*, and all the Coast of *Argolis*, had dethroned *Acrisius*. *Perseus*

(1) Lib. 6. c. 28.

seus re-established his Grandfather in his Dominions; but as he was endeavouring to shew his Dexterity in playing at the Coit, he unfortunately slew him: In the following Manner is this Event related by *Pausanias* (1).

Acrisius having learned that *Perseus* was not far from *Argos*, and knowing the Reputation he had acquired by many signal Exploits, was impatiently desirous to see this Prince, and for that End repaired to *Larissa* upon the River *Peneus*. *Perseus*, on his Side, no less full of Impatience to embrace his Grandfather, and to ingratiate himself with him, did not fail to come to *Larissa*. There *Perseus* was willing to shew his Address; but as bad Luck would have it, having thrown his Coit with all his Force, it hit *Acrisius* such a fatal Blow that he died instantly. Thus the Prediction formerly given him was accomplished, without his being able to evade it by all the Cruelty he had exercised towards his Daughter and his Grandson. *Perseus* having repaired to *Argos*, where he deeply regretted the Parricide which he had thus accidentally committed, induced *Megapentes*, the Son of *Prætus*, to exchange Kingdoms with him, and he built *Mycenæ*, which became the Capital of his Dominions.

I have spoke of his Successors in the History of the Kings of *Argos*, and here have nothing further to add on that Head: for as to the Time when he lived, I shall reserve a Chapter for that by itself, after the History of *Bellerophon*. As our Heroe in his Lifetime had been a Patron of Learning, and built an Academy on Mount *Helicon*; and as he was farther distinguished by his glorious Exploits, he was advanced to Heaven, in the Panegyricks made in his Honour, and after his Death became a Demi-God. Of this Prince, and all his Wife's Family, were also formed the Constellations called *Cassiopeia*, *Perseus*, and *Andromeda*: The very Monster which he was said to have killed, was placed in the Heavens, where it formed the Sign of the Whale. They intermixed the

(1) In Corinth.

the Recital of his Actions with all the Supernatural they could devise ; and as he made all those his Conquests and Expeditions with equal Conduct and Fortune, and with incredible Dispatch, hence it was fabled that the Gods had lent him their Arms; *Mercury* his Wings and winged Shoes, to denote the Celerity of his Voyages; *Pluto* his Helmet, a Symbol of his Prudence and Policy, which made him conceal all his Designs in deep Secrecy; *Pallas* her Buckler, to signify the good Fortune which always accompanied him.

Pausanias says (1) this Prince was worshipped as a Heroe at *Argos*, and still more in the Isle of *Seriphus* and at *Athens*, where he had a Temple, in which was an Altar consecrated to *Diētys* and *Clymene*, who were reckoned the Preservers of this Heroe. This *Diētys* was the Brother of *Polydeēs*, and it was he and his Wife *Clymene* that had the Care of his Education by the King's Order, when he was driven by the Waves into the Island of *Seriphus*.

It will perhaps be asked what is the Foundation of the Fable which imports that the Daughters of *Prætus*, whom we mentioned, imagined themselves transformed to Heifers, and running through the Fields to hinder their being yoked in the Plough, made them to re-echo with their Lowings, as we learn from *Virgil* (a)? 'Tis thought that they actually became delirious, and that their Madness consisted in fancying themselves Heifers; *Melampus*, by whom they were cured, married one of them, and his Brother *Biances* the other; they were their Cousins, *Prætus* being their Uncle by the Mother's Side. These two Brothers afterwards had a Part of the Kingdom of *Argos* from *Megapenthes* their Father-in-law, as a Reward for this Piece of Service; and by this Means *Talaus*, *Adrastus*, and *Tydeus*, his Son-in-law, came to have a Share

(1) In *Cerinth.* c. 18.

(a) *Prætides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros;*

At non tam turpes pecudum tamen ulla secuta est

Concubitus, quamvis collo timuisset aratrum,

Et sæpe in lævi quæfisset cornua fronte. Ecl. 6.

in the Kingdom of *Argos*. We ought not to omit that the Misfortune of those young Ladies was attributed to *Juno's* Vengeance, whom they had incensed by comparing their Beauty to hers, which was a Crime the Gods by no Means pardoned ; but, setting aside all Fictions, 'tis probable that this Madnefs was the Effect of some Distemper where the Imagination was much affected, as we see in hypocondriac People, who fancy they resemble several Sorts of Animals. Accordingly *Melampus* employed in their Cure black *Hellebore*, since called from his Name *Melampodion*. *Pausanias* says (1) they were cured at *Sicyon* in the public Place, and that *Prætus*, their Father, built in that Place a Temple dedicated to *Persuasion*; an Argument that *Melampus* and his Brother contributed at least as much to the curing of those Virgins, as the Remedies which they gave them.

According to *Pausanias* they alone were not seized with this Distemper ; that Author ascribes it to other Women of *Argos* ; and this Madnefs of theirs consisted in running up and down the Fields.

We may see at one Glance of the Eye *Perseus's* Posterity in the following genealogical Tree.

(1) In Corinth.

The POSTERITY of PERSEUS.

Perseus, the Son of *Danaë* and *Jupiter*, rescued *Andromeda* the Daughter of *Cepheus*, married her, and had by her six Sons and one Daughter.

Alceus married *Hippomona* the Daughter of *Meneceus*,
 of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Amphitryo.} \\ \textit{Anaxo, the Wife of Eleetryon.} \end{array} \right.$

Mnesto married *Lisys* the Daughter of *Pelops*,
 of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Hippotoe} \text{ had} \\ \text{by } \textit{Neptune,} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Taphius, who built} \\ \text{the City of } \textit{Taphus} \\ \text{in } \textit{Cephalonia,} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Pterelas, whom } \textit{Nep-} \\ \text{tune his Grand-Father} \\ \text{made immortal.} \end{array} \right.$

Eleetryon married $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nine Sons, besides} \\ \text{his Niece } \textit{Anaxo,} \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Alcmena, who after the Example of her Mother married} \\ \text{by whom he had } \textit{Amphitryo} \text{ her Uncle.} \end{array} \right.$

Stenelus married *Nicippe* the Daughter of *Pelops* King of *Elis*, by whom he had,
 of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Eurystheus, whom } \textit{Hercules} \text{ served, and in whom} \\ \text{ended the Posterity of } \textit{Perseus, so that the King-} \\ \text{dom of } \textit{Mycenæ} \text{ came into the Hands of the } \textit{Pelo-} \\ \text{pidæ.} \end{array} \right.$

Ielas, whose Posterity is not known.

Perfes, whom he left with *Cepheus* his Father-in-Law. From him the *Per-sians* pretended to be descended.

Gorgophone, married *Perieres* one of *Deucalion's* Descendants.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Bellerophon.

BELLEROPHON, who, according to *Homer* (1), was the Son of *Glaucus*, King of *Ephyre*, or of *Corinth*, and Grandson of *Sisyphus*, had the Name of *Hipponous*; but having slain his Brother, or some considerable Person in *Corinth*, whose Name, according to Authors, was *Beller*, he got the Name of *Bellerophon*, as much as to say, *The Murderer of Beller*, and he was obliged to retire to *Argos*, where *Prætus* gave him a very kind Reception; but Queen *Stenobæa* his Wife, or rather *Antæa*, as she is called in *Homer* who relates this Fable at full Length, falling in Love with him, and not able to make any Impression upon him, turned his Insensibility to a Crime, and accused him before her Husband of having attempted to debauch her. “ Sir, says she (2), you must resolve either to die yourself, or put *Bellerophon* to Death, who has been so insolent as to offer Violence to me.” The Prince, surprized at this strange Piece of News, would have instantly put him to Death; but not daring to violate the sacred Rights of Hospitality, he contented himself with sending him to his Father-in-law *Jobates*, King of *Syria*, the Father of *Stenobæa*, desiring him in a Letter, whereof *Bellerophon* himself was the Bearer, to make away with him (a). *Bellerophon* set out, continues *Homer*, under the Protection of the Gods, the Guardians of persecuted Innocence, and happily arrived in *Lycia*,
H h 2 upon

(1) Il. l. 6. (2) Id. ib.

(a) *Eustathius* alledges that these Letters were Tablets, which instead of Letters contained Hieroglyphics representing to the King the Bearer's Crime, and the Revenge he wanted to have taken upon him: For this Reason *Homer* calls them Σήματα, *Signa*. Be that as it will, it has become a proverbial Way of speaking to call those *Bellerophon's* Letters, which contain something against the Interest of those who bear them: See *Erasmus* in his *Adagia*. Such were the Letters of *Uriah*; whom this Story pretty much resembles.

upon the Banks of the *Xanthus* (a). *Jobates* received him with Joy, and regaled him for nine Days, and on each Day sacrificed to the Gods a Bull, as an Acknowledgment for the happy Arrival of the young Prince. On the tenth Day he asked of him the Letters which the King his Son-in-law had wrote to him. He deferred it so many Days in Compliance with the Custom of those Times; greater Precipitancy would have bespoke indiscreet Curiosity, and been reckoned Unpoliteness.

Jobates had no sooner read *Prætus's* Letters, than he ordered *Bellerophon*, with a View to have him destroyed, to encounter a formidable Monster called the *Chimera*. Here begin the Fables which are interwoven with the History of this Prince; let us see what may have given Rise to them.

The *Chimera*, according to *Homer* (1), was not of human but divine Extraction. She had the Head of a Lion, the Tail of a Dragon, and the Body of a Goat; and from her gaping Mouth she vomited Torrents of Fire and Flame. *Hesiod*, who has also given a Description of this Monster (2), adds, that it was the Offspring of *Typhon* and *Echidna*, and had the three Heads of the Animals now named: *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and the other Poets have followed *Hesiod* and *Homer* (b). It will not, I presume, be expected that

(a) *Homer* is at great Pains to let us know that this Part of *Lycia* was the Scene of *Bellerophon's* Adventures, and he never confounds it with the other which was nearer to *Phrygia*, and whereof *Pandarus* commanded the Troops at the Siege of *Troy*; while *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon*, the Grandsons of our Heroe, had led thither the *Lycians* from the Confines of *Xanthus*, as says the same Poet, l. 2.

(1) *Iliad*. l. 6. (2) *Theog.*

(b) In the Grand Duke of *Florence's* Gallery is a Figure of the *Chimera*, such as we have now pictured it from the Poets. 'Tis a Lion with a Goat coming out of his Back, and a Serpent rising out of his Tail. His Hind-legs have some Resemblance to the small Wings of a Serpent: We have it the same Way represented upon several Medals of *Corinth*, both in those of *Marcus Aurelius* and others: and in like Manner is it designed in the antique Pictures of the famous Manuscript of *Virgil*, which is in the *Vatican Library*.

that I should realize a Monster whose Name is become synonymous with the imaginary Beings, which are themselves nothing else but specious Chimeras; nor need we be so serious upon the Head as *Lucretius*, who has endeavoured to prove, by good Arguments, that the *Chimera* never subsisted: For how is it possible, says he, to believe that there was a Being compounded of three Natures, with the Head of a Lion vomiting Flames, since Fire equally consumes the Entrails of all Animals? Should it be alledged, continues that Poet, that the new made Earth, in her State of vigorous Fertility, was capable of producing such Monsters, who will say against her being able likewise to form Rivers of liquid Gold, Trees whose Leaves and Fruits were precious Stones, and Men able to cross the Seas without any other Support but their own Force and Activity? These are physical Reasonings, which we may reckon merely thrown away.

We must therefore enquire what might be the Foundation of this Fiction, and, by good Luck, the Mythologists, both antient and modern, have not spared their Conjectures on this Subject. To avoid a tedious Detail, I shall only take notice of those that appear most plausible: For little Regard, I believe, will be had to the Testimony of *Plutarch*, who says there was a Rock upon the Top of a Mountain of *Lycia*, which reflected the Rays of the Sun so intensely on the Plain below, as quite to burn up the neighbouring Fields and Herbs, and that *Bellerophon* having cleft that Rock asunder, diminished the Effect of that incommodious Reflection, which gave Occasion to say that he had destroyed the *Chimera*.

Nor, I presume, will the Explanation of *Nicanor* of *Colophon* be better relished, who alledges, that by the *Chimera* was intended the Rivers and Torrents, which in Winter run with a rapid Course, lay waste the Fields, and resemble the Tail of a Dragon by their crooked Meanders; and that the Victory of *Bellerophon*, who kills the Monster with his Darts, de-

notes the Beams of the Sun, which, during the Summer Heats, dry up the Torrents, and make the Rivers shrink up within their Channels.

The Conjecture of those who are for moralizing this Fable, deserves as little Credit as the physical Explanation of *Nicander*; and it will not be easy to believe that it was invented for no other End but to teach us that we ought to labour assiduously to extinguish the Fire of our Passions, which, like roaring Lions, continually assault us; insinuate themselves, like Serpents, into the most secret Recesses of Self-love; and, like Goats that brouze upon the tender Grass, are always preying upon the Peace and Quiet of the Mind.

As, according to *Homer*, *Jobates* obliged *Bellerophon* to fight the *Solymes*, also the *Amazons*, and the *Lycians* themselves, who had laid an Ambuscade for him to surprize him; *Tzetzes*, upon the Authority of *Cerystius*, alledged that the Idea of the *Chimera* had been taken from the Characters of these three Sorts of Enemies; the *Solymes*, a couragious People, are compared to Lions; the *Amazons*, who made less Resistance, and who perhaps fortified themselves in steep rocky Places, are the Goats; and the *Lycians*, who lurked in secret to surprize the Heroe, are the Serpents.

The learned *Bochart* (1), who judiciously thought it improbable that this fabulous Monster had been formed of the three Enemies which *Bellerophon* defeated at different Times and Places; and who knew that *Homer* had not mentioned these three Expeditions till after the Heroe had vanquished the *Chimera*, has Recourse to another Conjecture, which, tho' it is more ingenious, is not perhaps more solid. As this Author presumed he had found Traces of the *Phœnician* Language in several Parts of *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, he alledges that by the *Chimera* is to be understood the three Captains of the Armies of the *Solymes*, *Argus*, *Arselus*, and *Trosibius*, whose Names, in the *Phœnician* Language, answer to the three Animals where-

of

(1) Chan. l. i. c. 6.

of the Monster is compounded: The first imports a Lion, the second a Goat, and the third the Head of a Serpent; or, which comes to the same, it was the three principal Divinities of that People, whose Names were the same with those of the Animals which were upon the military Ensigns. In the first Battalion the Colours had a Lion, those of the second a Goat, and those of the third a Serpent. But where shall we find these three *Phœnician* Divinities, as to which all Antiquity is profoundly silent?

Agatarchides of *Gnidos* (1) offers an Explication which at first Sight appears very specious. *Amisodar*, says he, King of a Part of *Lycia*, had to Wife one whose Name was *Chimera*, whose two Brothers were called the *Lion* and the *Dragon*. These two Princes having seized upon several important Posts, put to the Sword all those who fell into their Hands, and made great Devastation on the Lands of their Neighbours. Their strict Union with their Sister, gave Occasion to say they were three Bodies under one Head, as had been fabled of those three Princes of *Epirus*, whom *Hercules* defeated under the Name of the monstrous *Geryon*. *Jobates*, infested by the Inroads which those two Brothers made into his Dominions, sent against them *Bellerophon*, who rid the Country of them, and for that Reason he is said to have vanquished the *Chimera*.

Homer, in a Passage quoted by *Apollodorus*, may have given a Handle to this Explanation, when he tells us the *Chimera* had been brought up by *Amisodar*; but besides that this Passage is neither in the *Iliad* nor *Odyssey*, 'tis certain that *Homer*, in the sixth Book, where he relates the Adventures of *Bellerophon* at very great Length, says not one Word of this.

'Tis therefore by following *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Servius*, and other very antient Authors, that I shall establish what appears to me the just Explanation of this Fable. That Part of *Lycia* where *Jobates* reigned, which extended

H h 4 along

(1) Hist. Asiæ, l. 3.

the River *Xanthus* as far as the Sea, was full of Mountains covered with Woods and Pasturage. The *Cragus* alone had eight Tops; upon one of which, according to *Strabo*, was a City which bore the Name of that Mountain. Upon another Top, which was called the *Chimera*, as we learn from *Pliny*, was a *Volcano* which was never extinguished, *Flagrat in Phaselitide mons Chimæra, & quidem immortalibus ac nobilibus flamma* (1). This Author adds, that it was from *Ctesias's* Authority he described the *Volcano* of Mount *Chimera*; and yet in the Passage of *Ctesias* quoted by *Photius* (2), where Mention is made of that same *Volcano*, the Name of Mount *Chimera* is not to be found; so that one of the two has undoubtedly wrong copied that Antient.

Be that as it will, these Mountains of *Lycia*, according to the same Writers, were full of Lions, wild Goats and Serpents, which made great Havock in the Valley and Meadows that lay along the *Xanthus* as far as the Sea, and hindered the Shepherds from leading their Flocks that Way. *Iobates*, either to exercise the Valour of young *Bellerophon*, at a Time when Heroism consisted in purging the Earth almost wholly overspread with Forests and wild Beasts; or in Compliance with the Demand of his Son-in-law, whom he feared, employed him in this hazardous Expedition. *Bellerophon* hunted down all those Animals, rid the Country of them, and made the Pastures in the Mountains and neighbouring Plains quite safe and habitable. *Servius*, upon this Verse in *Virgil*, *Flammisque armata Chimæra*, explains this Fable in the same Way as I have now done (a). I shall add that it was chiefly from the Goats of the Mountain it had the Name of *Chimera* given it, this Word being compounded of two others that signified *a Goat brought forth in Winter*.

The History of *Hercules*, who lived much about the
Time

(1) L. 2. c. 106. (2) Cod. 72.

(a) *Revera mons est Lyciæ, cujus ladicque ardet cacumen, juxta quod sunt Leones; Media autem pascua sunt, quæ capris abundant, imò vero montis serpentiis plena. Hunc Bellerophon habitationem fecit, unde Chimæram dicitur occidisse. Æn. 1. 6.*

Time of *Bellerophon*, hardly leaves Room to doubt of this being the true Explanation of the Fable of the *Chimera*, and the only one we ought to depend upon. This Expedition bears too great a Resemblance to the Labours of that Heroe, especially to his clearing the Fens of *Lerna*, full of Serpents and other venomous Beasts, not to make us believe that the *Chimera* and the *Hydra* had the same Original: For, to say it once more, such Kind of Monsters never had an Existence, and those are the real ones we must seek for, which made great Havock in those Times upon the Flocks, and sometimes even upon Men.

It was, no doubt, after so important a Piece of Service that *Jobates* gave his Daughter (1) in Marriage to *Bellerophon*; for I am of Opinion that we are not to range the Events of this Heroe's Life, as *Homer* has done, who enumerates all his Adventures together, and does not make him marry the King of *Lycia*'s Daughter till after all his Combats are over; since we know, that when he made War upon the *Solyimi* above mentioned, he had a Son by that Princess who accompanied him to it, and was killed therein.

The *Solyimi*, *Jobates*'s Enemies, were according to *Herodotus* (2), People of *Lycia*, who were afterwards denominated *Mylians*. *Strabo*, who differs from that Historian opposes to his Opinion a Passage in *Homer*, where that Poet says (3) *Bellerophon* set out from *Lycia* to go against the *Solyimi*; for, says he, he would not have spoke accurately, if the *Solyimi* had dwelt in *Lycia* itself: Thus this learned Geographer, and *Pliny* after him, place those People in *Pisidia*. *Bellerophon*, at the Head of *Jobates*'s Troops, made War upon them, and routed them in an Engagement, which *Glauco* in *Homer* says was a very bloody one. *Ister*, the Son of our Heroe, lost his Life in it, and was interred in the Confines of the *Meander*, in a Valley, which, according to *Strabo* (4), took the Name of the Valley of *Bellerophon*, and undoubtedly was the Field

(1) She was called *Philonoë*. (2) L. 1. c. 173. (3) L. 6.
(4) L. 13.

Field of Battle where this Engagement happened, *Homer* says poetically, that the God *Mars* took away that Prince's Life; an Allegory too plain not to be comprehended by every Body.

After the Defeat of the *Solyi*, *Bellerophon* turned his Arms against the *Amazons*. I shall not insist much upon those Heroins, of whom the Antients have said so much. All I shall observe, is, that it appears from *Strabo* they had quitted the Banks of the *Thermodon* about the Time of the *Trojan* War, and made an Ir-ruption into *Phrygia* and the adjacent Countries, where *Priam* (1) and *Bellerophon* made War upon them. These *Amazons*, of whom *Strabo* here speaks, are undoubtedly those against whom *Hercules* fought, and who, according to *Pausanias*, came and settled in the Confines of *Ephesus*, where the Temple of *Diana* served them for a Sanctuary. This Country was between *Phrygia*, where *Priam* reigned, and *Lycia*, where *Bellerophon* had fixed his Residence.

Our Heroe, upon his Return from this Expedition, was attacked by a Band of *Lycians*, who, growing jealous of the Reputation and Credit he had gained in the Country, laid an Ambuscade for him. The Traitors were defeated notwithstanding a stout Resistance, and *Bellerophon* returned victorious over so many Enemies to the Court of *Jobates*. “Then it was, according to *Homer*, that the King of *Lycia* perceiving, from these great Exploits, that he must be of the Race of the Gods, bestowed upon him his Daughter in Marriage, with the Half of his Kingdom as a Dowry. The *Lycians* themselves, after their Prince's Example, made over to him the Property of a large Park, where was the finest Vineyard of the Country, with Woods and arable Ground; the ordinary Present given by the People to Heroes, wherein they treated them like Gods, who had also Lands consecrated to them.”

After the Death of *Jobates*, who left no Male Issue, *Bellerophon* succeeded him, and his Descendants reigned in

(1) *Strabo*, loc. cit.

in that Part of *Lycia* whereof his Father-in-law was King. He had by his Wife three Sons; *Isander*, who died in the Battle against the *Solymi*; *Hippolochus*, who reigned after him, and was the Father of *Glaucus*; and one Daughter named *Laodamia*, who had an Intrigue which she fathered upon *Jupiter*, and became the Mother of *Sarpedon*. *Homer* says (1) *Diana* put her to Death; which signifies that she died suddenly, or of an infectious Distemper.

The same Poet subjoins, that after *Bellerophon* had incurred the Hatred of the Gods, he was given up to such a deep Melancholy, that he wandered alone in the Desarts, tortured with Anxiety, and incapable to relish the Pleasures of Society. He does not say what had drawn down upon him this Hatred of the Gods; whether it was, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked, that he found it easier to preserve his Integrity in his State of Persecution than in Prosperity, and that he was ruined by Pride. I should rather think, that as the Poet in this Passage relates the Death of *Isander* and *Laodamia*, he would have us to understand, that the Death of those his two Children had rendered him inconsolable, and that he had resigned the Administration to his Son *Hippolochus*, to go into Retirement.

This, I presume, is the most consistent Account can be given of *Bellerophon* and his Family. I have chiefly relied upon *Homer*, who relates this History detached from most of the Fictions superadded to it by those that came after. Therefore I have said nothing of *Pegasus*, that famous Horse which was broke by *Minerva* herself, who gave him to this Heroe, and to which he owed his Death: For as this Prince, we are told, mounted upon *Pegasus*, was attempting to soar up to Heaven, a Gad-bee stung the Horse, and the Heroe was overthrown, and killed with the Fall: They add, that *Pegasus* at that Time got a Place among the Constellations, where *Aurora* employs the Hours to unbar the Gates of Day (1). First, because this is an Episode whereof *Homer* has said nothing, *Pindar* being the

(1) Hygin.

the first who broached this Fiction afterwards. *Hesiod*, who mentions the Horse *Pegasus*, says not, as has been already observed in the History of *Perseus*, that *Bellerophon* made use of him. In the second Place, because I think I have sufficiently proved that *Pegasus* was not a Horse, but a Ship which bore that Figure upon the Prow. Thirdly, when *Hyginus* says (1) *Bellerophon* was the Son of *Neptune*, he clearly proves that he was considered not as a Horseman, but as a famous Sailor, who had come by Sea from some remote Country.

This Fable of *Hyginus* gave Birth to another, or at least was a Continuation of it. *Bellerophon*, according to *Plutarch*, being disobliged with *Jobates*, who had exposed him to so many Dangers, prayed his Father *Neptune* to take Vengeance upon him. After this Prayer the Waves of the Sea followed him, and overflowed all the low Country. The *Lycians*, seeing themselves in Danger of being inevitably ruined, supplicated him to vouchsafe to appease the incensed God: But this Prince being insensible to their Tears, the *Lycian* Women presented themselves before him in an undecent Manner, and compelled him at last to return towards the Sea, upon which the Waves retired. This Fiction, unknown to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, and which agrees so ill with the signal Demonstrations of Gratitude which *Jobates* had given to *Bellerophon*, has undoubtedly no other Signification, but that the Sea having overflowed the lower *Lycia*, this Heroe raised there a Mole which put a Stop to the Inundation, after the Example of *Hercules*, who made such another Work upon the Banks of *Troy* which the Sea had overflowed.

We shall conclude with a Remark of *Bockart* (2), that the Name of *Bellerophon* seems to be compounded of two *Hebrew* Words, *Baal Haroun*, *Magister vel Præfectus Jaculatorum*; The Head or Master of the Archers. And we may add, that the Name of *Hipponous*,

(1) Hygin. Cœl. Poet. Astr. c. 6. (2) Hieros. p. 1. l. 2. c. 6.

ponous, which he bore before the Murder that obliged him to quit *Corinth*, had undoubtedly been given him, because he had practised the Art of breaking Horses (*a*).

Tho' *Bellerophon* had quitted *Corinth*, whither he never returned, that City however valued itself on having given him Birth, and he is represented upon Medals of that City with the *Chimera*, as may be seen in the second Volume of the *Thesaurus Britannicus*.

Upon these Medals the *Chimera* appears with a Lion's Head; from the Middle of the Body rises a Goat's Head, and the Tail terminates in that of a Serpent. *Bellerophon* appears in the Air, mounted upon *Pegasus*, and ready to give the Monster the deadly Blow. We have also an Intaglio published by the late M. *Maffei*, whereon *Bellerophon* in like Manner appears in the Air upon the Horse *Pegasus*, darting his Javelin at the *Chimera*. It has also a Lion's Head, that of a Goat rises from its Back, and its Tail terminates in that of a great Dragon. Another Intaglio, published by *Licetus*, represents the same Combat: But the *Chimera* appears here to be only a Lion, at least the Smallness of the Stone hinders us from discerning any Thing else upon it.

I shall now fix, as well as I can, the Time when *Perseus* and *Bellerophon* lived: Nothing being more conducive to give Light to the Antiquities of those Times, than the true *Æras* of these two Heroes.

C H A P. VII.

Wherein we examine when Bellerophon and Perseus lived.

CHronologists, both antient and modern, presuming that *Bellerophon* had been expiated from the Murder he had committed, by *Prætus* King of *Argos*, have been obliged to say, that he lived long before *Perseus*, who was only *Prætus*'s Grand-nephew; and their

(*a*) See the Dissert. of M. *Freret* upon Riding, *Mem. de l'Acad.* Tom. 7. p. 286.

their Opinion was generally received, when M. *Freret* and I having examined this Question at the same time, and without communicating our Thoughts to one another, we laid before the Academy of the *Belles-Lettres* two Dissertations (1), wherein we both proved by the Synchronisms and Genealogies preserved to us by ancient Authors, that *Perseus* was prior to *Bellerophon* by several Years; that the former lived in the fifth Generation before the Siege of *Troy*, while the latter was but at the Distance of two Generations, and even less from that *Æra*: and consequently, we were obliged to conclude that the Prince, to whom *Bellerephon* had Recourse to be expiated from his Crime, was not the King of *Argos*, who had dethroned his Brother *Acrisius*. I hope the Result of these Dissertations will satisfy the Reader as to the true Time when the two Heroes lived whose History I have given.

If we take the Succession of the Kings of *Argos* and *Mycenæ* only from *Danaus*, of whom *Perseus* was descended, to the Destruction of *Troy*, we shall find ten Generations, and *Perseus* in the fifth: Now five Generations, reckoning with *Herodotus* at the Rate of three to a hundred Years, amount to 166 Years. To make the Thing more plain, let us join the last of these Generations with that of the Kings of *Athens*, supposing only what needs not be thought extraordinary, that the Reigns are not exactly equal in a Duration of two Lines, and that sometimes the one runs beyond the other.

<i>Danaus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Erichthonius.</i>
<i>Lynceus</i>	-	-	-	<i>Pandion I.</i>
<i>Abas</i>	-	-	-	<i>Eretheus.</i>
<i>Acrisius</i> and <i>Prætus</i>	-			<i>Cecrops II.</i>
<i>Danae</i> and <i>Perseus</i>	-			<i>Pandion II.</i>
<i>Electrion</i> and <i>Sthenelus</i>	-			<i>Egeus.</i>
<i>Euristheus</i> , <i>Hercules</i>	-			<i>Theseus.</i>
<i>Atreus</i> and <i>Thyestes</i>	-			<i>Minestheus.</i>
<i>Agamemnon</i>	-	-	-	<i>Demophon.</i>

†Tis

(1) See the *Mem.* Vol. 7.

'Tis therefore evident, if there is any Certainty in the History of those early Ages, that *Perseus* lived about a hundred or a hundred and twenty Years before the *Trojan War*.

Monfieur *Fourmond*, in his critical Reflexions upon the Histories of antient Nations, reckons between *Perseus* and the *Trojan War* only fourscore Years; but he is obliged, for Proof of this Hypothesis, to say that the Successors of *Acrisius*, to the War of *Troy*, which he is forced to acknowledge with all Chronologists, had either reigned several together, or had only reigned a short Time (1). M. *Freret*, in his Chronological Researches upon the History of *Lydia* (2), is of Opinion, that from the Commencement of *Perseus's* Reign to the taking of *Troy*, there are 178 Years. In fine, the Chronographer *Apollodorus* alledges, that *Pretus*, *Perseus's* Grand-uncle, lived 187 Years before that *Epocha*. For my Part, I am of Opinion, that if we reduce the Reigns of his Successors to their just Standard, we can admit between that Heroe and the War of *Troy*, neither a longer nor shorter Space of Time than what I have reckoned it. But whatever Sentiment we embrace, 'tis certain that *Perseus* preceded *Bellerophon* several Years, which is the Scope of this Disquisition, since the latter lived only forty or forty-five Years at most before the Destruction of *Troy*: This is what remains to be proved.

Glaucus and *Sarpedon*, his two Grandsons, commanded the *Lycians* at the Siege of *Troy*, as we read in *Homer* (3). The same *Glaucus* recounts to *Diomedes* the Adventures of *Bellerophon* his Grandfather, and subjoins, that his Father *Hippolochus* was yet alive when he set out for that War. There are not therefore two Generations compleat between *Bellerophon* and the *Trojan War*, since his Son was not then dead; and this is my Reason for reckoning it only an Intervál of forty or forty-six Years. From the same Conversation between *Glaucus* and *Diomedes*, other Arguments may be deduced

(1) See Tom. 2. p. 242. & seq. (2) Mem. de l' Acad. T. 6. p. 311. (3) *Iliad*.

ted for the Truth of what I advance. These two Princes coming to the Knowledge of one another, *Dionysius* says, he had heard from his Father *Tydeus*, that *Bellerophon* had been at the Court of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*. This *Oeneus* was his Grandfather, as *Bellerophon* was *Glaucus's*: Thus the two Grandfathers lived two Generations before the *Trojan* War. The Synchronism of *Oeneus* gives us several others; that is, all the Princes who went to the Hunting of the *Calydonian* Bear, *Meleager*, *Idas*, *Lynceus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Theseus* and the rest, who all lived but one Generation before the taking of *Troy*. But if the other Adventures of *Bellerophon*, except this Journey to the Court of *Oeneus*, are not inserted with those of the Heroes of his Age, 'tis because he had left *Greece* very young, to retire into *Lycia*.

If we were to review the several Branches of the Families of that Time, we should also find a Number of Testimonies in Confirmation of the same Truth. *Pausanias* (1) says *Medea*, when she quitted her Residence at *Corinth*, which the Perfidy of *Jason* had rendered odious to her, left the Crown to *Sisyphus*: *Medea* and *Jason* were therefore Contemporaries with *Bellerophon's* Grandfather; consequently this Prince lived only about the Time of the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, of whom *Jason* was the Chief, and so but a few Years before the Siege of *Troy*. The same *Pausanias* says farther (2), that *Bellerophon*, before he quitted *Greece*, had gone to *Trezene* to make his Addresses to *Æthra*, the Daughter of *Pitheus*, who, in a short Time after, was delivered of *Theseus*: *Bellerophon* therefore lived in the Time of *Pitheus* and *Egeus*.

We might bring this Prince yet nearer to that *Æra*. *Eolus*, his Great-grandfather, had, among other Daughters, *Alcyone*, the Wife of *Ceyx*, King of *Trachin*. Now *Ceyx*, according to all the Antients, was contemporary with *Hercules*, whom he received at his Court, and gave him Expiation for the Murder he had committed. *Alcyone* was therefore Grand-aunt to Belle-

(2) In *Corinth*. (2) *Loc. cit.*

Bellerophon, who consequently could not be born till about the last Year of *Hercules*, or even after that Heroe's Death. In fine, to abridge the Synchronisms which would lead me too far, I shall only remark further, that *Strabo* says the *Amazons* made War upon *Priam* and *Bellerophon*, in the Time of the *Trojan* War: Now the Time of *Priam* is very well known, since he began to reign after the first taking of that City by *Hercules*, which is doubtless what *Strabo* speaks of in the Passage now referred to.

But it will be said, if *Bellerophon* is so many Years later than *Perseus*, who then is that *Prætus* who received him, and gave him Expiation from the Murder he had committed at *Corinth*? It would be a sufficient Answer to this Question to say, that tho' History spoke of no other *Prætus* but the Grand-uncle of *Perseus*, it would still be much more probable that *Bellerophon* is many Years posterior to him, than it is that he who gave him Expiation, was the King of *Argos* who dethroned his Father *Acrisius*. M. *Freret*, in the Dissertation which I have mentioned in the Beginning of this Chapter, instead of one *Prætus*, posterior to the King of *Argos*, finds two; as to which *Pausanias* may be consulted. It will be urged, that *Homer*, speaking of *Prætus*, who expiated *Bellerophon*, says he was one of the most powerful Princes of *Argos*. But it may be answered, 1. That Poet gives him not the Title of King. 2. By *Argos*, he may mean not the City of that Name, but *Greece* in general, as is usual both in him and *Virgil*; for it cannot be denied, that when the latter says *Troy* never was to be taken till the *Greeks* returned once more to *Argos*, and renewed the Omens,

*Nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis,
Omina ni repetant Argis, &c.* Æn. l. 2.

the Word *Argolicis* must be taken for all the *Greeks*, and that of *Argos*, for *Greece* in general.

'Tis surprizing that these Arguments should have escaped the Learned of the two last Ages by whom so

many happy Discoveries have been made in Chronology ; but I observed at the Beginning of this Chapter the Source of their Error. They knew *Prætus* the Brother of *Acrisius*, as being a Prince very celebrated in the History of those Times ; and the Adventures of *Bellerophon* appeared to them connected with his Reign. This *Prætus* was unquestionably *Perseus's* Grand-uncle ; hence they concluded that *Perseus* had not lived till two generations after *Bellerophon* ; but at the same Time they ought to have perceived that the same *Perseus* was Great-Grand-Uncle to *Hercules*, still better known than *Bellerophon* and *Perseus*. *Hercules* lived one Generation before the *Trojan* War ; therefore his Great-Grandfather lived four Generations before that War. *Bellerophon* was but the Grandfather of *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon*, who assisted in the taking of that City ; consequently he must have preceded that *Æra* only by one Generation.

C H A P. VIII.

The History of the two Minos's, and of the War of the second against the Athenians, with the Adventures of the Minotaur, of Dedalus, Theseus, &c.

I Said in the History of *Cadmus*, that *Jupiter*, or rather *Asterius*, having ravished *Europa*, *Agenor's* Daughter, and conveyed her to the Island of *Crete*, where he reigned, she had by him three Sons, *Minos*, *Sarpedon*, and *Rhadamanthus*. I shall now give the History of the first of these Princes, which has been greatly obscured, because most of the Antients on this Occasion have fallen into a considerable Error, in acknowledging only one *Minos*, whereas it is certain that there were two of them. *Apollodorus* (1), *Strabo* (2), *Plutarch* (3), *Eusebius*, and several others, are chargeable with this Mistake, having confounded the Son of *Jupiter*, or rather of *Asterius*, with the Son of *Lycastrus*,

(1) Bibl. 1. 3. (2) L. 10. (3) In Theseo.

Lycaſtus, whom *Homer* (1), *Diodorus* (2), and the *Pa-
rian* Marbles have plainly diſtinguiſhed (3) in two of
their *Æras*, whereof one refers to *Minos* the firſt of
the Name ; and the ſecond, which is poſterior to it by
about fifty Years, to *Minos* II. But the ſame Authors,
except thoſe of the Chronicle, as well as moſt of the
Moderns, after having ſettled or ſuppoſed the Diſtinc-
tion of theſe two Princes, have run into ſeveral Incon-
ſiſtencies by not ſtudying their Characters ſufficiently ;
ſpeaking of *Minos* ſometimes as a wiſe Legiſlator, fre-
quently as a cruel and barbarous Tyrant, becauſe in
Fact it is true that the former was a juſt and equitable
Prince, and the ſecond, for having avenged upon the
Athenians the Death of one of his Sons, has been very
much cried down by them.

I ſhall endeavour ſufficiently to diſtinguiſh theſe two
Kings of *Crete*, and aſcribe to each the Actions that
belong to him.

After the Death of *Aſterius*, *Minos* (4) aſcended
the Throne. *Apollodorus* (5) ſays *Sarpedon* and *Rha-
damanthus*, his two Brothers, having diſputed the
Crown with him, he prayed the Gods to vouchſafe to
give him a Mark of their Approbation ; upon which
Neptune made the Sea to produce a Ball of ſurpaſſing
Whiteness ; but this Adventure relates to *Minos*
II. whom that antient Author has not diſtinguiſhed
from the firſt, at leaſt in what of his Works are now
extant.

Minos, in peaceful Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, mar-
ried *Ithone* the Daughter of *Liëtius* (6), by whom he
had two Children, *Lycaſtus*, who ſucceeded him, and
Acacallide, who, according to *Diodorus* (7), was mar-
ried to *Apollo* ; that is, probably, either to one of his
Priests, or to a Prince, who, on account of his Taſte
for the Sciences, or for Muſick, had acquired the
Name of that God. The Iſland of *Crete*, little known
before the Reign of the King we are now ſpeaking of,
I i 2 became

(1) *Iliad*. l. 3. (2) *L.* 4, & 5. (3) *Ep.* 11, & 20. (4) See
the Fable of his Birth in the third Chapter. (5) *L.* 3. (6) *Diod.*
l. 4. (7) *Loc. cit.*

became then very famous; *Minos* having governed his People with great Lenity and Justice, and having built several Cities, among which is reckoned that of *Apollonia*, which *Cidon* his Grandson (1) afterwards embellished, and gave it the Name of *Cidonia* (2), and that of *Minoa Liétia*, which was so called from his own Name, and that of *Liétius* his Father-in-law, which is confirmed by the eleventh Epocha of the *Arundel-marbles*.

But nothing so much distinguishes this Prince as the Laws which he gave to the *Cretans*, since they have always made him be reckoned one of the greatest Legislators of Antiquity. To give the greater Authority to his Laws, he retired into a Cave in *Crete*, where he feigned that *Jupiter* his Father dictated them to him; and every Time he returned from thence, as we learn from *Nicolas* of *Damas* (3), he delivered some new Law: This is what makes *Homer* (4) give him the Title of *Jupiter's* Disciple; Δίος μεγάλου ὁ ἀρῆς, which is thus expressed by *Horace*;

Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus (5).

Josephus, of all the Antients, as far as I know, is the only one who says *Minos* had received his Laws from *Apollo*, and that he had travelled to *Delphi* to learn them from that God (6).

All the other Legislators, to mention it by the Way, have taken the same Way to gain Authority to their Laws. *Mnevis*, King of *Egypt*, attributed his to *Mercury* or *Teutates*; *Zamolxis*, the *Thracian* Legislator, to the Goddess *Vesta*; *Zoroastres*, to his *Genius*; *Numa Pompilius*, to the Nymph *Egeria*, whom he consulted in the Forest of *Arícia*; *Pythagoras* gave out that he went down to the Kingdom of *Pluto*; *Epimenides* again, that he had slept fifty Years in a Cave in the Island of *Crete*; and undoubtedly all of them, after *Moses*, who had received the Tables of the Law upon

(1) He was the Son of *Acacallide*. (2) Strabo, c. 10. (3) See excerpta Stobæi verbo CRETENSES. (4) *Odysse* 19. (5) *Od.* 10. l. 1. (6) L. 2. against *Appion*.

upon Mount *Sinai*, with such Pomp and Solemnity, that the Tradition thereof had spread among all Nations. *Maximus Tyrius* (1) is of Opinion that this Cave into which *Minos* retired, was in Mount *Ida*, but *Eusebius* places it elsewhere.

Strabo (2), after *Ephorus*, will have it that *Minos* dwelt nine Years in Retirement in the Cave now mentioned, and that learned Author quotes in Proof of his Opinion the Testimony of *Homer* (3); but the Passage where that Poet speaks of it, is variously read in the Authors who have copied him; for first it may signify, as this Historian understands it, that *Minos* was the Disciple of *Jupiter* during the Space of nine Years successively; or, as *Plato* interprets it (4), that this Prince went every ninth Year to hear *Jupiter's* Lessons; or, lastly, as *Nicolas* of *Damas* has transcribed it (5), that *Minos*, who reigned nine Years, was *Jupiter's* Disciple.

The learned Interpreter of *Homer* in his Notes has proved what must needs be the true Sense of the Poet in this Place, and that the Word *ἐννέωρος* signifies every ninth Year. “The Encomium, says that Philosopher, which *Homer* here bestows upon *Minos* is very short; but 'tis so high, that he gives it to none of his Heroes.—He says *Minos* was admitted to an Interview with *Jupiter* every ninth Year, *ἐννέατω ἔτει*, and that he went to him to receive Instruction as a Disciple from his Master. Consequently, since there is no other Heroe but he on whom the Poet confers this Encomium of being instructed by *Jupiter*, we are to look upon this Panegyric as the highest and the most admirable of all Praises.—*Minos* then went every ninth Year, continues he, *ἐννέωροις ἔτοις*, into *Jupiter's* Cave, there to learn new Things, or to reform, according as the Cases should require, what he had learned in the preceding ninth Year. The Cave into which this wise Prince retired, was afterwards called *Jupiter's* Cave (a).”

I i 3

All

(1) Diff. 22. (2) L. 10. (3) Odyss. 19. (4) In *Miaque*.

(5) Loc. cit.

(a) *Homer. Odyss.* l. 19. *Plato, V. 2. p. 309.*

All Antiquity has always had a high Esteem for the Laws of *Minos*; *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Diodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and several others, have very much enlarged upon this Subject; and I should never have done, were I to quote here all the Testimonies of these Authors. I shall only say, that *Lycurgus* travelled on purpose to *Crete* there to collect *Minos's* Laws, and give them to the *Lacedemonians* (1); and we may judge by the wise Policy of that People, by their Conquests, and the great Reputation they acquired, of the Equity of the Laws which he took for his Model. We may add further, that *Josephus*, as great a Lover as he was of his own Nation, has owned that *Minos* is the only one among the Antients who deserved to be compared to *Moses*.

To know now upon what Model this wise Prince formed himself in giving Laws to so rude and ignorant a People, is not an easy Matter. If we will believe *Huetius*, the Question will be very soon decided, since, according to that learned Prelate, *Minos* is the same with *Moses*; and here is the Parallel he runs between them; *Moses* and *Minos* lived much about the same Time (a). *Diodorus* gives *Minos* to Wife *Ithone*, whose Name, in the *Chaldaic* Language, signifies *antient*, only to denote that this Prince is of very great Antiquity. The Mother of the *Cretan* Prince is said to have come from *Phœnicia*, only because the Parents of the *Jewish* Legislator were Natives thereof. The former is made to have reigned in *Crete*, because the latter led the *Israelites* into *Palestine*, the People whereof were sometimes named *Cretans*, as *Bochart* remarks after the *Septuagint*. *Minos* had no other Brother but *Rhadamenthus*, for *Sarpedon* was the Son of *Laodamia*, and Grandson of *Bellerophon*; *Moses* in like Manner had but one Brother named *Aaron*. *Diodorus* gives the Lawgiver of *Crete* but two Children; the Lawgiver of the *Jews* had just the same Number. The former
professed

(1) *Aristot.* 2 *Polit.* c. 10.

(a) He is obliged in this Place to strain a little; but 'tis not the only Place where the Parallel is forced.

professed to have received his Laws from *Jupiter*; God had given his to the latter. The one had Intercourse with the fabulous God in the Caves of Mount *Ida*; the other with the God of *Abraham* and *Jacob* upon Mount *Sinai*. *Homer* gives *Minos* only the Honour of having had *Jupiter* for his Master; God discovered himself only to *Moses*, and he was the sole Depositary of his Commands, *Moses* employing *Aaron* to put them in Execution, as *Minos* did *Rhadamanthus*. The *Cretan* Prince was accounted the King of the Sea; only because the *Hebrew* Lawgiver commanded the Waves of the Red-sea to retire. The former was considered as the chief Judge of Hell, deciding what Differences arose between the other two, only because the latter established a Council to ease him of the Burden of lesser Affairs, reserving to himself the Cognizance of Causes of greater Importance. *Hesiod* gives the *Cretan* King *Jupiter*'s golden Scepter, and why, but because the Scripture mentions *Moses*'s mysterious Rod. *Josephus*, adds this Author, had therefore Reason to compare these two great Men; since, accurately speaking, there never was another *Minos* but *Moses*.

But, with all due Respect to the Erudition of this learned Prelate, the Testimony of all Antiquity is too decisive, not to make us acknowledge another *Minos* than the *Jewish* Lawgiver; and, without entering into a critical Examination of this Parallel, which I have even softened a great deal, there are many Strokes that will not convince a Sceptic.

I shall not however deny that *Minos* had heard of *Moses*; his Mother was a *Phœnician*, and probably many Persons came from that Country and settled in *Crete* during his Reign; among others, I find one *Atbymnus*, the Brother of *Europa*, who, according to *Solinus*, was worshipped as a God after his Death at *Gortys*: *Gortynni & Atbymnum colunt Europæ fratrem* (1). Perhaps this Prince, if I may be allowed to offer my own Conjecture, often conversed with his Nephew about the Laws and Policy which *Moses* had established.

(1) *Solinus ex emendat. Salmasii, c. 11.*

established among the *Jews*; and even assisted him in reducing his Body of Laws, and was therefore advanced to divine Honours. We may likewise add, that *Marnas*, who, according to *Plato* (1), was *Minos's* Secretary, came also from the same Country; at least it is certain, that the *Phœnicians* had a God of that Name: But, in regard that he was the great Divinity of the City of *Geze*, as has been said in the first Volume, perhaps he is not the same with him whom *Plato* speaks of. Be that as it will, it may reasonably be conjectured, that some Knowledge, tho' confused, of the Laws of *Moses* served for a Model to those of the King of *Crete*.

Minos, after having governed his Subjects with a mild and gentle Sway, died in *Crete*, and being interred there, had this Epitaph put upon his Tomb (2).

ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ.

Minois F. Jovis Sepulchrum.

But as in Process of Time this Name of *Minos* came to be defaced, and there remained only the two last Words of the Epitaph, *Jovis sepulchrum*, the *Cretans* gave out that this was the Tomb of *Jupiter*. Nor was it by the Injury of Time, or by any other Accident that this Inscription was mutilated, but by the Malice of the *Cretans*, as the old Scholiast on *Callimachus* has very well remarked. They would needs make their Boast of possessing the Tomb of the Father of the Gods, whom they pretended to have brought up in his Infancy; with which the Poet *Callimachus* sharply reproaches them in a Hymn addressed to *Jupiter*, whereof the following is the Sense. “The
“ *Cretans* are always Liars, since they vaunt that
“ they have thy Tomb, O great King, who livest
“ for ever (3)!” And 'tis to this Passage of that antient Poet, to mention it by the Way, that the Apostle makes Allusion, when he upbraids the same
People

(1) In *Minoe*. (2) See the Scholiast on *Callimachus*. (3) Hymn. in *Jovem*.

People in *Callimachus's* own Words, with the Vice of Lying, *Cretenses semper mendaces* (a).

A Prince who had been so just in his Life Time, must needs have been honoured after his Death: Accordingly the Poets, whose Province it was to dispose of the Employments of the other World, established him Judge of *Pluto's* supreme Court in Hell.

I said, in speaking of the System of the poetical Hell, that the *Greeks* had borrowed their Conceptions thereof from the *Egyptians*, and that in appointing Judges there, after the Example of that antient People, they had singled out those from among their great Men, who had lived with the most unblemished Integrity; of which Number they had found none who better deserved that Honour than *Minos*, *Eacus*, and *Rhadamanthus*. They afterwards divided their Functions: *Eacus*, according to *Plato*, judged the *Europeans*; *Rhadamanthus*, who had left *Crete*, and fixed his Residence in *Asia*, had the *Asiatics* for his Lot, among whom were also comprehended the *Africans*; and *Minos*, as chief President of the infernal Court, decided the Differences that arose between the two Judges. All the Poets are agreed in this Superiority of *Minos* over his Collegues. *Homer* (1) represents him with a Scepter in his Hand, seated in the midst of the Shades, whose Causes are pled before him: And *Virgil* adds, that he holds in his Hand, and shakes the fatal Urn wherein are contained the Lots of all Mortals;

Quæstor Minos Urnam movet.

while the stern *Rhadamanthus* in *Tartarus* sees to the Execution of the Sentences which his Brother pronounces (b).

Thus,

(a) We must not have Regard to the Opinion of *Stephanus*, who makes *Minos* to have travelled into *Phœnicia* to build the City *Minos*, which the Founders thereof named so in Honour of the Son of *Europa*.

(1) *Odyss.* 11.

(b) *Glossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna;
Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri
Quæ quisque apud superos furto lætatus inani,
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem. Æn. 6.*

Thus, strictly speaking, *Rhadamanthus* is there only a subaltern Judge, and as it were *Minos's Lieutenant Criminal*: He prepares the Trials, examines and confronts the Witnesses, extorts from the Guilty, by putting them to the Rack, a Confession of their most secret Faults; and after his Brother has passed upon them the final Sentence, he puts it in Execution (1).

'Tis not easy to fix the Date of the Reign of *Minos* I. If we consult the *Arundel* Marbles, where his *Æra* is a little defaced, we shall there find that this Prince reigned in the Time of *Pandion* I. King of *Athens* (a): which the Authors of the Remarks upon those antient Inscriptions make to fall in the Year before *Christ*, 1462: And what serves for a Confirmation of this Date, the Marbles join the Reign of *Minos* with the Invention of Iron by the *Idæi Daëtyli*, when upon the burning of the Woods of Mount *Ida*, they observed the flowing of that Metal melted by the Fire; an Event, which, according to an antient Chronologist, cited by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* (2), falls in the Year of the World 2743, supposing the Christian *Æra* to have begun after the Year 4005.

Eusebius also favours this Opinion, by placing the Reign of *Minos* in the 32d Year of *Pandion's*, which is the 151st Year of the *Attic* *Æra*, that is 26 Years later. But I reckon these Authors have lengthened too much the fabulous Age, since between *Minos* I. and *Idomeneus*, who, according to *Homer*, and all the Antients, assisted at the Siege of *Troy*, there are but five Persons, who make four Generations: *Minos* I. *Lycaëstus*, *Minos* II. *Deucalion*, and *Idomeneus*, who was then but very young. Thus, reckoning, with *Herodotus*, three Generations to an Age, and a half for *Idomeneus*, it will follow that *Minos* lived only 120 Years before the War of *Troy*: And that City having been taken, according to the most probable

(1) See *La Cerda* upon the sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

(a) *A quo Minos I. regnavit. L. instauravit, & ferrum inventum est in Ida, inventoribus Idæis Daëtylis, Cœli—regnante Athenis Pandione, &c. Ep. 11.*

(2) *Strom. l. 1.*

bable Opinion, in the Year before *Christ* 1184; we may fix the Date in Question, to the 1304th Year before the Christian *Æra*. We know not exactly how long this Prince reigned, the Passage where *Homer* (1) seems to give him a Reign of nine Years, being very ambiguous.

I said *Minos* had two Brothers, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*: 'Tis proper before we go farther to recite their History.

Rhadamanthus, if we may believe *Apollodorus* (2), *Plato* (3), *Diodorus* (4), *St. Augustine* (5), and almost all the Antients, though some of them are not agreed in it, was *Minos's* Brother, who, according to *Plato*, made good Use of his Knowledge in composing his Laws, and in making them be exactly observed: He was a Prince of eminent Virtue, the most sober and moderate Man of his Time.

I know none but *Apollodorus* who says, that he returned into *Beotia*, after having assassinated his Brother *Amphitryon*; which, no doubt, relates to another Prince of the same Name, since 'tis certain, from the Testimony of all the Antients, that he whom we are now speaking of, went and settled in one of the Isles of the *Archipelago* in his Brother's Dominions, whether it was as some Authors alledge, that *Minos*, jealous of his Reputation, had obliged him to quit the Island of *Crete*; or rather, that he gave him that Dependency, to propagate by his Means the Knowledge of his Laws in *Asia*. *Diodorus* informs us, that he made several Conquests in the neighbouring Isles, not so much by Force of Arms, as by the Lenity of his Administration, several People having voluntarily submitted to his Government. It was this Equity and Love of Justice, that made him be ranked in the Number of the infernal Judges. *Rhadamanthus*, before his Death, divided his Dominions among his two Sons, and gave the Government of the Cities to his chief Officers.

All the Antients I said were not agreed that *Rhadamanthus*

(1) *Odyss.* 19. (2) *L.* 1. (3) *In Minoe.* (4) *L.* 4. (5) *De Civ. Dei*, l. 18.

damantbus was *Minos*'s Brother, some of them making him only his Secretary, probably founding their Opinion upon what *Plato* says, that this Prince had made Use of him in digesting his Body of Laws. *Strabo* too lets us know, that *Rhadamanthus*, upon whose Model *Minos* formed himself, had lived long before him; had given Laws to *Crete*, and built therein several Cities. 'Tis perhaps he of whom *Pausanias* speaks (1), who according to the Poet *Cyneton*, was the Son of *Vulcan*, the Grand-Son of *Talus*, and Great-Grand-Son of *Ceres*. *Loerquer* (2) again is of Opinion that the Prince of this Name who reigned in *Lycia*, was not *Minos*'s Brother, and he censures *Diodorus* and *Plato* for making him to have come from *Crete*. The same Author acknowledges a second *Rhadamanthus*, Brother to *Minos* II. a Lawgiver like the first; all this proves that there were several Persons of this Name.

Sarpedon, obliged to quit the Island of *Crete*, after that his Brother, with whom he disputed the Crown, had got the better of him, retired first into *Caria*, where he built the City *Miletum* (a), and after making some Stay there, he went farther into *Asia*, and arrived at last in the Country of the *Myliades*, which not long after took the Name of *Lycia*, from a Prince called *Lycus*, the Son of *Pandion* and Brother of *Egeus*, who retired thither, and was well received by *Sarpedon*, who had just founded there a small Kingdom, where he reigned in Peace the rest of his Days. After his Death, *Evander* his Son ascended the Throne, as we read in *Diodorus*; but we must not confound this *Sarpedon* with the Grand-Son of *Bellerophon*, who also lived in the same Country, about 100 Years after, and who, according to *Homer*, *Iliad*, l. 6. led to the Siege of *Troy* those of the *Lycians* who inhabited in the Confines of the *Xanthus* (3).

After the Death of *Minos* I. his Son *Lycaustus* succeeded him; but his Reign has nothing remarkable.
'Tis

(1) In Arc. (2) See his little Book intitled *Ion*.

(a) *Diodorus*, l. 5. *Herodotus*, l. 1. *Pauf.* in *Atticis* *Stephanus*, &c.

(3) See the History of *Bellerophon*.

'Tis not so as to that of *Minos* II. his Son, whom I am going to speak of.

This Prince having ascended the Throne, became formidable to his Neighbours, made several Conquests in the adjacent Isles, and at length became Master of the Sea. *Thucydides*, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and the other Antients, speak of the Successes of his Fleet, the most numerous that had been seen before ; and he would have had the Reputation of one of the greatest Princes of his Time, but for the unhappy Adventure I am going to relate. It disturbed the Peace of his whole Life, and gave the *Greeks* a Handle cruelly to asperse him with a thousand Calumnies.

The Celebration of the *Panathenaia* inviting to *Athens* all the Nobility of the Neighbourhood (*a*), *Minos* would needs send thither his Son *Androgeos* ; and this young Prince combated in those Games with such Address and good Fortune, that he won there all the Prizes, which procured him the Esteem of all the People, and the Friendship of the Sons of *Pallas*, *Ægeus's* Brother. The Intercourse of this young Prince with the *Pallantides* gave Umbrage to *Ægeus* the King of *Athens* : As he had not yet acknowledged *Theseus*, and had no other Children, he was afraid that, with *Minos's* Assistance, they might have it in their Power to dethrone him ; thus hearing that *Androgeos* was going to *Thebes*, he got him assassinated in the Town of *Oeneus* upon the Confines of *Attica*. *Minos* had no sooner heard this mournful Piece of News, than he resolved to revenge the Death of his Son. *Apollodorus* remarks (*b*), that he was then in the Island of *Paros*, offering a Sacrifice to the *Graces*, and that in the Pa-

roxisms

(*a*) *Diodorus*, l. 1. *Apollod.* l. 3. *Plutarch in Theseo*, and *Servius* upon the sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

(*b*) *Apollodorus*, l. 3. gives another Account of *Androgeos's* Death : He says this Prince was slain by the Bull of *Marathon*, which *Neptune* had sent into *Crete* to punish *Minos*, because he being Master of the Sea, did not acknowledge his Divinity. This Bull having ravaged the Island of *Crete*, crossed over the Sea, came into *Greece*, and having found *Androgeos* by the Way, destroyed him. But 'tis probable this Report was only spread to screen the Honour of *Egeus*, who had violated all the Laws of Hospitality.

last gave him Admission into the Town by the Keys, which she took while her Father was asleep, and which *Ovid* probably intended under the Symbol of the fatal Hair.

Her Transformation into a Lark, as well as that of her Father into a Sea-Eagle, are merely poetical Ornaments, founded however upon two Equivocations connected with this Event, the one *Greek* and the other *Hebrew*; for as *Ovid* plainly enough insinuates, the Name *Ciris*, comes from the *Greek* κείρεν, *to clip*:

Ciris, & a tonso est hoc nomen adepta capillo;

and that of *Nisus* from the *Hebrew* Neiz, which signifies a *Hawk*, a Fowl which very much resembles the Sea-Eagle:

*Tunc pendebat in auras
Et modo factus avis fulvis Halyætus in alis.*

If we may credit *Apollodorus* (1), *Minos* himself ordered *Sylla* to be thrown into the Sea, or according to *Zenodotus*, to be hanged on his Ship-mast. *Huetius*, to keep up the Parallel between *Moses* and *Minos*, will have this Adventure to be the same with that which *Josephus* relates on occasion of *Tarbis*, who proposed to deliver up to *Moses* a City which he was besieging in *Ethiopia*, if he would marry her: But we would overturn all History, were we, upon every apparent Resemblance, to confound Events that are quite different. This whole History of *Minos* is true, notwithstanding the Fables superadded to it, and it is confirmed by all Antiquity.

Ovid, I said, has by Anticipation given the City *Nisa* the Name of *Megara*, which it did not get till after the Death of *Nisus*: For this I have the Authority of *Pausanias* (2), who tells us, that while *Minos* was besieging that City, *Megareus* came from *Onchestos* to the Relief of it, and that after the Death of *Nisus* and *Minos's* Retreat, he had rebuilt the Walls thereof, and given it the Name of *Megara*. There was still to be

(1) L. 3. (2) In Attic.

be seen in that City, says the same Author, the sacred Hearth of the Gods called *Prodromei*, that is, those who were invoked before laying the Foundations of any Edifice whatever it was, to whom *Megareus* had offered Sacrifices, that they might be propitious to him. The same Author, I know, delivers another Tradition, which imported that it was not *Megareus* himself rebuilt that City, since he had been slain during the Siege, but his Son-in-law *Alcathous*, who gave it the Name of *Megara*. Thus, 'tis still true that it had not this Name when it was besieged by *Minos*.

As Antiquity has hardly transmitted down to us any Fact, without a Mixture of Fiction, it was fabulously said that *Apollo* had assisted *Alcathous* in rebuilding the Walls of *Nisa*; which imports that the Work was so fine, as to require a God to be the Architect. However famous this Expedition of *Minos* was, the *Megarians*, as we read in *Pausanias* (1) disowned the Fact, and affected to say they had never heard of his Name.

After the taking of *Nisa*, *Minos* went to lay Siege to the City of *Athens*, and he found it extremely desolate. Heaven had already declared for him (2); an extraordinary Heat and violent Drought having laid waste all *Greece*. The Oracle consulted gave Response, that in order to appease the Gods, *Eacus* must become the Intercessor for his Country, and that the Prayers of that Prince had already begun to mitigate them; but *Athens* and all *Attica* were nothing the better for them. In vain had the *Athenians*, in remembrance of an antient Oracle, which signified that they were one Day to be delivered from a great Famine, by sacrificing some female Strangers, offered up at the Tomb of the Cyclop *Cerastus*, the Daughters of *Hyacinthus* the *Lacedemonian*, who had come not long before and settled at *Athens*; the Desolation did not abate; and the City being still more distressed by the Famine than by the Enemy, sent once more to the Oracle; and had answer that the Gods would never give over afflicting them, till entire Satisfaction was

(1) Plutarch, Diodorus, Apollodorus. (2) Apollod. l. 4.

was given to the King of *Crete*. The *Athenians* therefore immediately sent Ambassadors to him in the Condition of Suppliants (*a*), to beg Peace of him; and the Prince granted it to them, on Condition that every ninth Year, according to *Plutarch* and *Ovid*, or every seventh Year, according to *Diodorus Siculus* and *Apollodorus*, the *Athenians* should send to him seven Youths, and as many Virgins. This Article being agreed to on both Sides, *Minos* raised the Siege and withdrew to *Crete*, carrying along with him those who were chosen by Lot to be the first Victims to the Preservation of their Country.

Here it is that the *Greeks*, to make this Prince odious, broached a Fable which afterwards made so much Noise. They said the King of *Crete* condemned the *Athenian* Youths, who were sent to him, to fight in the Labyrinth which *Dedalus* had built with the *Minotaur*, which was the Offspring of the infamous Passion of *Pasiphae* his Queen, for a white Bull which *Neptune* had produced from the Sea; that *Dedalus*, who was obliged to leave *Athens*, and remove to *Crete*, as shall be said immediately, had favoured that monstrous Passion of the Queen, in the Manner that *Apollodorus* relates (*i*), and which is but too well understood from the Verses of *Virgil* (*b*): That from this Conjunction sprung the *Minotaur*, a Monster, which, according to *Euripides*, cited by *Plutarch*, was half Man, half Bull, which *Ovid* thus expresses:

Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.

All the Stages of *Greece* resounded afterwards with the Story of this Intrigue (*c*).

VOL. III.

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(*a*) That is to say, according to *Plutarch*, having upon their Heads Crowns of Leaves, and in their Hands Boughs wrapped about with Fillets of white Wool. *Plutarch in Theseo.*

(*i*) Lib. 3.

(*b*) *Hic crudelis amor Tauri, suppositaque furto
Pasiphae, mistumque genus, prolesque biformis
Minotaurus incest, Veneris monumenta nefandæ. Æn. 1. 6.*

Consult also *Plutarch*, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*.

(*c*) All the other Poets speak much the same Way with those now quoted. *Propertius*, l. 2. Ep. 32.

Uxorem

To make this Fable the more credible, and to intermix with it something supernatural, they added, that *Minos* was wont to sacrifice every Year to *Neptune* the fairest of his Bulls; that one Day he saw one so beautiful that he was charmed with him; and, instead of making him a Sacrifice, kept him for a Breed; with which the God of the Sea was so incensed, that he inspired *Pasiphae* with the absurd Passion now mentioned (a).

'Tis obvious that it was the Hatred of the *Greeks* against *Minos* that made them invent this Fable; *Plato* (1) says to this Purpose, that the advantageous Character which *Homer* and *Hesiod* had given of this great Prince, availed him nothing against the Malice of his Enemies; and *Plutarch* adds, that it is dangerous to provoke a knowing People, who have it always in their Power to take Revenge (2). But as Fables have always some Foundation, let us see what may have given Rise to this.

There is no Probability of its having been what *Lucian* alledges (3), that *Pasiphae* had learned from *Dedalus* that Part of Astronomy which relates to the Constellations, especially the Sign of the Bull: For what Affinity can that Science have with so infamous a Fable? 'Tis better therefore to say with *Servius* (4),
Izetzes,

*Uxorem quondam magni Minois, ut aiunt,
 Corripuit torvi candida forma bovis.*

Silius Italicus, l. 8. says much to the same Purpose;

*Hinc genus orditur Minos, immistaque Tauro
 Pasiphae.*

But *Virgil* has far surpassed them all in his Relation of this Fable in the sixth Eclogue, where he makes the old *Silenus* thus speak;

*Et fortunatam si nunquam armenta fuissent,
 Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore Juvenci.*

Persius in like Manner, Ep. 5.

*Junctam Pasiphaen Dictæo, credite, Tauro
 Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.*

which, by the Way, shews us that the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks* in representing this Fable with too much Freedom upon their Stages.

(a) *Hyginus* gives another Cause of it, whereof we shall speak afterwards.

(1) In *Minoe*. (2) In *Theseo*. (3) De *Astrol*. (4) Upon the sixth Book of the *Æneid*.

Tzetzes, and *Zenobius*, who seem to have learned it from *Apollodorus*, whose Works were not so disfigured in their Time as they are at present, that in *Minos's* Absence, or as *Palephatus* has it, during a long Indisposition he was under, *Pasiphae* fell in Love with a young Lord of the Court at *Crete*, named *Taurus*, who, according to *Plutarch*, was also Admiral of *Minos's* Fleet; that *Dedalus* was the Confident in this Intrigue, and to keep it concealed, lent his House to the two Lovers. These Authors add that *Pasiphae* was delivered of Twins, of whom the one resembled *Minos*, and the other *Taurus*, which gave Rise to the Fable of the *Minotaur*. But, without having Recourse to this pretended Resemblance, 'tis obvious that the very Name of *Taurus*, the sworn Enemy of the *Greeks*, for Reasons to be mentioned afterwards, was more than enough to give a Handle for the Fable of this Monster, to whom they would have it believed that the Choice of the *Athenian* Youth was exposed.

What *Palephatus* says of *Minos's* Indisposition, is not without Foundation; and he was cured of it by *Procris* when she retired into *Crete* after the Breach with her Husband *Cephalus*. *Minos* even fell so in Love with her, as we learn from *Apollodorus* (1), that he quite neglected *Pasiphae*, who, on the other Hand, during that Time made up the Intrigue with the young Admiral just now mentioned; and this is undoubtedly what makes *Ovid* say,

Pasiphaes Minos in Procnide perdidit ignes.

where, instead of *Procnide*, we must read *Procris*; as *Meziriac* first remarked (2). *Apollodorus* adds, that *Procris* was forced very soon to depart from *Crete* to escape the Fate of *Minos's* other Mistresses, who were destroyed by Vipers, so soon as he approached them, *Pasiphae* having rubbed him with some Kind of Herb which attracted those Insects; which imports, no doubt, that the jealous Queen put her Rivals to Death

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(1) L. 5. *in fine*. (2) Upon the Epist. of *Phedra* and *Hippolitus*.

by the Poison she extracted from Vipers, or in some other Way which we know not; and what confirms my Conjecture, is, that *Pasiphae* was reckoned the Daughter of the *Sun*, as well as *Circe*, probably for no other Reason, but because she, like the other, was skilled in Simples, and the Composition of Poisons. This is what gave Rise to another Fable told by *Hyginus*, importing that it was *Venus* threw the Queen of *Crete* into the Disorder we have been describing, to be avenged of the Sun her Father, who had viewed too near, and so divulged her Commerce with the God *Mars*.

But since, in Fact, there never was such a Monster as the *Minotaur* of the Poets, and consequently the Fable which makes the *Athenian* Youth to have been exposed to it is without Foundation; what then became of those who were sent to *Crete*, in Consequence of the Treaty made with *Mēnos*, and of whom the Tax was three times paid (*a*)? *Philochorus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, says the King of *Crete* had instituted Funeral Games in Honour of *Androgeos*, wherein those unhappy Slaves were assigned as the Prize of the Conquerors. The first, according to the same Authors (*b*), who bore away all the Prizes there, was *Taurus*, a Man of an insolent and tyrannical Disposition, who was very harsh to those of the *Athenians* who were delivered up to him, which contributed not a little to the Fable we have explained, since it is certain that the *Greeks* never fought at those Games, nor were destroyed by the Cruelty of a Monster that never existed. *Aristotle* too informs us that they often grew old in their Thraldom, obliged to earn their Living by the most painful Drudgery (*c*). *Plutarch* adds, after this Philosopher, that those unhappy Wretches once made their Escape, and that having passed over into *Apulia*, they remained there for some Time, and went afterwards into *Thrace*, where they formed the

Republic

(*a*) *Ovid* says it was paid four Times.

(*b*) See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*.

(*c*) 'Tis *Plutarch* quotes the Republic of the *Beoticians* of that Philosopher; but this Work is not now extant.

Republic of the *Beoticians*. Their Daughters repeated from that Time on their Festival-days this short Burden of a Song : *Let us go to Athens*.

But waving this, *Theseus* at this Time having quitted his Residence at *Trezen*, where he had been bred up, offered to go to *Crete* with the other *Athenian* Youths, without even waiting to see if the Lots should favour him, as we learn from *Plutarch* (1), and *Catullus* (a), contrary to what we read in *Diodorus* (2), which seems more suitable to the Character of that Prince, who had undertaken to tread in the Steps of his Cousin *Hercules*. This young Heroe having obtained his Father's Permission, and the other Youths having cast Lots, prepared to set out for *Crete*. While the Ship was getting ready for their Transportation, a vast Number of Sacrifices were offered to propitiate the Gods (3); and *Theseus* being in the *Phalerean* Harbour, offered a solemn Vow to *Apollo*, as we read in *Macrobius* (4), after *Pherocydes*, promising to send every Year to the Island of *Delos*, to offer him a Sacrifice. We are further told, that this Prince having consulted the Oracle, was informed, that the Way to procure a favourable Voyage, was to take Love for his Guide; and upon this Response he sacrificed to that Divinity upon the Shore a She-goat, which was transformed into a He-goat; whence *Venus* got the Surname of *Epitragios* (5); and hence, according to *Pausanias* (6), came the Custom among the *Eleans*, of representing that Goddess sitting upon a He-goat.

After all the Ceremonies were over, *Theseus* set sail, and the Wind being favourable, he arrived at

K k 3

Crete

(1) In *Theseo*.

(a) *Nam perhibent olim crudeli peste Coactam
Androgeonææ pœnas exsolvere cœdis
Electos juvenes; simul & decus innuptarum
Cecropiam solitam esse dapem dare Minotauro:
Queis angusta malis cum mœnia vexarentur,
Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit, &c.* Catull. in Epith. Pelei & Thetidis.

Isocrates, in his Panegyric on *Helen*, says much the same Thing.

(2) L. 4. (3) *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*. (4) Lib. 1. Sat. c. 17. (5) *Plutarch* in *Theseo*. (6) In *Eliacis*.

Crete in a very short Time. The fine Address of this young Heroe soon drew upon him the Eyes of *Ariadne*, *Minos's* Daughter, who gave him a Clew, which he happily made use of to find his Way out of the Labyrinth after vanquishing the *Minotaur*, as we are told by *Ovid* (a) and *Catullus* (b), after all the Historians, who, as *Plutarch* observes, are in this unanimous with the Poets; namely, that *Ariadne* taught her Lover to vanquish *Taurus*, furnishing him with Arms; and by the Clew I reckon we are to understand the Draught and Plan of the Labyrinth which the Princess gave him, and whereof he made use to find his Way thence after his Encounter: And what confirms my Conjecture, *Eustatbius*, upon the first Book of the *Odyssey*, and *Lutatius*, upon the second *Thebaid*, informs us that *Ariadne* had received that Clew from *Dedalus* himself; which can only be understood of the Plan of the Labyrinth.

Philochorus in *Plutarch* relates in another Manner the History of this Combat, that antient Author alledging that *Theseus* encountered *Taurus* not in the Labyrinth, but in a public Place, where the Games were celebrated in Honour of *Androgeos*: And that this young Heroe, animated by the Presence of the fair *Ariadne*, defeated *Taurus*, which gave great Joy to all, even to *Minos* himself, who was thus rid of a formidable Rival. *Palephatus* still recedes more from the common Opinion. The Son of *Pasiphae* and *Taurus* making great Desolation in the Mountains to which *Minos* had confined him, this Prince, says he, sent all the *Atbenian* Slaves to combat with him; and *Theseus* having gone thither in his Turn, put him to Death with the Sword which his Mistress *Ariadne* had given him.

Lastly, *Pausanias* (1) says *Theseus* fought and defeated

(a) *Atque ope Virginea, nullis iterata priorum,*

Janua difficilis filo est inventa relicto. Ovid Met. l. 8.

(b) *Inde pedem victor multa cum laude reflexit*

Errabunda regens tenui vestigia filo.

Catull. Epithal. Pelei & Thetidis.

(1) In Corinth.

defeated *Asterion* the Son of *Minos*, a Prince of uncommon Strength and Courage, and that this Victory was the greatest Exploit of the *Athenian* Heroe. But the same Author, always too credulous, or who has not Courage to declare openly against the antient Fictions of the *Greeks*, speaking of the Picture which was at *Athens*, representing the Combat of *Theseus* with the *Minotaur*, adds: “ Whatever this was, “ whether a Man, or a Monster, as we are rather inclined to believe; and to say the Truth, we have “ heard of Women who brought forth Monsters still “ more extraordinary.”

Whatever be in that, there always remains in the Circumstances of this Story, some kind of Obscurity, which it is not easy to see through. For how is it that *Theseus* fought with *Taurus*, since, according to *Aristotle* (1) the *Athenians* did not fight in *Androgeos’s* Games, being reserved to be the Prize of the Conquerors? Shall we say that this Prince was distinguished upon account of his Rank, and that he went to *Crete*, as we are told by *Diodorus*, only upon Condition that if he was Conqueror he should deliver his Country from the Tribute which they paid to the King of *Crete*? But this will not quite solve the Difficulty. Was it out of the Labyrinth these Games were celebrated, as has been now said? In that Case what Occasion had *Theseus* for *Ariadne’s* Thread? Did *Minos* know that *Taurus* was his Rival? Was it not easier for him to take away his Life than to confine him in Prison? In fine, was it against the Son of *Pasiphae* and *Taurus*, whom *Apollodorus* names *Asterius*, that *Theseus* fought, and who at the Time of paying this fourth Tribute, must have been upwards of twenty-five Years? which *Ovid* seems plainly enough to insinuate (a). These are so many Difficulties which it is impossible to clear up.

K k 4

Theseus

(1) In Plutarch.

(a) *Creverat opprobrium generis, fœdumque patebat
Matris adulterium monstri novitate biformis;
Destinat hunc Minos thalamis remove pudorem,
Multiplic’que domo, cæcisque includere testis.* Met. l. 8.

Theseus, victorious over the *Minotaur*,
 The Sequel of *Theseus's* Adventure. departed from *Crete*, and carried along with him the beautiful *Ariadne*; but arriving in the Island of *Naxos* or *Dia*, he abandoned her, as we learn from *Diodorus*, *Catullus*, *Ovid* (a), and several other Authors. *Bacchus*, who met her upon the Shore, falling in love with her, married her, and made her a Present of a fine Crown, which was afterwards transformed into a Star. The young *Eglé*, if we may believe *Hesiod*, according to *Plutarch*, was the Occasion of *Theseus's* Inconstancy; but the Verse of that antient Poet where this was said, is not to be found in his Works: *Pisistratus*, according to the Historian *Herodotus*, having cancelled it for the Honour of the *Athenians*, thinking at the same time to cancel the Memory of the *Athenian* Heroe's Fallhood. *Plutarch*, however, is of Opinion that *Orpheus*, the Priest of *Bacchus*, ravished from him that young Princess; which afflicted him to such a Degree, that forgetting to hang out the white Flag, as his Father had enjoined him, that Prince seeing from the Top of a Rock, whither his Impatience had led him, his Son's Ship all in Mourning, believed he was dead, and in Despair threw himself down into the Sea. *Pausanias* adds (1) to this Story, that a Chapel was built to *Victory*, with a Statue without Wings, to figure that the News of the Victory which *Theseus* won over the *Minotaur*, had not arrived in due Time.

The *Greeks* gave out, that this Prince by his Death, had communicated the Name of *Egean* to the Sea which is near *Athens*; but *Bochart* confutes them, and shews it to have been from the Ruggedness of the Promontaries that this Sea took its Name, as much as

(a) *Dian*

Vela dedit. comitemque suam crudelis in illo

Littore æseruit. Met. l. 8.

Almost all the Antients are of this Opinion: *Diodorus*, l. 4. *Apollonius*, l. 4. of the *Argon.* *Lactantius*, l. 1. c. 10. *Alciphron*, Epistle of *Glycera* to *Menander*, *Nonnus Dion.* 47. *Catullus*, Epithal. *Thetidis & Pelei*, *Hygin.* Fab. 43, and *Pausanias* in his *Attics.*

(1) In *Attic.*

to say, *the Sea of Goats*, *mare capræ*, *ab asperitate pilorum capræ*; *comparatione ducta a capris* (1). There is also another Etymology given of this Denomination, which comes much to the same Sense; namely, that the Waves of this Sea frisk like Goats with every Breath of Wind.

I chose rather to follow this Tradition concerning *Ariadne* than that which represents *Theseus* as highly ungrateful: For what Probability is there, that if *Theseus* had really abandoned this young Princess by the basest of all Perfidiousness, *Deucalion*, after the Death of *Minos*, would have given him *Phedra* her other Sister in Marriage? Some Authors, I know, will have it, that he carried off the two Sisters at once, and that he brought only *Phedra* to *Athens*, having abandoned *Ariadne* in the Island of *Naxos*, where she hanged herself in Despair: But *Plutarch* justly refutes them, since this Princess lived long enough to have by *Onarus* several Children, among whom are reckoned *Oenopion* and *Staphilus*, whom some believe to be *Theseus's* Son.

Pausanias (2) delivers a Tradition of the *Argives*, which throws a new Obscurity upon all these Events; but these popular Traditions were founded only upon frivolous Conjectures. The *Argives* shewed *Ariadne's* Tomb; and what they delivered upon that Occasion was to this Effect. *Bacchus* having declared War upon them, came from the *Ægean* Islands with a great Number of Women; but he who then commanded the *Argive* Troops having cut them all off, they were buried in the very Place of Battle; and their Tomb was still called in the Time of *Pausanias*, *the Tomb of the Marines*. *Bacchus* afterwards made Peace with the *Argives*, and chose their City for *Ariadne's* Burying Place, near the Temple which they had raised to himself under the Name of *Bacchus Cretius*, or the *Cretan*. *Pausanias* adds, *Leuceus* wrote, that when that Temple was repaired, an Urn of Earth had been found there containing the Ashes of that Princess,

(1) Chan. l. 1. c. 15. (2) In Corinth. c. 22 & 23.

Princess, and that several *Argives* had seen that Urn.

In fine, *Homer* (1) follows another Tradition, and says it was *Diana* detained *Ariadne* in the Island of *Naxos*, upon *Bacchus's* Testimony : A Fiction which may be explained with a great deal of Probability, by saying, *Homer* designed thereby to intimate, that *Ariadne* died in that Island, either suddenly, or by an untimely Death.

We must not omit here, that *Ariadne's*
Fables about *Ariadne's* Crown.
 Crown, which I have transiently mentioned, gave Rise to several Fables : Let us trace them to their Source. *Theseus* had

taken along with him the young Slaves which were destined by Lot to follow him (a). The handsome *Peribæa*, who was of the Number, captivated *Minos's* Affection ; and that Prince having a Mind to take her into the Number of his Mistresses, *Theseus* opposed it, and resolved to protect the Innocence of the young Slave at the Hazard of his Life. *Pausanias* (2) and *Hyginus* add, that *Minos* on this Occasion loaded the *Athenian* Prince with many Reproaches, especially upon Account of his Birth, telling him that if he was the Son of *Neptune*, he would make no Difficulty to dive to the Bottom of the Sea for a Ring, which he threw into it to banter him. *Theseus*, stung with this Reproach, jump'd into the Sea, and some Dolphins having taken him upon their Backs, conveyed him to the Palace of *Amphitrite*, who delivered the Ring to him with a fine Crown, the Work of *Vulcan*, which he gave to *Ariadne*, and which was afterwards placed among the Stars, as we read in *Ovid* and *Manilius* (b).

Several

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Servius*, upon the sixth *Æneid*, has preserved their Names, tho' somewhat disfigured. Thus they are restored by *Meursius* in his *Theseus* ; the Names of the Youths were *Hippoforbas*, *Antimachus*, *Mnestheus*, *Phidochus*, *Demolion*, and *Periction* : The Virgins were *Medippe*, *Jesione*, *Andromache*, *Pimedusa*, *Europa*, *Melitta*, and *Peribæa*.

(2) In *Attic. Poet. Astron.* l. 6.

(b) *Protinus aspiciens, venienti nocte Coronam*

Grossæda, Thesea crimine facta Dea est. *Ovid. Fast.* l. 5.

Several other Fables are propagated as to this same Crown : *Hyginus* (1) alledges that it was by the sparkling of the Diamonds of which it was composed, that *Theseus* found his Way out of the Labyrinth ; which would imply that it was made up of precious Stones, though some Antients quoted by *Meursius* (2) tell us it consisted only of Flowers, reciting on this Occasion the Fable of the Nymph *Psalachas*, who had given it to *Bacchus*, on Condition that this God, with whom she was in Love, would gratify her Passion ; but being slighted by the God, upon his giving away the Crown to her Rival, she killed herself in Despair, and was transformed into a Plant of the same Name, as we are told by *Ptolomy Ephestion* in *Photius*; a Fable founded undoubtedly upon the Resemblance of that Nymph's Name to that of the Plant ; and in this there is no Difficulty. We cannot say the same as to the preceding Fiction ; for 'tis not agreed that it was *Theseus* but *Bacchus* himself, who gave the Crown to *Ariadne*. Farther, what could be intended by the Adventure of the Ring thrown into the Sea and recovered by *Theseus* ? I own I have nothing plausible to offer upon this Head. 'Tis impossible to explain all the Fables ; and this same, I presume, has no other Foundation but some Proof which *Theseus* gave *Minos*, to convince him that *Neptune* was really his Father.

From *Naxos*, *Theseus* went to *Delos* ; where he consecrated a Statue of *Venus*, made by *Dedalus's* Hand. As *Ariadne* had given it to him, he would carry nothing with him into *Greece*, which might revive the sad Remembrance of that unfortunate Princess (a). In the same Island, to perpetuate the Memory of his Victory over the *Minotaur*, *Theseus* instituted a kind

Gnossia desertæ fulgent monumenta puellæ.

- - - - - *Tollentur ab undis*

Clara Ariadnææ quondam monumenta Coronæ.

Manilius, l. 1. & 5.

(1) *Cœl. Astron.* l. 1. (2) In *Theseo*.

(a) *Aristotle*, l. 5. upon the *Soul*, says, this Statue was a Kind of *Automaton*, which moved of itself by Means of Quick-silver, which *Dedalus* had lodged in the Muscles that served it for Springs.

kind of Dance, named *the Crane* (1), wherein they imitated the Windings of the Labyrinth; and we are further told that our Heroe performed this Dance about that famous Altar which was made of the Horns of Animals. The Description given of this Dance by the Learned (a), proves that it bore a considerable Resemblance to our modern Country-Dances.

The first Thing *Theseus* did upon his Return to *Athens*, was to pay the last Duties to his Father; and in Gratitude to the Gods for the Success of his Voyage, he instituted in their Honour several Feasts, the Expence whereof was to be defrayed by the Families of those whom he had brought back from *Crete* (b). He also had a piece of Money coined, whereon was stamped the Figure of a Bull (c). But nothing so much signalized the Commemoration of this Event, as the Care that was taken afterwards to perform the Vow which he had made of sacrificing to *Apollo*. Accordingly they never failed to send every Year to *Delos* Deputies crowned with Olive-Branches; which Embassy was called *Theoria*, as you would say, *The Visitation of the God*. In this Voyage the same Ship was employed on which *Theseus* had embarked, and in the Preservation whereof so great Care was taken, that it was always in good Condition; which makes *Callimachus*

(1) *Dicearchus* in *Plutarch*.

(a) The following Description of it is given by *Scaliger*, Poet. l. 1. c. 18. *Plures erant simul, verum certis ordinibus utrinque a capitibus lecti duces, versus certos inter se subeuntes implicabant: eam Theseus ἡγεμεν vocavit tum ob aciem, tum propter commutationem certis legibus servatam.*

(b) The Principal of these Feasts was called *Κυβερνηρία*, quasi *Gubernatoria*, in Honour of his Pilots *Naufitheus* and *Pheacus*, who were of *Salamis*, to whom he raised a Monument in the *Phalerean* Harbour near *Sciron's* Tomb.

(c) Some Authors will have it that it was not so much in Allusion to his Combat in *Crete*, as to that in which he had slain the Bull of *Marathon*: Or perhaps by the Symbol of that Animal to incline the People to Agriculture. The *Romans*, as we learn from *Rosinus*, Antiq. Rom. l. 10. c. 5. and *Vossius*, de Idol. l. 3. c. 78. before the Time of *Cajus Marius*, bore upon their Ensigns the Figure of the *Minotaur*, especially in secret Expeditions, to teach the Soldiers religious Secrecy, as *Festus* remarks.

machus say in his Hymn to *Delos*, that it was immortal. In Fact, during the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, when that Poet flourished, that is, near a thousand Years after the Death of *Theseus*, this Ship was still subsisting, as also the Custom of sending it to *Delos*. From the Moment the High Priest began to purify the Vessel, no Prisoner was allowed to be put to Death at *Athens*.

Plutarch relates a pleasant Dispute between the *Greek* Philosophers in Relation to this Ship still renewed: Some alledging it was the same, and others that as there was not one Plank of the old one remaining, it was absolutely another. What Acuteness did it require to decide this Question?

But 'tis Time to resume the History of *Minos*, whence I was diverted by this necessary Digression.

After *Theseus's* Escape, the King of *Crete*, to be revenged on *Dædalus*, who had favoured the Queen's Amours, shut him up in the Labyrinth with his Son *Icarus*. As he knew all its Mazes, he found no great Difficulty to extricate himself; and having got a Ship which *Pasiphae* had provided for him, he fixed Sails to it (1), the Use whereof was not then known in *Greece*, as we learn from *Pausanias* and *Palephatus*, and by that Means outstripped *Minos's* Galley which pursued him with Oars. His Son *Icarus* (2) having arrived in an Island very remote from the Continent, and endeavouring to come ashore too precipitantly, fell into the Sea and was drowned; or not having Skill enough to manage his Barge, as we learn from *Pausanias* (3), perished near the Island of *Samos*. 'Tis well known how the Poets have veiled this Escape under the ingenious Fiction of Wings, whereof *Dædalus* is said to have invented the Use (a); and in what

(1) Diodorus, l. 5. & Hygin. Fab. 40. (2) Diod. loc. cit.

(3) In Beot.

(a) *Horace* thus speaks of them, Od. 1. 1.

*Expertus vacuum Dædalus æra
Pennis non homini datis.*

Virgil calls these Wings *Remigium alarum*; *Juvenal*, Sat. 1. and *Ovid*.

what Manner the young and enterprising *Icarus*, for not having followed the wise Counsel of his Father, who recommended to him not to soar too high, lest the Heat of the Sun should melt the Wax with which his Wings were fastened, while he himself flew near the Surface of the Water, or even took Care, as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks, to moisten his Wings from Time to Time, lest they should be overheated. But it is to be observed, that those Antients who say the *Icarian* Sea had taken its Name from the Son of *Dædalus*, among whom are *Diodorus* and *Ovid* :

- - - *Nomenque* - - - *traxit ab illo.*

And in another Place :

Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis.

are mistaken, since that Part of the *Ægean* Sea, which is near *Samos*, was so called upon Account of the Isle *Icaure*, which imports *Fishy*, in the *Phœnician* Language, as is observed by the learned *Bochart* (a).

Dædalus having arrived in *Sicily*, found at *Cocalus's* Court a Retreat, which other Princes had refused him, for Fear that *Minos*, who was very powerful by Sea, should come and demand him by Force of Arms (1); which accordingly happened : For that Prince after searching for him in several Places, got Information that he was in that Island, and arriving there in a little Time after, summoned *Cocalus* to a Surrender of his Prisoner. He being loath to violate the Laws of Hospitality, or rather, as *Diodorus* remarks (2), having no Mind to part with so celebrated a Person, and one who

Ovid, *Met.* l. 8. say the same. *Pausanias*, l. 9. explains this Fable as I have now said ; *Dædalus è Creta fugiens sibi & Icaro puero non magna ædificavit navigia, & vela quæ nondum ea ætate inventa fuerant navibus applicuit.* This is only to be understood of *Greece*, where this Invention, so antient among the *Phœnicians* and *Ægyptians*, was not yet known in the Time of *Minos*.

(a) Itaque ut Græce *Ichthiussa*, hoc est *piscosa*, a piscium ubertate, ita *Phœniciè* dicta est *I-caure*, insula piscium, unde Græcorum *ἰκαρὸς*, quomodo in *Sicilia Heccaure*, id est sinus piscium, factum sit *Hiccara*. *Bochart*, *Chan.* l. 1. c. 8.

(1) *Diod.* l. 4. (2) *Loc. cit.*

who had signalized himself in that Island by several fine Works, entreated *Minos* to come to *Camicus* to treat of the Affair in an amicable Manner. That Prince went thither, and at first was treated with all Manner of Civility ; but *Cocalus* having invited *Minos* to use the Bath, had him conveyed into a Bagnio, where he was suffocated with the Heat. This Account of his Death is given by *Diodorus* (1), and all the Antients.

According to *Hyginus*, *Conon*, quoted in *Photius* (2), *Pausanias* (3), *Eusebius* (4), *Zenobius* (5), and some others, it was *Cocalus's* own Daughters, who being charmed with the little Pieces of Clock-work which *Dedalus* made them for their Amusement, that put *Minos* to Death in the Bath ; and this needs not appear very strange, since of old the Daughters, even of Kings, put their Guests into the Bath, as we learn from *Athenæus* (6), who adds, that they performed their Part with so much Modesty, that the most rigid Virtue could not have taken Offence at it.

The King of *Sicily* having put the best Face he could upon this Death, delivered up the Body of *Minos* to his Soldiers, who interred it secretly ; and *Diodorus* remarks, that in order the better to conceal the Place of his Burial, they built over it a Temple to *Venus*, which became very famous. The same Author adds, that some Ages after, when they came to build near that Spot of Ground the Walls of the City *Agrigentum*, this Tomb was discovered, and after they had gathered up the Ashes of that Prince, they sent them to the Island of *Crete*. Thus died in a foreign Land *Minos* II. who would have had the Character of one of the greatest Princes of his Time, but for the Hatred of the tragic Poets, who omitted nothing that might render his Memory odious.

Socrates being interrogated why a Prince, whom *Homer* and *Hesiod* had praised, passed for a Tyrant (7) ?
answers,

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Narrat. 25. (3) In Achaic. (4) In Chron.
(5) Cent. 4. Proverb. 92. (6) L. 10. (7) *Plato's* Dialogue,
intituled *Minos*. I

answers, it was owing to his having waged War with *Athens*, and exacted that cruel Tribute which we have spoke of. This, says he, is the Source of all the evil Surmises that have been spread concerning him, tho', in other Respects, he was a Man of Probity; but we are to observe, that *Plato* and *Socrates* still confound the two *Minos's*, ascribing to the first what *Homer* says of the second.

Meursius, *Marsham*, and several others, are of Opinion that *Minos* II. was the Lawgiver and Judge of Hell; two Titles which I have taken from him, and assigned them to his Grandfather; and the Reasons which determined me to it are these.

First, 'Tis no Wonder that the Antients fell into this Mistake, since almost all of them have confounded the two Princes I have spoke of, as also their Adventures. As they knew but one *Minos*, they were obliged to make him Judge of Hell and Legislator, and the Subject of the Fables of the *Minotaur* (a). This was their Way as to all those who bore the same Name: They charged the History of the best known and commonly of the latest, with the Actions of all the rest: Of this the History of *Jupiter* of *Crete*, of *Theban Hercules*, and several others, are convincing Proofs. I know none but *Homer* and *Diodorus* who have distinguished the two *Minos's*; and the Verse in the *Greek* Poet is even very ambiguous (1): 'Tis hard to say, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked (b), whether he means that *Jupiter* was the first Father of *Minos*, or if he was the Father of *Minos* I. But let us take it in the most natural Sense; for tho' there were some Ambiguity in the Expression of this Poet, 'tis certain that he never designed to say what is inferred from the first Sense; and we shall see in the Sequel, that he makes the elder to have been the Legislator

(a) What contributed especially to make these two Princes be confounded, is, that there was none between them but *Lycastrus*, whose Reign had nothing in it remarkable.

(1) *Iliad*. l. 13.

(b) Remarks upon the third Book *ὅς πρῶτος Μινῶα τέκε*, not as *Eusebius* read it, *ὅς πρῶτον Μινῶα τέκε*.

gillator and Judge of Hell, since in the nineteenth Book of the *Odyssey* he calls him who had these two Titles the Son and Disciple of *Jupiter*; which cannot agree to *Minos* II, who is known to have had *Lycaſtus* for his Father. *Diodorus* indeed plainly diſtinguiſhes theſe two Princes; but he has not been ſo happy in diſtinguiſhing what belonged to each of them, ſince he makes the ſecond to have been the Legiſlator and infernal Judge. As he only compiles from the Antients, often without examining them, not remembering in the fifth Book what he had ſaid in the fourth, he aſſerts that *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon* were Brothers to *Minos* II. tho' he had expreſſy ſaid they were Brothers to the firſt.

But it will be ſaid, what Authority can be produced in ſupport of this Opinion? I may answer firſt, that in a Point of Criticiſm, which has not been thoroughly examined, there is no Neceſſity for the expreſs Teſtimony of the Antients; in that Caſe the Thing would be abſolutely decided; but if we can but find a reaſonable Probability, it is ſufficient to found an Opinion upon. Now I have more than Probability for my Hypotheſis. Is it to be thought that a Prince, who in his Youth made many Conqueſts over his Neighbours, and made himſelf Maſter of the Sea; who, in a more advanced Age, had to revenge by Force the Death of a Son, to puniſh the Falſhood of a Spouſe, to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of a Rival; to purſue a fugitive Priſoner, and who died a violent Death; is it to be thought, I ſay, that he had Time and Tranquillity enough to give Laws, to go into a Cave for the Space of nine Years, or every ninth Year to deviſe them at his Leiſure? To digeſt Laws ſo ſalutary as thoſe now in queſtion, requires a long Tract of Peace; whereas we find nothing but Broils and domeſtic Grievances in the Life of *Minos* II. Farther, would ever the *Greeks* have given the Character of a wiſe Lawgiver, and placed at the Head of the infernal Judges, a King whom they made it their Buſineſs to aſperſe and defame in their

Satyrs? Would their great Men have travelled to *Crete* to collect the Laws of a Prince whom they turned to Ridicule upon their Stages? Would they have associated with *Eacus* their great Heroe in Piety and Justice, a Man whom they reckoned a Tyrant, and the Persecuter of their Nation? But the Chronicle of *Paros*, which so plainly distinguishes these two Princes, a Work done by public Authority, which has been followed by the *Athenians*, not to mention other Nations who made the same Use of it, is it not equivalent to the Testimony of one at least, if not of several Historians? And is it not of much greater Antiquity than most of those who are quoted every Day for such Facts? 'Tis therefore the antient *Minos*, whose Wisdom and firm Attachment to Justice have been so much cried up, who is the Lawgiver and the infernal Judge. But an exact Comparison of these two Princes, founded upon the most authentic Testimonies of Antiquity, will undeniably settle their Distinction and Characters, so as to leave no Room for Mistake, or for alledging that this Distinction relies only upon bare Conjectures.

Minos I. was the Son of *Jupiter*, or rather of *Asterius* and *Europa*, according to all the Authors whom I have quoted (*a*). *Minos* II. was the Son of *Lycastrus* and *Ida*, the Daughter of *Corybas*, as we learn from *Diodorus*. The one had two Brothers, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*; the other was an only Son. The first, according to *Diodorus*, had only two Children, *Lycastrus* and *Acacallide*; the second, according to the same Author and *Plutarch*, had a greater Number, *Androgeos*, *Glaucus*, *Deucalion*, *Molus*, *Phedra*, and *Ariadne*. The Wife of the first was called *Ithone*, that of the second *Pasiphaë*; to this all are agreed. The one was a pacific Prince, a Lover of Justice and Retirement; the other loved War, made many Conquests, and his domestic Calamities left him not one Moment's Repose; for this Article I have a Cloud of

(*a*) *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, *St. Augustine*, *Strabo*, *Homer*, &c.

of Witnesses. The first, according to the eleventh Æra of the Marbles, lived in the Time of *Pandion* I. King of *Athens*; the other, according to the twentieth Æra, in the Time of *Egeus*. The one died, and was buried in *Crete*; the other ended his Days in *Sicily*. The one flourished 120 or 130, the other only 35 or 40 Years before the *Trojan* War. Would we desire more Marks of Distinction; and Characters more different? As to the first, the Method of Generations is the only one that now remains. There are four between *Minos* I. namely, *Lycaſtus*, *Minos* II. *Deucalion*, and *Idomeneus*; whereas we find only two from *Minos* II. to that Siege, at which his Grandson assisted. And let it not be said that the antient Generations are often curtailed; since it would be easy to answer, 1. That we have no other Rule for fixing those antient Dates but that of the Generations now remaining. 2. That we are not to recede from this Rule upon bare Possibility; since, by having Recourse to a perhaps, we may overthrow the whole History of that Age, and of all others too. 3. That the Distance which the Chronicle of *Paros* puts between these two Princes, perfectly agrees to the Number of Generations.

But not to insist on this, *Deucalion*, after the Death of his Father *Minos*, succeeded to the Crown, and left a Son named *Idomeneus*, who reigned after him, and distinguished himself at the Siege of *Troy*, as we read in *Homer*; but upon his Return he was forced to abandon his Kingdom, and to retire into *Italy*, where he founded the City *Salentum*, by reason of a Rebellion raised against him upon account of the rash Vow he had made in Time of a Storm, to sacrifice his only Son to the God of the Sea. The illustrious Author of *Telemachus* has treated this Article of that Prince's History in such a masterly Way as is enough to immortalize his Name.

If we may believe *Meursius*, *Deucalion* departed from *Crete*, and repaired to *Athens* to his Brother-in-law *Theseus*, where he spent the Remainder of his

Days. It was he, according to the same Author, that founded in Honour of *Olympian Jupiter* the famous Temple whereof *Pausanias* has left us a Description: But the most common Opinion among the Learned, is, that he remained in his Kingdom, and that the Temple in question was built by the antient *Deucalion*, under whose Reign happened the Deluge that goes by his Name. Be that as it will, here is the List of the Kings of *Crete* left us by *Meursius*.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Brother of *Cælus*; after him reigned *Cres*, *Ammon*, and *Jupiter II.* after whose Death there is a Void of three hundred Years, which this learned Author fills up with the Names of *Cecrops*, *Cydon*, *Preres*, &c. after whom we have from *Greece*, according to *Diodorus*, *Teuctamus*, who passed into that Island, where he founded a small Kingdom, which he left to his Son *Asterius*; then *Minos I.* *Lycastus*, *Minos II.* *Deucalion*, *Idomeneus*, and *Merion*. After the Death of this last, the Form of Government was changed into a Republic, which continued a considerable Time. The most antient People of that Island were the *Eteocretes* (1), the *Idæi Dactyli*, and the *Cu- retes*: But we must refer the Curious to the learned Treatise of that Author upon the Island of *Crete*. That Island always valued itself upon the Reign of *Minos*, as is confirmed by Medals: We find one of that Prince and *Pasiphaë* his Wife, in the second Volume of the *Thesaurus Britannicus*. Let us next say a few Words of *Phedra*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Phedra and Hippolitus.

AFTER the Death of *Minos II.* *Theseus* sent to ask of *Deucalion*, who had just come to the Crown, his Sister *Phedra* in Marriage; which he willingly granted, being then in League with the *Athenians*. But it was the Fate of the Blood of *Minos* to break the Repose of *Theseus*. This Princess had no sooner

(1) See *Diodorus*, l. 4.

sooner arrived at *Athens* than she fell in Love with young *Hippolitus*, whom *Theseus* had by the *Amazon Antiope*, and whom he brought up at *Trezen* with his Grandfather *Pithæus*. There it was that the young Queen saw him for the first Time in an Expedition, wherein *Theseus*, who wanted to be expiated by his Grandfather, took her along with him, and where a Passion was first kindled which proved fatal in its Effects. As she durst not declare it to her Lover, nor ask her Husband to bring *Hippolitus* to *Athens*, she thought fit to build a Temple to *Venus* upon a Mountain not far from *Trezen*, where, under Pretext of going to offer up her Vows to that Goddess, she had Access to see her Gallant perform his Exercises in the neighbouring Plain (*a*). At first she named this Temple *Hippolition*, and afterwards it was called the Temple of *Venus* the Spectatress (1): But this Expedient did not ease the unfortunate Lover; *Hippolitus* understood not, or feigned not to understand this dumb Language: She resolved therefore at last to declare her Passion to him, and her Declaration was ill received. Her Love encreasing from Day to Day, and *Hippolitus* growing still more cold and insensible, she hanged herself at last in Despair, taking the Opportunity of *Theseus's* Absence, whom *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus* detained Prisoner, as shall be said elsewhere. *Theseus* arriving not long after, and finding in the Hand of the unfortunate Princess a Letter, wherein she declared that *Hippolitus* attempted to dishonour her, and that Death was her only Refuge from that Disgrace, he sent in haste for that young Prince, to punish him with Death for this flagrant Insult. He, not knowing his Father's Purpose, made such Haste to arrive, that his Horses being overheated grew unmanageable; whereby his Chariot was broke in Pieces, and he himself drag'd along among the Rocks, where he died.

Some Authors contend (*b*) that *Hippolitus* arrived at
L 1 3
Athens,

(*a*) See *Ovid's* Epistle of *Phedra* to *Hippolitus*; *Meseriac* upon that Epistle; *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, *Plutarch*, &c.

(1) *Pausanias* in *Attic*.

(*b*) See *Meseriac*, on the Epistle of *Phedra* to *Hippolitus*.

Athens, whence his Father banished him, after loading him with Imprecations. They tell us further, that *Neptune*, to revenge *Theseus's* Disgrace, produced a Monster from the Sea, which so affrighted the Horses, that they dragged *Hippolitus* among the Rocks, where he was bruised to Death in the Manner that *Ovid* describes (1). What I take to be the true Account is, that this Prince, in his great Distress and Agony of Mind, not giving Heed to the Management of his Horses, was unhappily overturned in his Chariot. There appeared in *Italy* in the Time of *Numa Pompilius* a false *Hippolitus*, who would needs pass for the Son of *Theseus*: He dwelt, as we learn from *Ovid*, in the Forest of *Aricia*, and assumed the Name of *Virbius*, as much as to say, *Twice a Man*, giving out that *Esculapius* had raised him again to Life; but the *Athenians*, who had seen the true *Hippolitus* perish, gave no Faith to this Impostor.

To proceed: *Hippolitus* was worshipped as a God at *Trezen*, in a Temple built by *Diomedes*, who first paid divine Honours to this Prince, as we learn from *Pausanias*. The Priest who had the Charge of his Worship, had it for Life; and the Festival of this God was celebrated every Year. Among the other Ceremonies that were there performed, the young Women before Marriage cut off their Hair, and consecrated it in his Temple. The *Trezenians*, adds the same Author, did not allow that the Death of *Hippolitus* was owing to his being dragged along by his Horses; on the contrary, they would have it believed that the Gods had carried him up into Heaven among the Constellations, where he forms that which is named the *Charioteer*.

To conclude. 'Tis surprizing that *Plutarch*, who wrote at very great Length the History of *Theseus*, should make no Mention of this Adventure. Perhaps he designed thereby to cover his Heroe's Disgrace; but he relates other Stories of him which are not much more to his Honour; such as the Rape of *Helen*,

(1) Met. l. 15.

Helen, and also the Project of ravishing for his Friend *Pirithous*, the Daughter, or the Wife of *Aidoneus*, &c. It may be said that this is an Invention of the tragic Poets, who brought him upon the Stage. But authentic Monuments confirm it, and the Temple of *Venus* but now mentioned, was a living Proof of it. Besides, the Memory of *Theseus* was too dear to the *Athenians*, for them to invent a Story of their Heroe so much to his Dishonour.

A high Evidence of their Respect for him is, that so soon as his Bones were found, which the Oracle ordered the *Athenians* to search after in the Place where he died, they were carried to *Athens*, and a Temple was built to his Honour, which became a Sanctuary of the highest Veneration. It was even believed, that the Victory at *Marathon* was owing to him, where it was given out that he had appeared in the Army of the *Greeks*, and fought for them.

'Tis to be observed that *Plutarch* has not wrote this Heroe's Life with all the Care that was requisite. And indeed we find there several Omissions, as may be seen by comparing it with the Accounts of him which the learned *Meursius* has collected (1) ; and not only so, but manifest Contradictions, especially as to the Expedition to *Colchis*, as we remark upon another Occasion : Lastly, Repetitions, great Confusion in the Arrangement of the Facts : In a Word, whatever good Opinion we may have of the Author in general, we can only consider this Life as a very imperfect Collection.

C H A P. X.

The History of Dedalus, and of the Labyrinth of Crete.

D*edalus* (*a*), the Son of *Hymetion*, Grandson of *Eupolemus*, and Great Grandson of *Eretheus*
L 1 4
King

(1) In *Theseo*.

(*a*) *Diodorus*, l. 4. *Pausanias*, l. 7. *Pliny*, l. 7. *Ovid Met.* l. 8, &c.

King of *Athens* (a), was without Controversy the most skilful Artist that *Greece* ever produced ; an able Architect, an ingenious Statuary, who invented several Instruments in these two Arts, such as the Hatchet, the Level, the Whimble, &c. as we learn from *Pliny*. To him also is ascribed the Glory of having been the first that made Sail-yards for Ships, and made use of Sails instead of Oars ; but nothing signalized him so much as the Art of making Statues, wherein he succeeded so well, that they were said to be animated, to see and walk : A Fable whose Foundation is not what *Aristotle* alledges (b), that he made Pieces of Clock-work that walked by means of Quick-silver which he put within them, but that before him the Statues of the *Greeks* were extremely rude, without Eyes, Arms and Legs ; they were nothing but shapeless Blocks of Stone, as are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. *Dedalus*, as we learn from *Suidas*, *Themistius*, and *Palephatus*, made them Faces according to the Life, formed Arms to them, and separated their Legs, which made him be universally admired (b) : But his Misfortunes, as is remarked by *Pausanias* (1) and *Diodorus* (2), made him as famous afterwards as his fine Works. He had taken great Care of the Education of one of his Nephews named *Talus*, his Sister *Perdix*'s Son ; and this young Man made such Proficiency in a short Time, under so able a Master, that he likewise invented several very useful Instruments. The first, which

(a) Eustathius in *Iliad* 5. Solin. cap. 11. are of Opinion that *Dedalus* was of the Island of *Crete*, probably led into this Error by his having dwelt there a long Time. *Ausonius* has fallen into the same Mistake, since he calls *Dedalus*, *Gortinius Aliger*, and in his 12. *Idyll.* he thus speaks of him :

Præpetibus pennis super aera vectus homo Cres.

(b) Lib. 1. *de anima*, c. 42. He says, after one *Philip*, that *Dedalus* made a Statue of *Venus* that walked by Means of Quick-silver. He says the same Thing, lib. 1. *Pol.* c. 4. *Hesychius*, *Lucian*, *Dion Chrysostom*, Or. 36. are of the same Mind.

(c) *Pausanias*, l. 9 seems to think that *Dedalus* was so called from his having excelled in the Art of making Wooden Statues, which were then denominated *Δαίδαλα*.

(1) Loc. cit. (2) L. 4.

which was his Essay Piece (1), was a Wheel such as Potters make use of. Next, having found a Serpent's Jaw-bone, and made use of it to cut a small Piece of Wood, he tried to imitate in Iron the Ruggedness of that Animal's Teeth, and thus he communicated to People of his Profession the Saw, which is one of the most useful of their Instruments. In fine, from him is derived the Turning-wheel, and a Number of other Inventions, which are of vast Use in Mechanics.

Two Inventions so useful, raised *Dedalus's* Jealousy, and lest his Reputation should one Day be eclipsed by that of his Nephew, he put him secretly to Death; but having told one of his Friends that he had been burying a Serpent, his Crime was thereby detected, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, who observes, that the same Animal which had given that young Man occasion to invent the Saw, the Object of his Uncle's Jealousy, served also to detect the Author of his Death. *Ovid* feigns, that he had thrown him down from the Top of *Minerva's* Citadel (*a*), and that this Goddess, the Patroness of fine Arts, had transformed him into the Partridge, a Fable founded upon the Conformity between the Name of *Perdix*, *Talus's* Mother, and of that Fowl (*b*).

If we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (2), and *Apollodorus*, the *Areopagus* of *Athens* condemned *Dedalus* to Death; but *Servius* says, it was only to perpetual Banishment. Be that as it will, this Murder having provoked the general Indignation against him, *Dedalus* secretly withdrew from *Athens*, and retired into the Island of *Crete*, where *Minos*, overjoyed to have a
Man

(1) Diod. l. 4.

(a) *Servius* upon the sixth *Æneid*, v. 14. favours this Tradition concerning the Death of this young Man, whom he with *Ovid* and *Hyginus* names *Perdix*; but *Diodorus* and *Suidas* call him *Talus*.

(b) *Dædalus invidit, sacraque ex arce Minervæ
Præcipitem mittit, lapsumque . . . at illum
Quæ favet ingeniis excepit Pallas, avemque
Reddidit, &c.* *Ovid. Met.* l. 8.

(2) L. 4.

Man so celebrated, gave him a very favourable Reception. It was during his Retreat in that Island, he built in the City *Gnossus* the famous Labyrinth that has been so much talked of.

By the Word *Labyrinth*, we are to understand a kind of Edifice full of Chambers and Avenues, disposed in such a Manner that you enter from one into another, without being able to trace your Way out again, which *Virgil*, *Catullus*, and *Ovid* express very happily (a).

Pliny alledges (b), that *Dedalus* had travelled into *Egypt*, and that he had there taken the Model of that famous Labyrinth, which has been reckoned one of the Wonders of the World (1), but had imitated only that Part of it which respects the Cells and winding Alleys, that is, but the hundredth Part. To prove that *Dedalus* had been in *Egypt*, several Monuments were cited, which were said to be his; and they even added, that the Inhabitants of *Memphis* had erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and had worshipped him as a Divinity after his Death. The Labyrinth of *Crete* was intirely destroyed when *Pliny* wrote this Passage, and that of *Egypt* was almost entire, a great Part of which is subsisting at this very Day, as we learn from all the Travellers (c). According to *Philochorus* cited by *Plutarch* (2), the Labyrinth

(a) *Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, quæ signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus & irremeabilis error.* Æn. l. 5.

*Nec Labyrinthi è flexibus egredientem
Tecti frustraretur & inobservabilis error.* Catul. Carm. 4.

*Dædalus ingenio fabræ celeberrimus artis,
Ponit opus, turbatque notas & lumina, flexum
Ducit in errorem variarum ambage viarum.* Ovid. Met. l. 8.

(b) L. 36. c. 13. He calls the Labyrinth of *Egypt*; *Potentissimum humani ingenii opus*.

(1) See *Herodotus*, l. 2. c. 148.

(c) The Reader may consult the Description of the Labyrinth of *Egypt*, in one of my Dissertations, printed in the 5th Vol. of the Acad. of the *Belles-Lettres*. *Crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursum, redeundumque in errores eosdem.* *Plin. ibid.*

(2) Life of *Theseus*.

byrinth of *Crete* was only a Prison in which Criminals were confined, and whereof *Dedalus* had given the Plan: *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus* speak of it only as of a Cave, wherein were a great many Windings, and where Art had a little assisted Nature. In fine, according to some Authors (*a*), there never was in *Crete* any other Labyrinth, but the Quarries which *Minos* had dug in Mount *Ida*, when he built the City *Gnos-fus*, whereof, according to *Strabo*, he was the Founder, and which resemble pretty much, says *Bellon* who has visited them, a kind of Labyrinth, by the several Paths they had been obliged to make therein.

M. de Tournefort (1), a Man no less ingenious than accurate in his Researches, having visited this so much celebrated Place, says it is a subterraneous Apartment, after the Manner of a Screw, which by a thousand Mazes that turn every Way inward, and without any Separation, occupy the whole Inside of a Hill at the Foot of Mount *Ida* towards the South, about three Miles from the Ruins of *Gortyna*. The curious Traveller, after having visited its Mazes, convinced those who were with him, that there was nothing in it to prove it had been a Quarry, as *Bellon* imagined. And indeed where is the Probability that they would have sought after Stones of a very bad Quality in the Bottom of an Alley of a thousand Paces deep, intersected by a Number of other Alleys, where they were in Danger of losing themselves every Moment? How could the Stones be conveyed into a Place which is in the Middle of the great Alley, where one must creep along the Ground for upwards of a hundred Paces? Besides the Mountain is so rugged, that there is Difficulty to get up to it on Horseback. 'Tis therefore more probable, continues this Author, that the Labyrinth is a natural Conduit, which some curious Prince formerly took Pleasure in rendring accessible, by enlarging the narrower Passages. Perhaps the Place which is still so low was not touched, that

Poste-

(a) *Huetius* misled by *Bellon* and some other Moderns.

(1) Voyage to the Levant, T. 1. p. 67. & seq.

Posterity might see how Nature herself had disposed this Cavern : For the Maze is equally beautiful throughout.

But notwithstanding these Authorities, I am of Opinion that there was once in *Crete* an Edifice built by *Dedalus* named the *Labyrinth*, which Time has destroyed, though it was neither so sumptuous nor so durable as that of *Egypt*, wherein so many Kings had bestowed their Labours. Almost all the Antients are of this Opinion, *Apollodorus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and *Pliny* (a), besides the Poets whom we have named ; and what is still more decisive, we find Medals of the City of *Gnossus*, whereon the *Labyrinth* is represented. We have even an *Antique*, containing the Plan of this Work, in the Middle of which appears the *Minotaur* (1).

But not to insist, *Dedalus* being forced to depart from *Crete*, as has been said, retired into *Sicily*, where he probably spent the rest of his Days, tho' neither the Time nor Manner of his Death is known. This ingenious Man, as an Acknowledgment for the Obligations he owed to *Cocalus*, applied himself to several Works, whose Magnificence corresponded to their Usefulness. First of all he dug that great Canal into which was conveyed the River *Alabas*, called at this Day *Cantera*, and also built upon a Rock, near the Place where the Town of *Agrigentum* stood, a very strong Citadel, and made the Avenues to it so strait and so oblique, that three or four Men are sufficient to guard them : A Situation so happy that *Cocalus* made it his Palace, and laid up his Riches there. He also dug near *Megaritis* a Fish-pond, through which the River *Alabas* discharges itself into the Sea. For the Convenience of the Sick, who cannot frequent public Bagnios, he wrought at a Cavern in the Territory of *Selinus*, where he disposed with so much Art and Success the Steams of the subterraneous Fires, that those
who

(a) *Pliny* mentions also two other Labyrinths, one in *Tuscany* and the other at *Lemnos*.

(1) See *Montfaucon's Antiquities*, Vol. 1.

who entered into it found themselves gradually provoked to a gentle Sweat, whereby they were insensibly cured, without even being exposed to the Inconvenience of the Heat.

Mount *Eryx* was so steep that the Houses built about the Temple of *Venus*, which were upon the Top, appeared every Moment ready to fall. *Dedalus* enlarged the Top of it, and inclosed it with a good Wall. He also dedicated to *Venus Erycina* a golden Heifer, which resembled the Life so much that it seemed to exceed the Power of Art. He also made in the same Country, as we learn from *Diodorus*, several other Works which Time has destroyed.

There were also in several other Places Monuments of *Dedalus's* Art: *Pausanias* speaks of them in several Places; but I presume we are to judge of the Works of this ingenious Artist, as of the Labours of *Hercules*, which every one was proud to imitate, and put down to that Hero's Account (a). *Dedalus* formed a Scholar who was almost as ingenious as himself, whom *Pausanias* names *Endocus*: Faithful to his Master, he did not desert him in his Disgrace, but followed him every where. The same Author adds, that *Minerva* sitting as she was represented in the Citadel of *Athens*, was the Work of this *Endocus*, and *Critias* was he who consecrated it.

C H A P. XI.

The War of the Centaurs and Lapithæ: Ixion, and Pirithous.

NOT many Years after the Events now related, there happened in *Thessaly* a Contest which gave Rise to a bloody War, wherein almost all the Heroes of that Time signalized themselves. This was the War

(a) Some of them have even been confounded with those of another *Dedalus*, an ingenious Statuary of *Sicyon*, who also made fine Works, whereof you may see the List in the same *Pausanias*. For the Story of *Dedalus* the Reader may consult the Dissertation of the Abbé *Gedouyn*, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres*, Tom. VIII.

(1) *Pausan.* in *Atticis*.

War between the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, two People, of whom the former was quite extirpated, or at least entirely dispersed by the Valour of *Hercules*. But in order fully to understand the History of this War, to which the Marriage of *Pirithous* gave Rise, 'tis necessary in the first Place to give some Account of that Prince, the Son of *Ixion*, *Jupiter*'s Rival, whom the poetical Fables have rendered exceedingly famous.

First, we find in his Genealogy, as in all those of that Age, so many Contradictions, that we may easily judge the Annals of the Heroic Age to have been very uncertain. *Hyginus* will have it that *Ixion* owed his Original to one *Leontus*, whose History he knows not. *Euripides* says he was the Son of *Phlegyas*; this was probably that King of *Phocis* who was condemned to *Tartarus*, for having burnt the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Some Authors make him descended from *Jupiter* or *Mars*. *Eschiles*, and after him *Diodorus*, give him *Antion* for his Father. This Variety of Sentiments proves perhaps that there were several Princes of this Name; but as they were but little known, their Adventures were all united in the Person of him whose Fable I am going to explain. Let us begin with his Genealogy as it is in *Diodorus Siculus*, who makes it clearer than any other.

Of all the Children of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, says that Author, one of the most famous was *Peneus*, who gave his Name to a River in *Thessaly*. This Prince married *Creusa*, by whom he had *Ipheus*, and a Daughter named *Stilbia*. *Apollo* had by this Princess *Centaurus* and *Lapithus*. The latter had by his Wife *Eurionne*, *Arsmus*'s Widow, two Sons, *Phorbas* and *Periphas*, and having chosen for his Residence the Confiner of the River *Peneus*, had the Command of the People afterwards called by his Name. *Phorbas* his eldest Son succeeded him; but after his Death *Periphas* his Brother got the Crown, and having married *Astiage*, the Daughter of *Ipheus*, had by her several Children, of whom *Antion* was the most noted for
having

having given Birth to *Ixion* (a). He after the Death of his Father, who reigned over a Part of *Thessaly*, ascended the Throne, and fixed his Residence at *Larissa* in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Pelion*. *Ixion* having married *Clia*, or *Dia*, the Daughter of *Eioné*, or *Deioné*, by whom he had *Piritbous*, fell out with his Father-in-Law, upon the following Occasion. The Custom of the Ancients in their Marriages was quite different from that of the Age wherein we live : Large Gratifications were given to the young Ladies whom they were to marry, and even to their Parents, whereas it is very rare now-a-days for one to marry a Woman without a Portion. *Homer* and several others, mention this Custom, and would to God it were still in Fashion : How many young Women who groan under the Yoke of involuntary Celibacy, would find Husbands to make them happy, did not the Avarice of those Husbands reduce them to the Calamities wherein *Ixion* was involved.

His Father-in-Law having often solicited him to fulfil the Promises he had made him at marrying his Daughter, and finding that he did but amuse him with fair Words, carried off his Mares one Day as they were feeding in the Field. *Ixion* stung to the Quick with this Affront, feigned a Willingness to enter into an Accommodation with him, and invited him to a Feast. *Deioneus* repaired to *Larissa*, and there was received with vast Magnificence ; but *Ixion* having dug a Ditch at the Door of the Banquetting Hall, into which he had thrown a great deal of Wood and burning Coals, *Deioneus*, whom he honoured with the Precedence, fell into it and lost his Life. This Crime moved universal Abhorrence, and as it was without a Precedent, there was no Formulary for expiating it. In vain did *Ixion* solicit all the Princes of *Greece*, no body would so much as give him the Rights of Hospitality, and he wandered a long Time without finding any Sanctuary.

Here begin the Fables of the Poets, for the Events
of

(a) His Mother was named *Melate*; the Daughter of *Amithonus*.

of those Heroic Times are always wrapped up in Fictions. They tell us therefore that this Prince (*a*) abandoned in this Manner by all the World, had Recourse to *Jupiter*, who took Pity upon him, received him into Heaven, and permitted him to eat at the Table of the Gods. So signal a Favour served only to work upon his Ingratitude and Presumption. *Ixion* captivated with the Charms of the Queen of Heaven, had the Insolence to make Love to her. The virtuous *Juno* provoked with that Prince's Presumption, went immediately and informed *Jupiter* of it, who thought at first it was a Snare she laid for him against *Ixion*, who passed for his Son. He knew how fatal her Resentment had been to *Calisto*, to the young *Arcas*, and others; so that before he made any Noise about it, he was willing to inform himself better in an Affair which so nearly concerned his Honour. To bring this about the more effectually, he formed a Cloud into a Phantom which perfectly resembled *Juno*, and ordered the Goddess to make a particular Assignment with him, which *Ixion* having punctually kept, let *Jupiter* know that he wanted not good Will to rub the same Affront upon the Father of the Gods, he had offered to other Husbands. *Jupiter*, who was not rigidly severe on this Head, and finding the Thing was quite a Secret, had Pity on the Fool whom Nectar and Ambrosia had a little disordered, and contented himself with dismissing him from the Court of Heaven, and degrading him again to the Earth. But *Jupiter* seeing him afterwards make his Boast every where that he had dishonoured him, launched a Thunder-bolt at his Head, and hurled him headlong into *Tartarus*, where he ordered *Mercury* to bind him to a Wheel surrounded with Serpents, which he was doomed to turn without Intermission.

Thus the Poets have represented this Event, which it is easy to disentangle from the fabulous Circumstances which accompany it. Most Princes of old assumed the Name of *Jupiter*; it was almost synonymous with that

(*a*) V. Ovid. Met. l. 6. Virg. Æn. l. 6. Hygin. Fab. 68. &c.

that of King, as we have proved in the Article of *Jupiter* (1). The Queens their Consorts were denominated *Juno*, their Court was Heaven, and their Tables where sat the Princes their Sons, were the Tables of the Gods. Thus it is obvious that this Fable was designed to inform us, that some Prince, surnamed *Jupiter*, vouchsafed to shew the King of the *Lapithæ* the Hospitality which all his Neighbours denied him; and that while he thought to have expiated him from his Crime, the ungrateful Prince fell in Love with his Queen, in whose Place the Husband, to be sure of the Presumption of his Guest, substituted a Slave. Upon his making his Boast afterwards of having been intimate with the Queen, the King banished him from his Court, and from that Time he led a very forlorn and unhappy Life, hated and despised by all the World.

The Punishment of this Prince is only an ingenious Allegory expressive of his Character. By the Serpents wreathed about the Wheel,

Tortosque Ixionis angues (2).

we are given to understand the Stings of his Conscience, wounded with Remorse for a foul and hideous Crime. By the eternal Revolution of the Wheel (a), the continual Vexation in which this Prince lived ever since his Parricide, seeking every where for Rest which he could not enjoy, and finding daily new Motives in his own Breast urging him to fly from himself.

Volvitur Ixion, & se refugitque fugitque (3).

When *Proserpine* made her Entry into the Kingdom of *Pluto*, this unhappy Prince was unchained for the first Time :

*Non rota suspensum præceps Ixiona torquet
Solvitur Ixion, &c.*

VOL. III.

M m

The

(1) Vol. III. B. 1. (2) Virg. Georg. l. 1.

(a) *Illic Junonem tentare Ixionis ausi*

Versantur celeri noxia membra rota. Tibul. Eleg. 3. l. 2.

(3) Ovid. Met. l. 4.

The Punishment of *Ixion* puts me in mind, to mention this transiently, of a Thing very singular, which *Lampridius* relates of the Emperor *Heliogabalus*. This Prince called the Parasites his *Ixions*, and ordering them to be fastened to one of those Wheels which are used in drawing Water, *rota aquaria*, which was turned about before him with vast Rapidity, he took a singular Pleasure in seeing them sometimes suspended in the Air, sometimes sunk in the Water (*a*).

To proceed, we know not the true Name of the Prince who expiated *Ixion*; for little Regard will be had to the Opinion of *Tzetzes* (1), who calls him *Pharæb*, without telling us upon what Authority, that Name being scarcely known in *Greece*. We are also ignorant what were the other Adventures of this Prince, and in what Manner he died: Perhaps a Thunder-Bolt put an End to his Days, and gave a Handle to say, that *Jupiter* had thus thrown him down into *Tartarus*; for it was a current Tradition in those Times, that they who had once tasted the Nectar of the Gods, were not capable of dying but by a Clap of Thunder. The *Æra* of this Prince's Reign is easily found out; *Eusebius* places it in the Time of *Ægeus* King of *Athens*, and of *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, Kings of *Mycenæ*; that is, two Generations, or 60 Years before the Siege of *Troy*, in the Year 1240 before *Christ*; and this Date seems sufficiently proved, since *Pirithous*, his Son, was contemporary with *Theseus*, and *Polypetes*, his Grandson, commanded the *Lapithæ*, according to *Homer*, while the *Greeks* were besieging that City. We must take Care not to confound this *Ixion* with another Prince of that Name, of the Blood of the *Heraclide*, who reigned at *Corinth* after the Death of his Father *Aletes* for 57 Years, according to *Eusebius*, or in *Syncellus's* Reckoning but 37.

Of the Commerce between *Ixion* and the Cloud which

(a) Parasitos ad rectam aquariam ligabat, & cum vertigine sub aquas mittebat, rursusque in summum revolvebat, eosque Ixionios amicos vocavit

(1) Chil. 7. hist. 99.

which *Jupiter* substituted in *Juno's* Place, were born the *Centaurs*, those Monsters, half Men and half Horses, so celebrated in the History of the Age now in Question, though *Pindar*, who had followed another Tradition, says they were the Sons of *Iperphialus*, who was the Issue of that Intrigue.

Diodorus Siculus, *Hyginus*, and several other Antients speak of those Monsters as a Thing that might have happened in the Course of Nature. Fabulous History made Mention of some parallel Productions; and it was under this Form that *Chiron* was the Offspring of *Saturn's* Amour with *Phillyra*, whom that God, to conceal his Intrigue from his Wife *Rhea*, had debauched by transforming himself into a Horse (a). But what is more singular, natural History furnishes us with several Examples thereof.

Plutarch, in his Banquet of the seven wise Men, tells us, that *Periander*, the King of *Corinth*, had been shewn a young *Centaur*, whom a Mare had brought forth; which so much startled the whole Court, that it was thought necessary to use Means of appeasing the incensed Gods. Every one knows what the Philosopher *Thales* replied upon that Occasion. *Pliny* affirms, that he had seen a *Hippocentaur*, which was brought from *Egypt* to *Rome* under the Reign of *Claudius*, embalmed in Honey, after the Manner of those Times (b); and this History is confirmed by *Phlegon* of *Tralles* (1), and some other Authors.

Saint *Jerom* gives the Description of the *Hippocentaur* which Saint *Anthony* met in the Desert, when he was going to see St. *Paul* the Hermit: It was probably of the Race of that one which *Pliny* mentions, since it was from the same Country (c). This holy Doctor adds that it might be one of those Monsters which A-

M m 2

frica

(a) *Saturnus equo geminum Chirona creavit.* Ovid. Met. 1. 6.

(b) *Claudius Cæsar scribit Hippocentaurum in Thessalia natum, eodem die interiisse; & nos principatu ejus allatum illi ex Ægypto in melle vidimus.* L. 7. c. 3.

(1) De Mirab. c. 34 & 35.

(c) Comperit hominem equo mixtum, cui opinio Poetarum Hippocentauro vocabulum indidit. In vita S. Antonii.

frica often produces. He even distinguishes elsewhere the Monsters that are sometimes seen, such as the *Centaur*s, from the fabulous ones, such as never had an Existence, as the *Hydra*, the *Chimera* (a) ; and 'tis certain that *Isaiab* speaks of the *Onocentaur*s, whom *Eliau* reckons real Animals (1).

But as these monstrous Productions, if such sometimes happen, are only a kind of Abortions that never live, and the Poets and Historians mention a People who had the Name of *Centaur*s, we must reckon all that we have now related, as well as what *Philostratus* and *Lucian* say upon this Subject, the one in his Picture of the young *Centaur*s, the other in his fine Description of the Picture of *Zeuxis* ; we must, I say, reckon all this with *Rabelais* among the Beings that never subsisted out of the Country of *Tapistry*. *Lucretius* is of the same Mind :

*Sed neque Centauri fuerunt, neque tempore in ullo
Esse queat duplici natura & corpore bino
Ex alieni generis membris compacta potestas.*

Gallien, who lived not long after *Pblegon*, and who doubtless must have seen, or informed himself by conversing with Philosophers about the anatomical Representation of the *Centaur* sent to the Emperor *Claudius*, denies absolutely the Existence of those Sorts of Monsters (2). Thus 'tis necessary to enquire into the Origin of the historical *Centaur*s.

Under the Reign of *Ixion*, says *Palephatus* (3), certain Bulls that were feeding upon Mount *Pelion*, turned mad, and occasioned great Desolation in the Country, falling equally upon Men and Cattle. The King of *Thessaly* to get rid of them, published through all his Empire, that he would give a considerable Sum of Money to those who should kill the Bulls. Some
young

(a) Multa in orbe monstra generata sunt, Centauros & Sirenas in *Isaia* legimus ; Chimeram, atque Hydram multorum capitum narrant fabulae Poetarum. Contra *Virgilium*.

(1) De Animal. l. 17. c. 9. (2) De usu partium. 3. c. 1.
(3) De reb. incred.

young People having taken it into their Heads to break Horses, an Exercise then unknown in Greece, where only Chariots had been in Use, undertook to hunt down those Bulls ; and having set about the Pursuit of them, shot at them with Darts as they were flying, and as they turned upon them fled into Places of Shelter where they were secure from their Attacks. Hence they got the Name of *Centaurs*, compounded of two Greek Words, *Κεντεῖν* and *Ταυρὸς*, that is, *to transfix Bulls*.

When these new Horsemen, adds the same Author, had received the Reward which the King had promised them, they grew haughty and insolent, and made several Inroads into the Country, pillaging all that came in their Way. It was ordinarily by Night that they made a Descent into the Plain, and retired in the Morning to the Mountains. As nothing of them was seen when they fled but the Tail of the Horse and the Head of the Rider, they seemed to be but one Animal : hence came the Fable, that those *Centaurs* were half Men and half Horses, whence they got the Name of *Hippocentaurs*. Again they were said to be the Offspring of a Cloud, because they were mostly from a Village named *Nepbelé*, *Νεφελή*, which signifies *a Cloud*.

This Explication of *Palephatus* seems a little adapted to the Theatre; for not to insist on those mad Bulls, whereof no other Author makes Mention, nor yet of the Village of *Thessaly*, named *Nepbelé*, unknown to all the Antients, and which appears a mere Fiction, is it probable that People on Horseback would be taken for Monsters whether they were seen flying, as this Author alledges, or when they led their Horses to drink in the River *Peneus*, as it is in *Servius* ? and though People had even been thus mistaken at first, as *Hertera* (a) relates of some Savages of *America*, who took our Riders for a kind of *Centaurs*, would they not have been soon undeceived, and the Fable soon have lost all Credit ?

Isaac Tzetzes who was not pleased with *Palephatus's* Explanation, passes a very harsh Censure upon it, and

M m 3

endeavours

(a) The History of the Conquest of the *West-Indies*.

endeavours to turn it into Ridicule; but in Truth what he himself says upon the Subject is still less probable. For who will believe the Rise of the Fable of the *Centaurs* to have been, that the Slave whom *Jupiter Pharaob*, as he calls him, substituted in Place of his Queen, was denominated *Aura*? Which made it be said that it was a Cloud, and that the young *Imbrus*, who was the Production of this Embrace, was surnamed by Way of Derision *Centaurus*, as if the Expression had been intended to intimate that *Ixion* in his pretended Commerce with *Aura* had given her a pungent Wound, which is the Sense of the Verses made against *Palephatus* upon this Subject; a Piece of low and comic Wit, which bears no Stamp of Antiquity. Besides this Explication informs us not why the *Centaurs* were taken for Monsters compounded of Man and Horse; and it was not worth while to criticise an antient Author, only in order to substitute in the Room of his Explanation a poor Etymology of his own.

M. *le Clerc*, who likewise rejects *Palephatus's* Explication, says, the Name of *Centaurs* was given to certain Shepherds who had Herds of Bulls, that were very common in *Arcadia*; whence, according to him, those Shepherds are said to have invented *Bucolic Verses*, that is, Verses which they sung as they tended their Oxen: As they pricked forward their Bulls in leading them to Pasture, hence they were named *Centaurs*, or *Ox-goaders*. But, in the first Place, 'tis certain that the *Centaurs* were known in *Thessaly* before their Name was heard of in *Arcadia*; and it was not till after they were expelled by the *Lapithæ* from the Confines of the *Peneus*, as *Diodorus* expressly says, that they went and settled in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Pholoë*. In the second Place, why would the Name of *Centaurs* have been given to the Neat-herds of *Arcadia* rather than to those of other Countries? Did they not all drive their Flocks in the same Manner? In fine M. *le Clerc* assigns no Reason why the *Centaurs* were taken for half-Men and half-Horses, unless he will say it was because those *Arcadian* Shepherds were seen

on

on Horseback ; and then it returns to the Explication of *Palephatus*.

But what are we then to think of this Fable ? Here three Questions are previously to be examined. First, what those *Centaurs* were, and whence came their Name ? Secondly, why they were accounted Monsters, compounded of two Natures ? And then a third is, for what Reason they were taken for the Offspring of *Ixion* and a Cloud ?

'Tis certain, from the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* and other Antients, that the *Thessalians*, chiefly those who inhabited about Mount *Pelion*, were the first of the *Greeks* who applied themselves to the breaking of Horses. *Virgil* expressly says so in his *Georgics* (a). *Servius* confirms the Testimony of the Latin Poet : *Pelethronium est oppidum Thessaliæ ubi primum domandorum equorum repertus est usus* (1). The *Thessalians* sought thereby to distinguish themselves from the other People of *Greece*, who fought only on Foot, or in Chariots, the Use whereof they learned from *Erichthonius* the King of *Athens*, as has been already said.

Pliny who gives *Bellerophon* the Honour of having been the first that attempted to mount a Horse, owns at the same Time that the *Thessalians* of all the *Greeks* applied themselves most to this Exercise : *Equo vehi invenisse Bellerophontem, frænos & strata Pelethronium, pugnare ex equo Thessalos qui Centauri appellati sunt* (2).

'Tis proper to remark by the Way, either that *Pliny* is mistaken, in taking *Pelethronius* for a Man's Name, whereas it was the Name of a Mountain in *Thessaly*, where was a little Town, or else that there is an Error in the Text ; upon which *Vossius* remarks that we are to read *Pelethronios*. 'Tis therefore in *Thessaly* we must seek for the antient Cavalry of *Greece* ; I say of *Greece*, for we have seen in the History of *Bellerophon*

M m 4

lerophon

(a) *Fræna Pelethroniæ Lapithæ, gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso, atque Equitem docuere sub armis
Insultare solo, & gressus glomerare superbos.*

Georg. l. 3.

(1) In 3 Georg. (2) L. 7. c. 56.

Ierophon, what is my Opinion as to the Origin of Riding. 'Tis then very probable, that in speaking of a *Thessalian*, they gave him the additional Epithet of *Hippios*, as for the same Reason it was given to *Neptune*, who had the Denomination of *Hippios Poseidon*.

If the Opinion of *Servius*, adopted by *Vossius*, were true, it would be a very proper Confirmation of my Conjecture, since those Authors take *Neptune* to have been *Ixion* himself (a). Those Horsemen afterwards, in order to acquire more Strength and Agility, performed a Kind of Exercise wherein they fought with Bulls, which they pierced with their Javelins, or overthrew in grasping them by the Horns. *Pliny* informs us not only that this Exercise was common among the *Thessalians* who invented it, but also that it was one of the Shows which *Julius Cæsar* exhibited to the *Romans* (b).

Suetonius says the same of the Emperor *Claudius*, and *Dion Cassius* of *Nero*. There is therefore great Probability, that in speaking of these *Thessalians*, they added to the Name of *Hippios* that of *Centaur*, and hence of these three Words ἵππιος, κέντει, ταυρὸς, was compounded that of *Hippocentaur*, a Horseman-Bull-shooter. As these Horsemen became formidable afterwards by their Depredations, the Equivocation which appeared in the Name made them be accounted Monsters compounded of two Natures. The Poets laid hold on this Idea: 'Tis well known that they improved every Thing that might give an Air of the Marvellous to the Subjects they treated of; and may we not assert, without any Danger of being mistaken, that Men who made Oranges pass for golden Apples, Shepherdesses for Nymphs, Shepherds in Disguise for Satyrs, and Ships with Sails for winged Dragons, would

(a) *Probus annotavit*, says *Vossius*, *primum in Thessalia equum esse conspectum, quem isthic exhibuerit Neptunus; qui Neptunus, si extra fabulas eatur, non alius sit quam Rex Thessalus, ut vocat Servius.*

(b) *Thessalorum gentis inventum, equo juxta quadrupedante, cornu intorta ceruice, tauros necare: primus id spectaculum dedit Romæ Cæsar Dictator.*

would make no Difficulty in taking Horsemen for *Centaurs*?

In the old Language of *Greece*, as *M. le Clerc* has observed, these *Centaurs* were perhaps called *Nephilim*: This Name may be understood literally, in which Case it comes from *Naphal*, to fall, or for that of a Giant, as the Vulgate renders it; and in both these Significations it was applicable to the *Centaurs*; for not only might they be considered as a dissolute Race fallen into gross Enormities, since *Diodorus*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Palephatus*, *Ovid*, and others, make frequent Mention of the Devastations they made wherever they came, and of their Incontinency at the Marriage of *Pirithous*; but also as real Giants. And indeed, may we not say those were accounted such who are said to have darted whole Ash-trees like Javelins (a).

Those Horsemen therefore were real Giants in History and Fable, especially if we join the Strength of the Horse to that of the Rider, as those did who spoke of them. The *Greeks*, who came afterwards, found in their antient Writings this Word *Nephilim*, and not understanding its Signification, but only finding in their own Language it came near to that which signifies a Cloud; hence they conceived that the *Centaurs* were the Offspring of a Cloud, and invented the Fable of *Ixion's* embracing it; in regard, that under that Prince's Reign, and by his Orders, the *Lapithæ* had begun to break Horses, and to exercise themselves in fighting with Bulls, which, by a reasonable enough Hyperbole, made them be called his own Offspring.

But

(a) - - - *Quantas jaculetur Monychus ornos.*

As says *Juvenal* after *Apollodorus*, and who plucked up whole Rocks to crush their Enemies:

- - - *Saxumque a monte revulsum*

Mittere conatur,

As *Ovid* says; who by their Fall overturned huge Trees.

- - - *Et pondere corporis ornum*

Ingentem fregit.

Lastly a Race, whose Bones and Limbs were of an immense Size:

- - - *Cubitique ingentia fregit*

Ossa,

As the same Poet says of one of the *Centaurs*.

But now having explained the Original of the *Centaurs*, and of their Name, we must pursue their History. *Diodorus* informs us (1), that as they were mostly related to *Ixion*, they claimed after his Death a Share in the Inheritance; and that *Pirithous* having refused to enter into Partnership with them, they made War upon him, which at length terminated in a Peace; but upon what Terms he does not say. Some Time after, adds the same Author, the new King of *Larissa* having married *Hippodamia* (a), or, as others call her, *Deidamia*, the King of *Argos*'s Daughter (b), he invited the *Centaurs* to the Marriage, and they being heated with Wine, offered Violence to the Ladies, and were going to carry them off; but *Hercules* and *Theseus*, with the other *Lapithæ*, chastised the Insolence of those Miscreants, slew a great Number of them, and obliged the rest to fly to the Mountains; and this, by the Way, is the famous Battle which *Ovid* so elegantly describes (2). Every one knows in what Manner he embellishes this Narration with the charming Episode of *Ceneus*, whom *Neptune* endowed with a Capacity of changing Sex; as also that of *Hylonome*, who killed herself over the Body of *Cyllarus*, whom she passionately loved. I insist here only upon what is historical, and wave what *Hesiod* (3), *Valerius Flaccus* (4), and the other Poets say of this Battle, which *Pausanias* (5) says was represented in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*; as also at *Athens*, by *Phidias* and *Parrhasius*, as we read in *Pliny* (6). We are further told, that those who had been wounded by *Hercules*'s poisoned Arrows, having bathed themselves in the River *Anigrus*, which rises out of the Mountains of *Thessaly*, made the Waters thereof so infectious, that the very Fishes in it were not eatable. *Strabo* adds (7), that those

(1) L. 4.

(a) *Plutarch*, in *Theseo*, calls her *Deidamia*, and *Propertius*, *Ischomache*.(b) Others say she was the Daughter of *Fystus* a Relation of the *Centaurs*; and *Palephatus* says, it was a Festival which the *Lapithæ* were celebrating.(2) *Met.* l. 12. (3) In *Scuto*. (4) L. 1. *Argon*. (5) In *Eliacis*. (6) L. 36. (7) L. 9. *Geogr*.

those who died of their Wounds, having been buried near *Calydon*, in a Spot of Ground since called the Tomb, *ταπὸς*, bred a terrible Infection in all the Neighbourhood.

Whatever be in that, the *Lapithæ*, under the Conduct of *Hercules*, *Pirithous* and *Theseus*, the three *Lapithæ* who distinguished themselves most in this War, having pursued the *Centaurs* to their very inmost Retreats, as we learn from *Diodorus*, *Palephatus* and *Strabo*, had so often the Superiority over them, that they obliged them at last to quit the Country, and retire into *Arcadia*. But their brutal and insolent Temper not allowing them to live in Peace, they made several Inroads upon the Confines of *Pholoë* where they were settled. At last *Hercules*, with the Assistance of his Companions, rooted them quite out in the following Manner. As that Heroe was going, says *Apollodorus* (1), by *Euristheus's* Order, to the hunting of the Boar of *Erymanthus*, he lodged by the Way with the Centaur *Pholus*, the Son of *Silenus* and *Melia*. In the midst of the Feast, the Heroe was going to fall upon a Cask of Wine which belonged to the other *Centaurs*, but was given them by *Bacchus* only upon Condition that when *Hercules* passed their Way they should regale him with it (2), a Fable importing that it was excellent Wine. They run up to the Cave, armed with Stones and Darts, *Hercules* began to shoot his Arrows at them, and it being a very warm Engagement, several of the *Centaurs* were killed, and the rest put to Flight. *Hercules* pursued them, with those who accompanied him to the Chace, and who were probably very numerous; and tho' they were only Infantry, and the others fought on Horseback, yet he led them on fighting in a Country cut out into Woods and Mountains, as far as *Malea* (a), when they repaired to *Chiron* the Centaur, the wisest and most renowned among them. This Horseman, expelled by the other *Lapithæ*

(1) L. 2. c. 6. (2) Lyl. Gyrald. Synt. de Hercule, p. 576.

(a) The Greek Word used by *Apollodorus* in this Passage is *μίλαι*; but he had said a little before, and says immediately after *μαλέαν*.

ibæ from Mount *Pelion*, where he had lived with so much Reputation, that the most famous Princes of that Age, as *Hercules* and *Jason*, were willing to become his Disciples, had come thither some Time before to seek a Retreat which he could not find in his own Country.

The *Centaurs* hoped that the Presence of *Hercules's* Preceptor would check the Fury of that Heroe; who still continued however to attack them, without any Design to involve *Chiron* in their Destruction; but an Arrow which he aimed at *Elarus*, having missed him, wounded *Chiron* in the Knee. *Hercules* grieved at this sad Accident, run up quickly to give him Solace, and applied to the Wound a Remedy which the *Centaur* had taught him; but the Wound proved incurable, and the unfortunate *Chiron*, after suffering intolerable Pains, prayed *Jupiter*, as the Poets tell us, to put a Period to his Days: For being the Son of *Saturn*, he was not subjected to the Condition of other Mortals. The Father of the Gods, affected with his Sufferings, exchanged his Immortality with *Prometheus*, and *Chiron* having paid to Death the Tribute which all Mankind owe, was placed among the Stars, where he forms the Constellation *Sagittarius*; that is, setting aside these poetical Fictions, this illustrious *Centaur* died of the Wound which he had received in the Battle. He was a Man of very great Knowledge for that Age, especially in that Part of Medicine which comprehends Skill in Plants, those particularly that serve for the Cure of Wounds, as I shall prove by and by.

Hercules, enraged by this Accident, fell foul upon the rest of the *Centaurs*, (these are still *Apollodorus's* Words) and spared not one of them that came into his Hands. Those who were able to make their Escape retired into the Caves of the Promontory of *Malea*, and *Neptune* concealed others of them near *Eleusis*; that is, reducing this Circumstance to historical Truth; some of them conveyed themselves by Sea to *Attica*. *Antimachus*, quoted by *Noel le Comte* (1), says some of
the

(1) Article of the *Centaurs*.

the *Centaur* removed into the Island of the *Sirens*, that is, into the Promontory of *Pelorus*, where those petty Queens reigned at that Time; and the same Author adds, that most of them were insnared by the Charms of Pleasure to their own Ruin.

Hercules, after this Defeat returned to *Pholoë*, where he learned that the *Centaur*, his Host, was dead of the Wound he had received from an Arrow drawn from the Body of one of his Companions, and after paying his last Duty to him, he prepared himself for putting *Euristheus's* Order in Execution. *Nessus*, who had retired towards the River *Evenus*, was afterwards punished by the same Heroe, for having attempted to ravish *Dejanira* in the Manner that is well known.

Thus, by the Valour of *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Piritheus*, *Nestor*, and other *Lapithæ*, those first Horsemen of *Thessaly*, whom their Pride and Successes had rendered so insolent, were all cut off.

'Tis easy to determine the Chronology of all the Events now related, from the Time when those Heroes flourished.

But the *Centaur Chiron* requires a new Article: Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology, and Dissertations made on both Sides of the Question making this necessary.

C H A P. XII.

Wherein we examine, if Chiron made a Kalendar for the Argonauts.

IT had been a generally received Opinion, that *Chiron* was a wise *Thessalian*, a Physician by Profession, nor had any Body ever dreamed of making so profound an Astronomer of him as to be able to settle the Position of the Heavens, and consequently, to make a Kalendar to serve for a Rule. Sir *Isaac Newton*, however, from a Passage in the *Titanomachy*, quoted by *Clement of Alexandria* (1), infers that he had framed one for the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, and he finds, by computing the Time from *Metæ* to that Expedition,

(1) Strom. l. i. p. 15.

pedition, that he must have placed the Equinoctial Points in the Middle of *Aries*, and in the Middle of *Libra*, and the Solstitial Points in the fifteenth Degree of *Cancer*, and in the same Degree of *Capricorn*.

Before I examine the Authority on which that illustrious Author founds this Hypothesis, 'tis to be observed, that his Argument is of the Nature of those which we call *a Circle*; for 'tis as if *Newton* had said : I am to abridge Chronology by 400 Years. The Expedition of the *Argonauts* did not fall out 1300 Years before *Christ*, as is commonly reckoned, but only 937. This is the System I have followed in my Chronology. Thus, since in the Time of *Meto*, 433 Years before *Christ*, the Summer Solstice was in the eight Degree of *Cancer*, and *Chiron* had determined the Equinoctial Point to the fifteenth Degree of *Aries*, the Motion of the Equinoctial Points, contrary to the Order of the Signs, being fifty Seconds in a Year, and one Degree in 72 Years (*a*), the Distance between *Meto's* Observation and that of *Chiron*, must have been about seven Degrees; and the Time that intervened between them 504 Years; which added to 433, make 937 Years before *Christ*. Therefore, that or the following Year was the *Æra* of the *Argonauts*, which had been erroneously removed back to the Year 1300, or according to others, even to the 1467, before our Vulgar *Æra*.

Books have been wrote in *France* for and against the System of this celebrated *English* Author: The Position and Arrangement made by *Chiron*, has been cavelled at, instead of being denied; but *F. Hardouyn*, in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, September 1729, has cut short all the Objections, by proving unanswerably, that *Chiron* was never considered by any of the antient Authors, whose Testimonies he cites, but as a Physician who knew the Virtues of some Plants, those especial-
ly

(*a*) This is *F. Ricci's* Computation, who makes the entire Period 25920 Years. Mr. *Cassini*, as also the famous *Ulugh-Begh*, the Grandson of *Tamerlane*, reckons it only 25200 Years, and determines the proper Motion of the Heavens to be one Degree in 70 Years; but this Difference, and some others, have nothing to do here.

ly that serve for the Cure of Wounds ; but never as an Astronomer, able to frame a Kalendar, and to fix the true Position of the Heavens in the Time when he lived (a).

After all, the Passage taken from *Clement of Alexandria* proves nothing for his being a skilful Astronomer, capable of fixing the Equinoctial and Solstitial Points: Here is a Translation of it Word for Word: *Hermippus of Berytus gives the Designation of Wise to Chiron the Centaur ; and the Author of the Titanomachy, says he was the first that taught Mankind to live according to Justice, by shewing them the Nature and Obligations of an Oath, Sacrifices of Joy and Thanksgivings, and the Figures of the Heavens, σχήματα Ὀλύμπῳ.* For not to insist on the odd Association of those three Sorts of Science ; not to examine the Authority of an unknown Poet, of whom the Ancients have said little or nothing, can we conclude from thence that *Chiron* was Astronomer good enough to fix the Position of the Heavens ; that he made a Kalendar for the *Argonauts*, two Years before their Expedition ; that he placed the four Points of the Solstices and Equinoxes in the Middle, that is in the fifteenth Degree of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*, of *Aries* and *Libra* ? On which Position, however, *Newton's* System partly depends, for abridging the Chronology of the *Greek* Antiquities as he does. The only native Conclusion, methinks, that can be drawn from it is, that *Chiron*, besides his Skill in some Plants, was acquainted with that Sort of Astronomy which respects the Heliac Rising and Setting of the Stars, wherein he instructed some *Argonauts*: Such a Knowledge, in short, as was but narrow and confined, and perhaps pretty common in his Time ; but which was far from qualifying one who was Master of it, for settling the true Points of the Heavens, and from

(a) This is the Idea *Homer* gives of him both in his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. This wise *Centaur* instructed *Achilles*, and *Jason* too, according to *Eusebius*, in the Knowledge of Medicine, and in the Use of topical Remedies for Wounds. *Virgil*. *Georg.* III. 549. gives the same Idea of him, as also *Pliny*, L. 24. Sat. 19. and *Diodorus*, l. 4. p. 221, *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, and all the rest.

from which, at least, it can never be proved that it was in such a precise Point *Chiron* found and placed them: A mere groundless Supposition, calculated only to serve the Purpose of the Author, in abbreviating the Chronology of the Greek Antiquities.

What the same *Clement* of *Alexandria* immediately subjoins, concerning *Hippo* the Daughter of *Chiron*, and whom *Ovid* names (1) *Ocyroë*, confirms the Account I have given of *Chiron's* Knowledge in Astronomy to be just. *Hippo*, his Daughter, says he, having married *Eolus*, the same at whose Palace *Ulysses* arrived, instructed her Husband in her Father's Science; namely, in the Contemplation of Nature. *Euripides*, adds he, says of this *Hippo*, that she knew and predicted divine Things by Oracles, and by the Rising of the Stars.

C H A P. XIII.

The Continuation of the History of *Pirithous*.

P*irithous*, who had pursued the *Centaur*s with so much Warmth, had as unhappy an End as they. As he had assisted his Friend *Theseus* in carrying off *Helen*, on Condition that he would concur with him in his designed Project of ravishing *Proserpine* the Wife of *Aidoneus* (a); they set out together for *Epirus*; but the King being previously apprized of their Design, was prepared to meet them, and let loose some Mastiff Dogs which fell upon *Pirithous* and tore him in Pieces, and *Theseus*, who escaped their Fury, was detained Prisoner till *Hercules* set him at Liberty. As *Aidoneus* employed Labourers in the Mines, and inhabited a low Country in respect of the rest of *Greece*, that is towards the West; hence the Western Parts, where it was believed that the Stars set in the Ocean, *Suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*, were also reckoned the Mansion of the Dead: For as *Pliny* elegantly says: *In sede Manium opes quærimus, nos ad inferos adiungunt.*

(1) *Met.* l. 11. 638.

(a) Others say she was only his Daughter; but *Virgil* calls her his Wife.

Chap. XIII. *explained by History.* 491

gunt. Thus the Voyage of those two Princes came to be considered as a Descent into the Realms of *Pluto*, that King of *Epirus* being confounded with him; which makes *Virgil* put these Words in *Charon's* Mouth;

*Nec vero Alciden me sum lætatus euntem
Accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
Quanquam Dīs geniti (1).*

These last Words would occasion some Difficulty as to the Genealogy of *Pirithous*, who is not commonly made to be descended from the Gods; did we not know that *Jupiter* himself says in *Homer* (2), that having been captivated with the Charms of *Ixion's* Wife, he had made her the Mother of *Pirithous*; which intimates, that the great Men of that Age had always a divine Original.

Pausanias informs us (3) in the Particulars of this Expedition. *Theseus*, says he, having entered with his Troops into *Thesprotia*, to carry off the Wife of the King of the *Thesprotians*, lost the best Part of his Men: He was afterwards taken Prisoner with *Pirithous*, and the *Thesprotian* confined them at *Cycbirus*. He was afterwards set at Liberty by *Hercules*, but *Pirithous* died in his Prison.

Such is the History of the *Centaur*s, whose Defeat was followed by an Event which became exceedingly famous in the History of the fabulous Age, and shall be the Subject of the next Book.

(1) *Æn.* l. 6. (2) *Iliad*, l. 4. (3) In *Attic*.

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T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
Fourth and Last V O L U M E.

B O O K III.

T H E History of the Argonauts, and of the Con- quest of the Golden Fleece,	Page 1
CHAP. I. <i>The Voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis,</i>	30
CHAP. II. <i>What happened to the Argonauts in Colchis,</i>	39
CHAP. III. <i>The Return of the Argonauts into Greece,</i>	44
CHAP. IV. <i>The Date of that Event,</i>	55
CHAP. V. <i>The Continuation of the Adventures of Jafon and Medea,</i>	60
CHAP. VI. <i>The History of Hercules,</i>	72
CHAP. VII. <i>An Abridgment of the History of Her- cules's Successors to their Settlement in the Pelopon- nesus,</i>	127
CHAP. VIII. <i>The Sequel of Theseus's History,</i>	130
CHAP. IX. <i>The History of Castor and Pollux,</i>	147
CHAP. X. <i>The History of Orpheus,</i>	156
CHAP. XI. <i>The History of Calais and Zethes,</i>	166

B O O K IV.

<i>The History of the Hunting of Calydon, and of the two Wars of Thebes.</i>	
CHAP. I. <i>The History of the Hunting of Calydon, and of the War to which it gave Rise,</i>	168
CHAP.	

The C G N T E N T S.

CHAP. II.	<i>The History of the two Wars of Thebes, of Oedipus, the Sphinx, &c.</i>	178
CHAP. III.	<i>The particular History of the Leaders in those Wars.</i>	
	Of Amphiaraus,	193
	Of Adrastus,	198
	Of Antigone,	200
	Of Capaneus,	201
	Of Tiresias,	203

B O O K V.

	<i>The History of the Trojan War, and of those who joined in it,</i>	206
CHAP. I.	<i>The Origin of that War,</i>	207
CHAP. II.	<i>The true Cause of the Rape of Helen,</i>	212
CHAP. III.	<i>Of the War that ensued upon that Rape,</i>	215
CHAP. IV.	<i>The History of the Siege of Troy,</i>	220
CHAP. V.	<i>Fatalities annexed to the City Troy,</i>	225
CHAP. VI.	<i>Of the last Year of the Siege, and of the taking of the City,</i>	232
CHAP. VII.	<i>The Æra of the taking of Troy, with the History of that City.</i>	
ART. I.	<i>The Æra of the taking of Troy,</i>	247
ART. II.	<i>The History of the City Troy,</i>	248

B O O K VI.

	<i>Containing the particular History of the Captains of the Grecian and Trojan Armies,</i>	252
CHAP. I.	<i>The History of Agamemnon and his Family,</i>	253
CHAP. II.	<i>The History of Eacus, Peleus, Achilles, and Theus,</i>	268
CHAP. III.	<i>The History of the two Ajaxes,</i>	281
CHAP. IV.	<i>The History of Diomedes,</i>	286
CHAP. V.	<i>The History of Ulysses,</i>	289
	CHAP.	

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.	<i>The History of Antenor and Eneas,</i>	306
CHAP. VII.	<i>The History of Memnon,</i>	323
CHAP. VIII.	<i>The History of Eurypilus,</i>	335
CHAP. IX.	<i>The History of Laocoon,</i>	338
CHAP. X.	<i>The History of Paris, Helen, Menelaus, and Oenone,</i>	340
CHAP. XI.	<i>The History of Protefilaus, Calchas, and Philoctetes,</i>	348
CHAP. XII.	<i>The History of Idomeneus and Merion,</i>	353

PART II.

BOOK VII.

	<i>The Explication of some particular Fables that occur in the Books of Mythology,</i>	356
CHAP. I.	<i>The History of Tereus, Pandion, Progne, Philomela, the Daughters of Pandareus, and Eretheus,</i>	357
CHAP. II.	<i>The History of Lycaon,</i>	363
CHAP. III.	<i>The History of Narcissus, Echo, Pyramus, and Thisbe,</i>	365
CHAP. IV.	<i>The History of the Pygmies and of Pygas their Queen; of their Battles with the Cranes and Partridges; wherein we also examine what is meant by the Pygmies, of whom the Prophet Ezekiel speaks,</i>	369
CHAP. V.	<i>The History of Cephalus and Procris,</i>	378
CHAP. VI.	<i>The History of Ceyx and Alcyone, of Philammon, Autolycus, Kione, and Thamiras,</i>	380
CHAP. VII.	<i>The History of Orion,</i>	385
CHAP. VIII.	<i>The Explanation of the Fables of Byblis and Caunus, of Iphis and Ianthe, of Anaxarete, Arion, &c.</i>	390
CHAP. IX.	<i>The Continuation of the Fables in Ovid,</i>	396
	CHAP.	

The C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. X. <i>Of the Fables collected by Conon, and Antoninus Liberalis,</i>	403
CHAP. XI. <i>Fables taken from Hyginus,</i>	404

B O O K VIII.

<i>Of the Games of the Greeks and Romans,</i>	409
CHAP. I. <i>The Motives for the Institution of those Games, and their various Kinds,</i>	413
CHAP. II. <i>Of the Founders of those Games,</i>	414
CHAP. III. <i>Explains what the Gymnastic was,</i>	417
CHAP. IV. <i>Of the Places destined to the Celebration of the Games, and of the principal Cities that exhibited them,</i>	421
CHAP. V. <i>Of the Olympic Games,</i>	424
CHAP. VI. <i>Of the Pythic Games,</i>	432
CHAP. VII. <i>Of the Nemean Games,</i>	435
CHAP. VIII. <i>Of the Isthmic Games,</i>	436
CHAP. IX. <i>Of the Scenic Games; of the Prizes proposed for the Tragic Poets in the Games of Greece,</i>	438
CHAP. X. <i>The Continuation of the same Subject,</i>	443
<i>Of the Trojan Game, or the Game of the Youth,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Of the Games of Augustus,</i>	446
<i>Of the Capitolin Games,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Of the Games of Ceres,</i>	447
<i>Of the Aëtiac Games,</i>	448
<i>Of the Agonal and Aëtyc Games,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Of Games celebrated in the Camps,</i>	449
<i>Of the Games of Castor and Pollux,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Of the Megalesian Games, celebrated in Honour of Cybele and the other great Gods,</i>	450
<i>Of the Floral Games,</i>	451
CHAP. XI. <i>Of some other Games,</i>	452
<i>Of the Circensian Games,</i>	453
<i>Of the Games of the Cross-streets, or Compitales, and some others,</i>	454



MYTHOLOGY and FABLES

Explain'd by

HISTORY.

BOOK III. *

*The History of the Argonauts, and of the Conquest
of the Golden Fleece.*

THE antient History of *Greece* sets before us few Subjects so celebrated as the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece* by the *Argonauts*; but at the same Time there is none that abounds more in Fictions (*a*).

'Tis however connected with the antient History of *Greece*, and cannot be detached from it without overthrowing almost all the Genealogies of those Times; being fully laid open, it serves to give great Light to the Antiquities of the heroic Age; in fine, there are few antient Authors but speak of it; and I was of Opinion, that by drawing together what is dispersed in their Works, I might contribute in some Measure to clear up the History of an Age, the Study whereof is attended with considerable Difficulty.

VOL. IV.

B

Tho'

* This answers to the seventh and last Volume of the Original.

(*a*) I have made several Dissertations on this Subject, which are, or will be printed in the *Memoirs of the Acad. of the Belles Lettres*; and to them I might have referred: But as I have been informed by knowing Persons that Readers were glad to find in this Mythology what they neither had Leisure, nor Inclination to gather from other Books, I shall give an Abstract of them here.

Tho' we have now neither the Poem of the true *Orpheus*, nor that of *Epimenides* of *Crete*, who, according to *Diogenes Laertius*, wrote a Poem upon this Expedition towards the Forty seventh Olympiad, about 600 Years before the Christian Æra, consisting of Six thousand six hundred Verses; nor yet the Work of *Varro*, who, as we learn from *Probus* in his Commentary upon *Virgil's* Georgics, left four Books upon the same Subject; nor lastly, the other Poets, who, according to *Lyllo Gyraldi*, Dial. 4. had wrote upon this Expedition; yet we are not quite destitute of Helps. Among the Historians, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Trogus Pompeius*, not to mention others, are those who have wrote upon it at greatest Length. I name not here *Herodotus*, because he says only a Word of it by the By; but indirect Proofs taken from that same Author, will be of great Service to me as I go along.

We have still three Poems upon this Expedition; that of *Onomacritus*, which goes under *Orpheus's* Name, and which was composed in the Time of *Pisistratus*, towards the Fifty fifth Olympiad, about 550 Years before the Christian Æra; that of *Apollonius Rhodius*, who lived about the Time of the first *Ptolomys*; and that of *Valerius Flaccus*, who wrote it under the Reign of *Vespasian*, and whose Work being imperfect, ends about the Middle of the eighth Book.

The Bulk of the other Poets make frequent Allusions to this Conquest; *Pindar* especially speaks of it very particularly in his fourth Olympic, and in his third Isthmic. *Homer* indeed says of it but little, but that same little enables us to form a just Idea of it. 'Tis in the twelfth Book of the *Odyssey*, where *Circe* foretelling to *Ulysses* the Dangers he should undergo by Sea, mentions to him the floating Rocks which she represents to be in the Straits between *Sicily* and *Italy*, tho' they are in Reality at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, and where she adds, the Ship *Argo* passed. "There never was, says *Circe*, but one Ship that got "clear of those devouring Eddies; namely, the celebrated

“ celebrated Ship *Argo*, which returned that Way from
 “ *Colchis* where King *Æetes* reigned, with the Flower
 “ of the *Grecian* Heroes ; and they too had been in-
 “ fallibly dashed against the Rocks by the impetuous
 “ Waves, had not *Juno* herself been their Pilote,
 “ and guided them safely through, because she loved
 “ and protected *Jason*.”

These are the Sources whence I have drawn the History of the *Argonautic* Expedition, not neglecting however those of the Moderns, who have explained some Circumstances of it, as *Bochart* and *M. le Clerc* ; and 'tis also from the same Sources we must derive the true Idea of this Event, which certainly is neither a grand Mystery, as some Philosophers imagined, nor a mere Voyage of *Greek* Merchants who undertook to traffic upon the eastern Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, as *M. le Clerc* alledges (1), who has however, by the Lights he has got from the learned *Bochart*, very happily explained some Adventures in this Expedition ; far less is it the History of *Abraham*, *Hagar*, and *Sarah*, of *Moses* and *Joshua*, as was undertaken to be proved not long ago by an Author (a), who, upon the System of *F. Thomassin*, *Huetius*, and some other Authors of the last Age, is for reducing most of the antient Fables to holy Writ, ill interpreted by the Pagans, and particularly the History now in debate to *Abraham's* Peregrinations ; as if there were the smallest Degree of Resemblance between the various Transmigrations of that Patriarch, who traversed *Syria* and the neighbouring Provinces, and came at last into *Egypt* still by Land, and the maritime Expedition of the *Argonauts*. By pursuing such Ideas, what may we not compare ?

Eustathius (2), of all the Antients, is the one perhaps who gives us the justest Conception of it, when he says this Voyage was a military Expedition, which besides the Purpose of the *Golden Fleece*, or, to speak more accurately, the Recovery of the Effects which

B 2

Phryxus

(1) Bibl. Univ. c. 20.

(a) A Comparison of Fable to Scripture, Vol. 1.

(2) Upon the 686 Verse of *Dionysius Perigetes*.

Phryxus had carried to *Colchis*, was also undertaken from other Motives ; as that of trafficking upon the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, and of settling there some Colonies, for the Security of their Commerce. For that End several Ships and a considerable Number of Men were necessary ; and they had both, as appears from the Settlements made by the two Squires of *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereof the one was called the Colony of the *Tyndarides*, the other that of the *Heniochians*. Some of those Vessels deserted the Ship *Argo*, which was as it were the Admiral to that small Fleet ; others of them were separated by the Winds ; but the Poets, continues this learned Author, speak only of one Ship, and name none but the Leaders in this Expedition.

That I may fully lay open an Event wherein all *Greece* was so much concerned, I shall trace the Matter from its Original.

The Causes of *Atbanas* (1), the Son of *Eolus*, the the Expedition. Grandson of *Hellen*, and Great-grandson of *Deucalion*, was King of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, or only of *Orchomenos*, according to *Pausanias* (2). This Prince had two Wives ; *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, whom he divorced some Time after to marry *Nepbele*, by whom he had *Phryxus* and *Helle* ; this is the Name which *Sophocles* gives to *Atbanas*'s second Wife, whom *Pinder* (3) calls *Demotice* ; and *Phercides*, *Themisto*. As she was subject to certain Fits of Madness, he was very soon disgusted at her, and took back *Ino*, who bore him two Sons, *Learchus* and *Melicerta* (a). *Ino*, who then gained greatly the Ascendant over her Husband, had a mortal Aversion to the Children of her Rival, who, being the eldest, were to succeed their Father, to the Exclusion of hers, so that she sought all Means to destroy them. To accomplish her Purpose the more effectually, she had Recourse to Religion. The City *Thebes* was laid waste by a cruel Famine, whereof she herself is reckoned to have been the Cause, having poisoned

(1) Apollod. l. 1. (2) In Attic. (3) 4 Olymp.

(a) I give the History of *Ino* and her two sons elsewhere.

soned the Grain that was sown the preceding Year ; or, if we may believe *Hyginus* (1), having steeped it in boiling Water to burn the Bud. It was usual in public Calamities to have Recourse to Oracles ; the Priests were gained by the Queen, and their Response was, that in order to put a Stop to the Desolation, *Nephele's* Children must be sacrificed to the Gods. These barbarous Sacrifices were not unknown in a Country where *Cadmus* had introduced the religious Worship of the *Phenicians*, who offered the like Sacrifices to *Moloch* with vast Solemnity.

Phryxus, apprized of *Ino's* Design by his Governor, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus* (2), or by one of the Priests of the Oracle, who, according to *Herodotus*, made him the Discovery, fitted out a Ship secretly ; and having carried off a Part of his Father's Treasures, embarked with his Sister *Helle* to seek a secure Retreat at the Court of *Æetes* his Kinsman, who reigned in *Colchis*. The young *Helle*, oppressed with the Hardships of the Voyage, died by the Way, or, as we learn from *Diodorus* (3), having got up to the Ship's Deck, fell into the Sea, and was drowned. She is thought to have derived her Name to that Part of the *Archipelago*, which from that Adventure has been called the *Hellepont*, or the Sea of *Helle*. As they were then at no great Distance from the Coast, *Phryxus* landed there to bury his Sister, and after performing her Funeral Obsequies, he re-embarked, and arrived happily in *Colchis*, where *Æetes* gave him a kind Reception, and some Time after bestowed upon him his Daughter *Calciopé* in Marriage.

Pindar (4) assigns another Motive for *Ino's* Persecutions. This Princess, says he, was in love with *Phryxus*, but finding him insensible to her Passion, she formed a Resolution to destroy him. Be that as it will, *Phryxus's* first Care after his Arrival was to thank the Gods for the happy Success of his Voyage, and he consecrated the Prow of his Ship either to *Neptune*,

B 3

or

(1) L. 1. Fab. 11. (2) L. 4. (3) Loc. cit. (4) 4 Pyth.

or *Mars*; or, if we rely on the old Scholiast on *Pindar* (1), to *Jupiter Phryxius*, or *The Preserver*. To embellish this Piece of History, we are told, that a Ram with a golden Fleece, that had Wings, and was even endowed with the Faculty of Speech, had forewarned *Phryxus* and *Helle* of the bad Designs of their Mother-in-law; or, according to another Tradition, that seeing them near the Altar upon which they were to be sacrificed, the Animal had taken them upon its Back, and carried them off; that *Phryxus*, upon his Arrival in *Colchis*, had sacrificed this Ram to *Jupiter* (a), and consecrated the Skin of the Animal in his Temple; and that it was this precious Fleece, so much coveted by the *Greeks*, that gave Occasion afterwards to the Expedition of the *Argonauts*. The Poets went even so far as to give the Genealogy of this Ram, and fabled that he was the Son of *Neptune* and *Theophane*, whom that God, the better to conceal his Intrigue, had transformed into a Sheep, having metamorphosed himself into a Ram.

By way of Explanation of Circumstances so manifestly absurd, the antient Mythologists invented a new Fable, and said the Governor of *Phryxus* (2) was named *Crios*, the Ram, or *Chrysomallus*, the Golden Fleece: But I believe we had better say simply with *Diodorus Siculus*, *Eusebius*, and the antient Scholiast on *Apollonius*, that the Ship on which *Phryxus* went aboard was named the Ram, or the Golden Fleece, because it bore the Representation thereof. I add, that this Ship being very light, had flown, as I may say, from *Greece* to *Colchis*, and that *Phryxus*, according to the Custom of those Times had consecrated the Prow of it to one of the Gods whom I have named. 'Tis even easy

(1) Upon the fourth Pythic.

(a) *Pausanias*, in his *Attics*, says there was to be seen at *Athens* a Picture, where *Phryxus* was sacrificing the Ram that had carried him to *Colchis*. 'Tis not well known, he adds, to whom he sacrificed it; but we may conjecture that it was to that God whom the *Orchomenians* call *Lapbystius*; a Word derived *απο της λαβυσσειν*, *festinare*, to hasten, and he was the same God with *Jupiter Phryxius*, whose Denomination has the same Meaning.

(2) *Diod. Paleph. &c.*

easy to see from this Explanation, in what Sense it might have been said that the *Ram* and the *Golden Fleece* was the Son of *Neptune*, because the *Ram* represented the Ship which carried *Phryxus* and *Helle*, and every good Ship might be considered as the Son, or rather the Work of the God of the Sea.

Apollonius Rhodius adds to the Fable now explained, that it was *Nephele* herself, by assuming the Form of a Cloud, had concealed her two Children when ready to be sacrificed, and mounted them upon the Back of the *Ram* with the *Golden Fleece*; but 'tis easy to see that this Fiction is founded only upon the Name of this Princess, which in *Greek* signifies a Cloud.

The first Years of the Marriage of *Phryxus* and *Calciope* were very happy, and he had by her four Sons, *Argos*, *Phrontis*, *Melas*, and *Cylindus* (1); but *Æetes*, who coveted the Treasures of his Son-in-law, put him to Death; and *Calciope*, to save her Children from the bloody Hands of their Grandfather, who undoubtedly would not have spared them, put them secretly a Shipboard to transport them into *Greece*; hoping that *Ino*, of whose Death she had got Intelligence, being no more in the Way to persecute them, *Athamas* would give them a favourable Reception; but they were shipwrecked in an Isle, where, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (2), they waited the Arrival of *Jason*, who carried them back to *Colchis*, and delivered them to their Mother; who, the same Historian adds, in Gratitude for so important a Service, used all possible Means to promote the Success of that Prince's Passion for *Medea* her Sister, as I shall have Occasion afterwards to observe (a).

B 4

During

(1) *Diodorus*. (2) *Loc. cit.*

(a) *Pausanias* in *Beot.* c. 34. says however, that *Phryxus* returned into *Greece* in *Athamas's* Lifetime, and that he settled upon him his Dominions, which, upon Failure of Issue, he had made over to his Nephews *Coronus* and *Haliartes*; the Sons of *Thersander* and Grandsons of *Sisyphus* his Brother, leaving to them a Portion. According to other Authors, it was not *Phryxus* himself returned to *Greece*, but his Son *Presbon*, whom he had by the Daughter of *Æetes*.

During that Time, *Pelias* the Relation of *Atthamas* by *Eolus*, from whom they were both descended (1), governed a Part of *Thessaly*. This Prince had usurped the Crown from *Eson*, to whom it of Right belonged, and a long Series of Tyranny rendered him the Object of his People's Horror and Dislike (2). For the better Understanding of this History, we are to know that *Tyro*, the Daughter of the celebrated *Salmones* (3), having gained *Neptune's* good Graces, that is to say, one of his Priests, had by him *Neleus* and *Pelias*; but as these Sorts of Gallantries did not then mar a Lady's Fortune, she was afterwards married to *Cretheus*, of the Race of the *Eolides*, and had by him three Sons, *Eson*, *Pheres*, and *Amithaon*. *Cretheus* built in *Thessaly* the City *Iolcus*, which he made the Capital of his Dominions, and at his Death left the Crown to *Eson* the eldest, leaving other Settlements to *Pheres* the Father of *Admetus*, and to *Amithaon*, without any Regard to *Pelias*, who was none of his. He however, after the Death of *Cretheus*, became very powerful, and dethroned *Eson*, reducing him to a private Station, tho' he durst not banish him from *Iolcos*. In the mean time, to secure the Crown, he no sooner heard that *Alcimede* the Wife of *Eson* (a), was delivered of a Son, than he sought all Means to destroy him, because the Oracle whom he had consulted after his Usurpation, had foretold him that he was to be dethroned by a Prince of the Race of the *Eolides*. *Eson* and *Alcimede*, discovering the Tyrant's cruel Purpose, gave out that the young *Diomedes*, this was *Jason's* first Name, was dangerously sick, and in a few Days after spread the News of his Death. His Funerals were even prepared with great Solemnity; but instead of his Interment, his Mother secretly conveyed him to Mount *Pelion*, where *Chiron*, the wisest and most ingenious Man of his

(1) Apollod. l. 1. (2) Valerius Flaccus, l. 1. (3) Apollod. l. 1.

(a) Tho' the Antients vary a great deal about the Name of *Jason's* Mother, as may be seen in the Commentary of *Meziriac* upon the Epistle of *Hyppobole* to *Jason*, yet most of them name her *Alcimede*.

his Time, took Care of his Education (1). Other Authors say *Pelias* never knew that *Eson* had a Son till he was pretty well grown up, and that he had shipp'd him off in an old Weather-beaten Vessel, in hopes he would perish ; but that having been happily preserved, *Chiron* concealed him in his Cave (a).

This young Prince, about the Age of twenty Years, went to consult the Oracle, who ordered him to dress himself after the Manner of the *Magnesiens*, superadding to that Habit a Leopard's Skin, like that which *Chiron* wore ; to arm himself with two Lances, and to go in that Equipage to the Court of *Iolcos*, all which he punctually put in Execution.

In going from Mount *Pelion* to that City, he had to pass the *Anaurus*, a River unknown to the Geographers, but which is so called by *Apollodorus Rhodius* and *Lucan*. This River, or rather Brook (b) having then overflowed its Banks, *Jason* fortun'd to meet *Juno* in the Form of an old Woman, who offer'd to carry him over upon her Shoulders. In the Passage the young Prince drop'd one of his Shoes. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this Circumstance, says the Oracle which foretold *Pelias* that he was to be dethroned by a Prince of the Race of the *Eolides*, had added, that he was to beware of a Man who should appear before him with one Foot bare, the other shod (c). *Jason* making his public Appearance in *Iolcos*, in the Equipage which the Oracle had prescribed to him, drew the Attention of the whole City. They were astonish'd to see so handsome a Youth, in so extraordinary a Habit. *Pelias* hearing of the Arrival of this Stranger, went him-

(1) Apollod. Valer. Flacc. and especially Pindar, Pyth. 4.

(a) All the Antients are agreed that *Jason* was educated by *Chiron*, and the Scholiast on *Pindar* even quotes for Proof of it two Verses of *Hesiod*, who expressly says so. That *Centaur* taught him the Sciences which he himself profess'd, especially Medicine, and gave him for that Reason the Name of *Jason*, instead of *Diomedes*, which he had before.

(b) *Valerius Flaccus* names this River *Enipeus*, and *Hyginus*, *Evenus* ; but to be sure this is an Error in that Author.

(c) Apollod. l. 1. Tzetzes upon Lycophr. and the Scholiast upon Pindar, Pyth. 4.

himself to the Place where he was; and observing that he had but one Shoe, made no doubt but he was the Person with whom the Oracle had threatned him. However, he dissembled his Surprize, and demanded of the Stranger who he was. *Jason*, without being apprehensive of the Danger there was in declaring the Truth, told him briskly that he was the Son of *Eson*, and recounted to him in what Manner he had been educated in *Chiron's* Cave: Then addressing himself to the chief of the Assembly, asked them where his Father dwelt, was conducted to his House, there received as his Son, while the Tyrant, who had the Mortification to see how much the People interested themselves in the Prince, durst make no Attempt against him.

Pheres, who reigned in a Part of *Thessaly*, hearing of his Nephew's Arrival, came to *Iolcos*, accompanied with his Son *Admetus*, and sent for *Neleus* and *Amithaon* who were settled in *Messenia*. When the three Brothers were met, they spent five Days in rejoicing: On the sixth in the Morning *Jason* had an Interview with his Father and his Uncles, and they consulted together how to dethrone *Pelias*. After several Overtures, it was agreed that they should go all to his Palace (1); and upon their Arrival, *Jason* addressed his Uncle in a bold courageous Manner, demanded of him the Crown which he had usurped, reproached him with his unjust Procedure, and exhorted him amicably to compromise the Matter; assuring him, that far from coveting his Possessions, however unjustly taken from him, all he demanded was the Crown, and that he consented to leave him all the Wealth he had acquired by it.

Peleas was old, and hated by his People: so bold a Speech struck him to the Heart, and he made no doubt but his Subjects, charmed with *Jason's* fine Address, would support him with all their Might. Perhaps too he might apprehend, for Tyranny is always timorous, that there was already a Party formed against him;

(1) Pind. loc. cit.

him ; thus, without daring openly to refuse so reasonable a Proposal, he sought to evade it.

Jason was then in that Time of Life when the Love of Glory is the darling Passion ; and *Pelias* being persuaded that he might remove him from *Iolcos* by setting before him an Opportunity of gratifying his Ambition, told him that the unfortunate *Phryxus*, their common Relation, descended with them from *Eolus*, had been assassinated in *Colchis*, and that his Ghost had appeared to him, charging him to revenge his Death, and to save his Children who were every Day exposed to the insatiable Avarice of the Tyrant, who detained them at his Court. He added, that he was very ready to resign to him a Crown to which he had a legal Title ; but that as a Duty of Religion bound him to the Expedition to *Colchis*, which he was not in a Condition to undertake himself, he hoped he would not refuse to discharge it for him, and give Satisfaction to the injured *Manes* of a Relation who called aloud for Revenge. To make *Jason* relish this Proposal the better, and the more to inflame his Ardour to undertake the Expedition, he told him that *Phryxus*, when he was obliged to abandon *Thebes*, had carried with him a Fleece of great Value, the Conquest whereof would enrich him, and at the same Time crown him with immortal Glory. *Disturbed, as I have been, says Pelias, with frightful Dreams, I sent to consult the Oracle of Apollo, who made Answer, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the Manes of Phryxus, and to bring them back to Greece (a); but my Years make so long a Voyage impossible for me. You who are in the Flower of Youth, are in a Condition to undertake it, your Duty engages you to it, Glory calls and invites you ; thereby you shall fulfil an Obligation which I am not able to discharge, and I swear by the Almighty Jove, from whom you and I derive our Original, that you shall no sooner be returned, than I will*

(a) It was a common Opinion of those Times, that the *Manes* of those who died in a foreign Land, were in Exile, and still sought to return to their own Country. The Scholiast on *Pindar*, in Confirmation of this Opinion, cites two Verses from *Homer*.

will establish you in the Possession of the Throne that belongs to you.

This Proposal was highly grateful to *Jason*, who having withdrawn to confer with his Father and Uncles, they resolved unanimously to publish their Design through all *Greece*, to invite the Youth to join with him in so glorious and advantageous an Expedition.

While the Choice of the *Grecian* Youth were assembling in *Thessaly* to accompany *Jason*, a Ship was ordered to be got ready proper for so long a Voyage; this is the famous *Argo*, of which so many Fables have been uttered. As no Body has explained them better than *Bockart* (1), from him I shall partly borrow what I am to say on this Article, after I have delivered what the Antients themselves say of it.

In the first Place there are four Opinions concerning the Name *Argo*, which was given to this Ship. *Apollonius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ptolomeus Ephestion* in *Photius*, *Servius*, and some others, will have it to have been derived from *Argus*, who proposed the Plan of it; and then they vary too a good deal with respect to this *Argus*, who certainly cannot be the *Argus* whom *Juno* employed as a Guard to *Io*, whose Time preceded that of the *Argonauts* by eight or nine Generations; for which I refer to *Meziriac* (2), who has very justly remarked, that in *Apollonius Rhodius*, we must read *Argus the Son of Alektor*, instead of Son of *Arestor*, who is the Father of the antient *Argus*. *Alektor*, a *Thespian* by Birth, lived in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and most of the Antients agree, that it was his Son built the Ship *Argo*, and took Care of it during the whole Voyage: For we ought to reject the Opinion of *Ptolomey Ephestion*, who said, as we are told by *Photius*, that *Hercules* himself had built that Ship, and had given it the Name of *Argo*, from the Name of a Son of *Jason*, whom he loved, since we learn from *Pindar*, and most Authors, that *Jason* himself was but eight and twenty Years of Age, when he undertook this Expedition.

The

(1) Chan. l. 2. c. 12. (2) Upon the Epistle of Hypsipyle to Jason.

The second Opinion is that of *Diodorus Siculus* (1), *Servius* (2), and the Scholiast upon *Euripides* (3), who alledge, that the Name of *Argo*, was given to that Vessel upon Account of its Swiftneſs, the Word ἀργος ſignifying *Swift*.

According to the third Opinion, which is that of *Tzetzes* (4), it was ſo called becauſe it was built at *Argos*, or rather becauſe it was made upon the Model of that of *Danaus* King of *Argos*, which *Germanicus*, in his Commentary upon *Aratus*, alledges to have been named *Argo*. Laſtly, *Cicero* quotes two Verſes, intimating, that this Ship was named *Argo*, merely becauſe it carried the *Greeks*, *Argivos*.

*Argo, quia Achivi in ea deſecti viri
Veſti, petebant pellem inauratam arietis.*

Theſe Verſes are from *Ennius* who tranſlated the *Medea* of *Euripides*; though *Euripides* ſays no ſuch Thing.

The ſame Antients vary no leſs about the Quality of the Wood that was uſed in the Conſtruction of this Ship: I ſhall not enter here into any Detail, only obſerve that according to *Euripides* in his *Medea*, and almoſt all the Antients, it was built of the Wood of Mount *Pelion*, whence it had the Epithet given it of Πηλιας, and in *Latin*, *Peliaca*; and that it was built in a Place of *Magneſia*, which from that Time was ſtiled *Pegaſæ*, from the Word Πηγνύμι, ſignifying among other Things *to build*. The learned Scholiast on *Apolonius* (5) ſays ſo expreſſly: *Pegaſé is a Cape of Magneſia, ſo called from the Ship Argos having been built there*. In that Place there was a Temple of *Apollo*; hence that God, in *Hefiod*, has the Name of *Pegaſian* given him (6). There it was alſo that the *Argonauts* embarked, and the particular Spot of Ground where this Imbarkation was made, from that Time got the Name of *Aphetæ*, as is poſitively aſſerted by *Strabo* (7), and *Stephanus*, who cites for this Opinion *Hellanicus*.

One Thing not to be omitted is, that in the Conſtruction of this Ship an Oak of the Foreſt of *Dodona* was

(1) L. 4. (2) Upon the fourth Eclo. of *Virgil*. (3) Trag. of *Med*. (4) Upon *Lycophron*. (5) Upon the firſt Book of the *Argo-
nauts*. (6) Upon *Hercules's* Buckler. (7) L. 9.

was employed, which was put in the Prow, and hence undoubtedly came the Tradition, importing that the Ship *Argo* delivered Oracles, and gave Responses to those who consulted it, as may be seen in *Apollodorus*, in *Apollonius*, *Lycophron*, &c. whence it has the Epithet given it of *Loquax* and *Sacra*. *Valerius Flaccus* places this Oak upon the Stern, and *Appollonius Rhodius* says it served for a Mast.

As for the Form of this Ship, 'tis certain from all the Antients, whose Authorities need not be quoted here, that it was long, and nearly of the Figure of our Gallies, whereas those which the *Greeks* used before were round ; which makes *Pliny* say (1), *Longa nave Jasonem primum navigasse, Philo Stephanus autor est*. Where it is to be remarked by the by, that by long Ships the *Greeks* understood Ships of War, and by the round those which served for Merchants. 'Tis according to this Idea that the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* explains these Words *ναῦς μακράς*, long Ships, by *ναῦς πολεμίας*, Ships of War : And this single Remark demolishes the Opinion of M. le Clerc, who will have the Expedition of the *Argonauts* to have been only an Enterprize of Merchants, as has been already said at the Beginning of this Chapter. There was even, according to *Clidimus* cited by *Plutarch*, a general Law for all *Greece*, forbidding Merchants to set sail with a Ship containing more than a hundred Persons.

I promised after delivering the Opinions of the Antients about the Ship *Argo*, to give *Bochart's* Sentiments of it, and I shall now fulfil that Promise. The *Greeks*, says this Author, had learned the Art of Navigation from the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cadmus* brought into their Country. The *Phœnicians* made Use of two Sorts of Ships ; the one round, which they called *Gaulis*, and the other long, which were denominated *Arco* ; whence the *Greeks* by changing the *c* into *g*, as of *Cneius* and *Caius* they made *Gneius* and *Gaius*, instead of *Arco* pronounced and wrote *Argo*. *Appollonius* says, this Galley consisted of fifty Oars, and calls it, *πεντηκοντέρον ναῦν* ; thus, continues our learned Author, we may conjecture

conjecture that it had twenty-five Oars on each Side, and fifty Cubits in Length. If we rely on *Theocritus*, who mentions it on Occasion of the young *Hylas*, it was even ten Cubits more in Length, having, according to him, thirty Oars on each Side. Consequently, he concludes, it was neither from its Lightness nor Swiftneſs, as the Antients imagined, nor becauſe it was built by *Argus*, whoever he was, nor becauſe it carried the *Greeks* or *Argives*, that this Galley was named *Argo*; but on Account of its long Figure.

The Antients are not agreed as to the Number of thoſe who embarked with *Jaſon*; but the moſt common Opinion is that they were fifty two. *The Number of the Argonauts.* Firſt of all they conſidered who ſhould be the Leader in this Enterprize, and though *Hercules*, both by his Character and Exploits, might have diſputed it with any, he was however content to yield the Honour thereof to *Jaſon*, as the one whom this Expedition more nearly concerned, being a near Kinsman of *Phryxus*; beſides that *Pelias* had inveſted him with the Commiſſion. Next they nominated the Pilot of the Ship, and this Truſt was veſted in *Typhis*, who was accounted a Son of *Neptune*, that is, he was a good Sea-Man. As moſt of the other *Argonauts* were celebrated Princes in that Time, I ought as I name them, to give their Characters in a few Words, reſerving the latter Part of this Book for a more particular Account of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves not only in this but alſo in other Expeditions wherein they were concerned.

Jaſon, as Chief, claims the firſt Place in this Catalogue; but what I have already ſaid, and what I ſhall be obliged to ſay of him afterwards, will make him ſufficiently known. What I am to ſay of *Hercules*, whom I name immediately after *Jaſon*, will only turn upon what relates to this Enterprize, wherein ſome Antients even pretend that he had no Part. All the reſt however agree that he embarked with the *Argonauts*: Some alledging too that he was at firſt nominated their Chief, and that *Jaſon* did not become ſo till after

after *Hercules* had been left in *Troas* where he landed to go in quest of *Hylas*, as I give Account in the Life of *Hercules*. There are even Authors who will have it that this Heroe did not go the Length of *Asia*, but debarked upon the Coasts of *Thessaly*, in the Gulph of *Magnesia*, where the *Argonauts* stopped to take in fresh Water, and that this Place was from that Time called, *Aphetes*, or *the Place of Dereliction*; others, on the contrary, that it was in that very Gulph the *Argonauts* embarked, and that *Aphetes* signifies, the Place of Departure.

If *Hercules* went not as far as the Coasts of *Asia*, it was upon another Occasion that he took the City *Troy*, and perhaps, as M. *Freret* observes in a Dissertation of his printed in our Memoirs (1) upon his Return from *Lydia*: But what makes against this Opinion, in the *Trojan Expedition*, this Heroe was accompanied with *Telamon*, on whom he bestowed *Hesione* in Marriage, and it will not be easy to account for it how that Prince could then be upon the Coasts of *Phrygia*.

Theseus, according to *Plutarch*, also embarked for this Expedition, but this Article is likewise liable to great Difficulty, as I have remarked in speaking of that Prince.

Acastus, the Son of *Pelias* and *Anaxibia*, was of the Number of these Chieftains. He was Cousin-German to *Jeson*, and known by the Antients as a celebrated Hunter, very expert at handling the Bow, as *Ovid* remarks: *Jaculo que insignis Acastus* (2).

Again, some reckon *Aëtor* among the *Argonauts*; but as there were several Princes of that Name, he whom I take to be the *Argonaut*, must have been the famous *Eurytus*. *Ovid* (3) gives him a Place with his Father in the Battle between the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, and in the hunting of *Calydon*. These three Events happened near enough to one another, for the same Man to have been concerned in them all, as I shall prove elsewhere.

Aëtorides who is also ranked among the *Argonauts*,
and

(1) Vol. v. (2) Met. l. 8. (3) Met. l. 11.

and who is designed under this patronymic Name, is *Menætius* the Son of *Actor* and Father of *Patroclus*.

Admetus, the King of *Thessaly*, whom all the Antients reckon in the Number of the *Argonauts*, was the Son of *Pheres*, and Grandson of *Cretheus*, and consequently *Jason's* Cousin. The Story of the loving *Alcestes* his Spouse is universally known.

Ætalides the Son of *Mercury*, and of *Eupoleme* a Native of *Larissa*, is added by some Authors to the List of the *Argonauts*. 'Tis said of him that he had obtained of his Father *Mercury* two Favours; the one, that whether alive or dead he should always be informed of what was transacted in the World; the other, that he should be one half of his Time among the Living, and the other half among the Dead: A Fable built perhaps upon his having been the Herald of the *Argonauts*, which Office occasioned his being often present, often absent from the Army, and obliged him to be exactly informed of all that passed. He was also by his Mother's Side of the Race of the *Eolides*, since she was the Daughter of *Pisidice* the Sister of *Cretheus*.

Apollodorus is the only one who names *Almenus*, a Person unknown to the other Antients; he means perhaps an Inhabitant of a City situated upon the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, which was called *Almené*, who embarked with the *Argonauts*, and is stiled by that Author a Son of *Mars*, which agrees well enough to a *Thracian*: But what is more surprizing, *Apollodorus* is the only one who reckons the celebrated *Amphiaræus* among the *Argonauts*. It is very possible that he was both in the Expedition to *Colchis*, and at the Siege of *Thebes*, where he died, as I shall shew afterwards.

As *Apollodorus* is the sole Author who names *Amphiaræus*, so he is the only one who has omitted *Amphidamas*, an *Arcadian* the Son of *Aleus* and *Cleobule*, and Brother of *Lycurgus* and *Cepheus*, who is in all the other Lists, as also *Amphion*, the Son of *Hyperasius*, a Native of *Pallene* in *Arcadia*, where his Father was King. We must not however confound this *Amphion* with the

King of *Thebes*, who had the same Name, but was dead before this Expedition.

All the Antients, with one accord, mention among the *Argonauts* the Pilote *Typhis*, of the little City *Typha* in the Extremity of *Beotia* upon the Sea-coast, whose Inhabitants were valued for being good Seamen. Some Authors make him the Son of *Phorbas* and *Imané*, and others give him for his Father *Anginus* or *Hagnius*. He died at the Court of *Lycus*, in the Country of the *Mariandinians*, and his Place was supplied by the famous *Anceus*, who is reckoned the Son of *Neptune*, because he was an excellent Pilote ; his Mother was named *Astipalea*, the Daughter of *Phœnix*. Upon his Return from *Colchis* he applied himself to the Improvement of Agriculture, and took great Care of his Vineyards : As he bore too hard upon his Vine-dressers, and used them ill, he was told by one of them, that he would never drink of the Vine which he was then labouring. The Time of the Vintage being come, he ordered a Goblet to be quickly filled up of the first Juice that could be drawn from the Grape ; and fixing his Eye upon him who had made the Prediction upon him, reproached the Man for his Want of Foresight, upon which the Labourer replied, that many Things often intervened between a full Cup and the Time of drinking it. Accordingly, in the very Moment he was bearing the Cup to his Mouth, he was informed that a monstrous Boar was ravaging his Vines : Forthwith he parted with the Cup, flew to his Arms, and in pursuing the Boar received a Wound whereof he died ; and this Answer of *Anceus's* Servant became a Proverb, which *Cato* thus turns into *Latin* : *Multum interest inter os & offam* ; though the Sense of the Words of the Proverb is, *Multa cadunt inter Calicem supremaque labra*. We must not confound this *Anceus* with another of the same Name, whom all the Antients reckon in the Number of the *Argonauts*. He was the Son of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Tegeates* in *Arcadia*, who sent him in his Place into *Colchis*, because he would not part with his Father *Alceus*, whose Age and Infirmities required his Presence.

Onomacritus speaks also of another *Anceus* of the City *Pleuron* in *Etolia*, whom he names among the *Argonauts*; but the List of this antient Author is the least exact of all; for he inserts into it also one *Ancystheus*, a Person quite unknown, unless we suppose, with some Authors, that he had wrote *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, of whom he makes no mention, though he be owned by all the Antients to have been of the Number of the *Argonauts*. He names also one *Areus*; which is an Epithet often used by *Homer*, rather than a proper Name; for it was a common Practice with the antient Poets to give the Name of *Mars*, or Son of *Mars*, to Warriors celebrated by their Exploits.

The same Author takes no Notice of two of the Name of *Argus*, whom all the rest reckon among the *Argonauts*; and as there were many Persons of this Name, 'tis not easy to distinguish them. 'Tis however commonly allowed, that one of these *Argus*'s was the same who built the Ship *Argo*. The other *Argonaut* of the same Name was that Son of *Phryxus*, who having suffered Shipwreck in his Return from *Colchis*, as has been said, was driven upon an Island, whence *Jason* brought him back to his Mother with his Brothers.

We know little about one *Armenius*, or *Armenus*, whom some reckon in the Number of those Chiefs who accompanied *Jason*, and alledge, that he was of a City of the same Name, situated between *Pheres* and *Larissa*, whether the Name of the City had been given to the *Argonaut*, or that of the *Argonaut* to the City, whereof perhaps he was the Founder; for all those who embarked with *Jason* were of the best Families in *Greece*.

Apollodorus again stands alone in filling up the List of those Heroes with the Names of *Ascalaphus* and *Almenus*, or rather *Ialmenius*, as he calls him elsewhere; as he is also named by *Homer*, both of them Sons of *Mars*, who had them by the fair *Astioché*.

If *Esculapius* assisted in the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, 'tis surprizing that he is to be found only in *Hyginus*'s List: 'Tis true, *Clement* of *Alexandria* names him

him also with *Castor* and *Pollux*, upon the Authority of *Apollonius Rhodius*, who, however, in the Passage which he quotes, mentions only the *DioscURI*, without taking any Notice of *Asclepius* or *Esculapius*. As for *Castor* and *Pollux*, there is not any one of the Antients has omitted them (a).

Asterion, though we know little else about him, is however named among the *Argonauts* by some Authors, who say he was the Son of *Cometes* and *Antigone*, the Daughter of *Pharcs*; and as *Pharcs* was the Brother of *Cretheus* the Son of *Eolus*, he was *Jason's* Cousin: *Cometes* too, as well as his Wife, may have been of the Race of the *Eolides*. I am however of Opinion, that we must not confound this *Asterion*, as *Apollodorus* has done, with *Asterius* the Son of *Nelus*, and Brother of *Nestor*, who is also reckoned among the *Argonauts*.

Those who will have it that *Atalanta* embarked with these Captains, are certainly mistaken; for what Probability is there that one young Woman alone would have undertaken this Expedition among all these Heroes?

Several of the Antients have also put down in their List, *Augeas*, or *Augias* the Son of the *Sun*, or rather of *Phorbas* King of *Elis*; this is that *Augeas* whose Stables *Hercules* cleaned, which makes one of that Heroe's Labours.

Euphemus is mentioned by *Pausanias* alone, who in speaking of the other *Argonauts* who were present at the Funeral Games celebrated by *Acastus* at his Return from *Colchis*, names some that are very little known to the other Antients; among the rest *Eurybates*, who he says distinguished himself in the Game of the Coit. He was the Son of *Tebeon*, and he it was that cured the Wound which *Oileus* received as he was hunting with *Hercules* the Birds of the *Stymphalic* Lake. *Pausanias* adds next, that *Melanion*, *Neotheus*, *Phalareus*, *Argus* and *Iphiclus*, are the five who seem to have disputed the Prize of the Foot Race. This *Iphiclus* was the Father of *Protesilaus*, the first that was slain upon the

(a) I shall give their History in a particular Chapter.

the Banks of *Troy* when besieged by the *Greeks*; as for the rest, they are not named by the other Antients among the *Argonauts*. According to the same Author, *Iolas* the Companion of *Hercules* in his Labours, won the Prize of the Chariot-race; and as it is probable that none were admitted to those Games but those who had accompanied *Jason*, we may conclude that *Iolas* had left *Hercules*, as the other *Argonauts* had done, and went with them to *Colchis*.

Calais and *Zetbes*, the Sons of *Boreas* and *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Erethheus* King of *Athens*, are too famous in this Expedition, to have been omitted; I shall speak of their Adventures in the History of the Expedition which those Heroes made after their Departure from *Greece*.

Canthus the Son of *Abas*, or according to some Authors, the Son of *Cometes*, and Grandson of *Abas*, who reigned in *Elis*, is also named among these Captains; *Apollonius* says he perished in *Libya*, probably when the Ship *Argo*, in returning from *Colchis*, landed upon the Coasts of *Africa*, as shall be said afterwards. The same Author is singular in reckoning among these Chieftains, *Autolycus*, that celebrated Robber, who was the Son of *Mercury* and *Chione* the Daughter of *Dedalion*; but 'tis probable that he confounded this *Autolycus*, who lived at a very great Distance from the Time of this Expedition, with another Prince of the same Name, who according to other Authors joined the *Argonauts* near the City *Sinope*, with his two Brothers *Deileon* and *Phlagius*. The first was Father to *Ulysses's* Great Grandfather.

I shall only name *Azorus*, a Person unknown to all the Antients but *Hesychius*, who says he was for some Time Pilote to the Ship *Argo*. I ought not even to name *Buphagus*, tho' reckoned by some among the *Argonauts*: Perhaps 'tis not without Reason that those who have taken him into their List are censured for having made a Person of the Epithet that was given to *Hercules*, because he ate up all the Provisions of the *Argonauts*; which probably was not one of the least

Motives that determined them to leave him in *Troas*.

The brave *Ceneus*, the Son of *Elatus*, so celebrated in the Battle between the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, is named among *Jason*'s Companions by *Hyginus* alone: His Son *Serenus* is also in the Lists given by other Authors, of those who joined in this Expedition. *Cepheus* an *Arcadian*, the Brother of *Lycurgus*, and Son of *Aleus*, is mentioned by all the Antients.

Cius is named by none of those who have written upon the Expedition of the *Argonauts*; but *Strabo*'s Authority seems sufficient to give him a Place among those Heroes. That Author says the City *Prusa* in *Bitlynia*, rebuilt by *Prusias*, was formerly named *Cius*, from the Name of its Founder, who built it upon his Return from *Colchis*.

Clytus and *Ipkitus*, the Sons of *Eurythus* and *Antiope*, come from *Oechalia*, where their Father reigned: *Eumedon*, the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, and *Clymenus*, the Brother of *Iphiclus*, and Uncle of *Protesilaus*, are found but in a few Authors.

As there were several *Deucalions*, Authors are at a Loss to determine which of them is he whom we find in some Lists of the *Argonauts*: We may however reckon, with a great deal of Probability, that he is either the Son of *Minos* I. or the Son of *Melampus*, *Jason*'s Kinsman by *Eolus*, who had both the Name of *Deucalion*, and lived in the Time of this Expedition.

There is as little Difficulty in determining who that *Ecbion* was, whom all the Antients make to have accompanied *Jason*; 'tis undoubtedly he who was said to be the Son of *Mercury* and *Antianira*. For the one, who lived in the Time of *Cadmus*, and whose Son was *Pentheus*, cannot be the *Argonaut* now in question. *Ecbion* was a Man of Cunning and Policy, and this is what made him be called a Son of *Mercury*; accordingly he was employed as a Spy during the Voyage.

Ergyrus, another celebrated *Argonaut*, who shared the Pilotship with *Tiphis*, was undoubtedly accounted a Son of *Neptune*, for no other Reason, but because he was expert in Navigation. We are to think the
same

same of *Euphemus*, who was also said to be the Son of *Neptune* and *Macionissa*, and who, after the Death of *Tiphis*, was made Pilote of the Ship *Argo*. All those who have given account of the *Argonauts* make Mention of him; and I shall have Occasion to speak of him afterwards.

In the Number of the *Argonauts* is also reckoned *Phlias*, who communicated his Name to that small Country near *Sicyon*, which is watered by the River *Asopus*, and which was called *Phliasia*: He passed for the Son of *Bacchus*, his Mother was *Arethyrea*, and not *Ctonophile*, who was rather his Wife, by whom he had a Son named *Androdamas*.

Euryalus, the Son of *Mecistius*, the Grandson of *Talaus*, and Great-grandson of *Amitbaon*, who had for his Father *Cretheus*, is also reckoned among the *Argonauts*. We find this same Prince at the Siege of *Troy*, where *Homer* says he commanded the *Argives* with *Diomedes*.

Eurydamas, the Son of *Iras* and *Demonassa*, is named by *Hyginus* alone, tho' his Brother *Eurytion* is in all the Authors who have spoke of the *Argonauts*. Several Antients have confounded this *Eurytus* with *Eurytion*; but I believe we must distinguish them, and make of the latter a third *Argonaut*, who is omitted by none of those who give account of this Expedition; and as several Authors concur in making *Eurytus* the Son of *Mercury* and *Antianira*, and Brother to that *Echion* whom I mentioned a little before, we must conclude from thence that this *Eurytus* is not the same with *Eurytus* the King of *Oechalia*, whom *Hercules* put to Death, and whose two Sons, *Iphitus* and *Clytus*, were of the Number of the *Argonauts*.

Posides, an antient Author, cited by *Athenæus*, reckons also in the Number *Glaucus*, without saying any more about him. 'Tis not probable that he means *Glaucus* of the City of *Anthedon*, that celebrated Fisherman mentioned by *Ovid*, who says he was transformed into a Sea-God, and who, according to *Apollonius*, rose up from the Bottom of the Water to let the *Ar-*

gonauts know that Destiny stood in the Way of *Hercules's* Voyage to *Colchis*, and that they had done right to leave him: Thus I reckon he designed *Glaucus* the Son of *Sisyphus*, the Grandson of *Eolus*, and *Jason's* Kinsman.

Idas, a *Messenian*, and Brother of *Lynceus*, is celebrated among these Captains. He, as well as *Jason*, was descended from *Eolus*, since his Father *Aphareus* was the Son of *Perieres*, whose Grandfather was *Eolus*. *Arane* his Mother, the Daughter of *Oebalus*, gave her Name to a City of *Messenia*.

Idmon is named also by almost all the Antients. As this was a celebrated Soothsayer, he had *Apollo* given him for his Father; but *Hyginus*, upon antient Authorities, asserts that he was the Son of *Abas*, and that *Argos* was his Country. Some of the Antients confound *Idmon* with *Mopsus*, and others distinguish them. Tho' *Idmon* foresaw, by the Principles of Divination, that he was to perish in this Voyage, he embarked however, and actually died either of Sickness, according to some, or, according to others, of a Wound which he had received at the hunting of the Boar in the Country of the *Mariandinians*.

Iolaus, the Son of *Iphiclus*, and Nephew of *Hercules*, is named among the *Argonauts* by none but *Hyginus*, and *Ovid* says he assisted at the hunting of *Calydon*: He might very well have been at both these Exploits. The fabulous Tradition delivered by this last Author, imported that *Hebe* had renewed his Youth at the Request of *Hercules*; which means that this Prince advanced in Years, had recovered all the Vigour of Youth, when he slew *Eurystheus*, who, after *Hercules's* Death, declared War against the *Albanians*, to oblige them to deliver up to him the *Heraclides*, who had thrown themselves upon their Mercy, to secure them from the Persecutions of this Enemy.

Among the *Argonauts* are also named two *Iphiclus's*, one the Son of *Thestius*, the Brother of *Althea*, *Meleager's* Mother, and the other the Son of *Philacus*, and Father of *Protesilaus*. *Valerius Flaccus* is the only one

one who reckons in this Number *Iphis* the Son of *Alektor*; and none but *Hyginus* name *Ixition* of the City of *Corinth*. *Munkerus* thinks there is a Fault in the Text of that Author, and that we are to read *Cantbus* instead of *Ixition*; this *Cantbus* I have already taken notice of.

If *Laertes*, the Son of *Arcefius*, and Father of *Ulysses* (a), was among the *Argonauts*, 'tis surprizing that he is mentioned by none but *Apollodorus*. What may be said in Vindication of this Author, is, that *Laertes* was contemporary with *Jason*, and his Kinsman; and this perhaps is the Reason why he has inserted him in his List, where he has omitted *Leodatus*, the Son of *Bias*, the Brother of *Talaus* and *Arcius*, who are all three named among the *Argonauts*.

They have not omitted the celebrated *Lynceus*, the Son of *Aphareus*, and Brother of *Idas*, who must not be confounded with the Son of *Epytus*, who had the same Name. This is that *Lynceus*, who is said by all the Antients to have been so quick-sighted, that he saw even into the Bowels of the Earth; a Hyperbole under which is figured a Man skilful in the Search of Metals.

Meleager, the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, must have been very young when he set out for this Expedition with *Tydeus* his Father's Brother, since he had a Governor given him, *Leodatus* his natural Brother, whom some Authors have also reckoned among the *Argonauts*. As all the Antients are agreed that *Meleager* was of the Number of these Heroes, 'tis evident that the famous hunting of the *Calydonian* Boar, and the Death of this Prince, who perished in the Manner known to all the World, are Events posterior to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

The famous Diviner *Mopsus* is also reckoned of the Number by all the Antients, tho' they are divided as to the Place of his Nativity; Some think he was of *Oechalia*,

(a) *Homer*, who often speaks of *Laertes* in his *Odysey*, never insinuates in the least that he joined in this Expedition.

Oechalia, but the most common Opinion makes him a *Thessalian*, of the City of *Titarene*.

I presume we are not to confound this *Mopsus* with another Diviner of the same Name; the first was the Son of *Ampycus* and *Chloris*, whence he got the Name of *Ampycides*; the second had for his Father *Tiresias*; the first practised Divination during the Voyage to *Colchis* (1); the second signalized himself at the Siege of *Thebes* (2), and both of them were very much honoured after their Death, and had Oracles which were often consulted. That of *Mopsus* the Son of *Tiresias* was in *Cilicia*, and that of the *Argonaut* was in *Africa*, where he died in his Return from *Colchis* (3).

Butes the *Athenian* is mentioned by all the Authors who have spoke of the *Argonauts*. After his Death he was honoured by the *Athenians* as a Heroe, and he had an Altar, according to *Pausanias* (4), in the Temple of *Erechtheus*.

Nauplius, the Son of *Neptune* and *Amymone*, *Danaus's* Daughter, is also reckoned in all the Lists, as also *Menætius*, who is omitted by none of the Antients; he was the Son of *Actor* and *Egine*, and Father of the famed *Patroclus*.

Neleus the Brother of *Pelias*, who had quitted *Thessaly* to go and settle at *Pylos* in the *Peloponnesus*, came with *Perichlymenes* his Son, to imbark with *Jason*: This is the same *Perichlymenes*, who being transformed into an Eagle, was slain by *Hercules*; whence we may conclude, that it was not till after the Expedition of the *Argonauts* this Heroe made an Inroad into the *Peloponnesus*, during which he slew all the Children of *Neleus*, *Nesſor* excepted, whom *Valerius Flaccus* (5) also makes to have been at the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*.

We have none but *Apollodorus* who names *Palemon* the Son of *Etolus*, and Great-grandson of *Eolus* by *Calice* his Grandmother; and *Hyginus* is the only one who

(1) Statius Thebaid. l. 3. v. 520. (2) Strabo, l. 14. (3) Amm. Marcell. l. 14. Apuleius. (4) In Attic. (5) L. 1. v. 380.

who reckons among the *Argonauts* *Oileus* the Father of that *Ajax* who ravished *Cassandra*; but in all the Lists we find *Peleus*, the Son of *Æacus*, and Father of *Achilles*, as also *Telamon* his Brother.

Peneleus, the Son of *Hipalmus*, *Staphylus*, *Phanus* and *Phalerus*, the Sons of *Alcon* the *Athenian*, are little known, tho' the Name of the last is in all the Lists, whereas none but *Apollodorus* names the rest.

Philammon, the Son of *Apollo* and *Chione*, celebrated in *Ovid's* *Metamorphoses*, is mentioned among the *Argonauts* by none but *Hyginus*, who takes also into the Number of those Captains *Philoctetes* the Son of *Pean*, the Companion of *Hercules*, and Heir to his Arrows, who afterwards joined in the Siege of *Troy*, as shall be said in the Sequel. The same Author is also the only one who reckons among them *Phocas*, the Son of the *Lapithe Ceneus*, of the City *Magnesia*, as also his Brother *Priapus*, and his Cousin *Polyphemus*, the Son of the *Thessalian Elatus*, the Brother of *Ceneus*. But what shall we think of one *Thersanon*, the Child of the *Sun*, and *Leucothea*, the Daughter of *Orcamus* King of *Persia*, whom *Hyginus* names among the *Argonauts*? Shall we say it is an Error in the Text, and that we are to read *Philammon*? But this Name is joined to a Genealogy which admits not of such Corrections. I leave also to *Muncherus* the *Thessalus* whom he has inserted in the Catalogue he has made up from that Author. May he not have taken for an *Argonaut* the Country where most of the Heroes were born? I have not the same Opinion of *Thesstor*, the Father of the celebrated *Calchas*, who, according to the antient Scholiast on *Apollodorus*, was inserted by some of the Antients into the Number of *Jason's* Companions.

I have reserved for the Close of this List, *Theseus* and his Friend *Pirithous*, who are named among the *Argonauts*, by none but *Hyginus* and *Apollodorus*; whereas *Apollonius Rhodius* asserts, that they were then both of them confined in Prison, by *Aidoneus* King of *Epirus*, upon whose Daughter *Pirithous* had attempted a Rape;

a Rape ; and whom other Authors will have not to have yet left *Trezené*. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*, says indeed, that Hero performed this Expedition with the other *Argonauts* ; but like an inaccurate Compiler, he plainly contradicts himself, since in the same Life he says, *Theseus* at his first setting out from *Trezené* for *Athens*, where he was acknowledged by his Father, found *Medea* there : Now *Medea* returned not till the Return of the *Argonauts*. The Age I am now speaking of is full of chronological Difficulties, and the Life of *Theseus* makes one of the most considerable of them. Some make him too young at the Time of the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, others again make him too old. If we consider the Genealogies of those Times, *Theseus* would have been even extremely old, if not dead, when the *Argonauts* set out, since *Hypsiphile* was the Daughter of *Thoas*, and *Thoas* the Son of that same *Ariadne*, whom *Theseus* left in the Island of *Naxos* : Accordingly we find in *Apollonius* (1), and *Valerius Flaccus* (2), *Jason* reciting to *Medea* the Story of *Theseus* and *Ariadne*. On the other hand, the Arrival of *Theseus* at *Athens* after his Departure from *Trezené*, is sufficiently marked by *Diodorus* (3), *Plutarch* (4), and *Pausanias* ; and according to these Authors he was at that time very young, and in a Virgin's Habit, that he might not be known. These Authors say it was in the Time that *Egeus* his Father was new married to *Medea*, and consequently long after *Jason's* Expedition. Further, we know that this Heroe, younger than his Cousin *Hercules*, lived to the Time of the *Trojan* War. After the Authorities now offered, I am determined upon the whole to believe, that he is not to be reckoned in the Number of the *Argonauts*. There is no less Difficulty as to the Time of the War with the *Centaur*s, and of the hunting of *Calydon* ; for all the Antients agree, that *Theseus* was present at the Marriage of *Piritheus*, and at the Battle of the *Centaur*s ; and all inform us also, that he joined in the hunting of the *Calydonian* Boar ; Events which border
very

(1) L. 5. v. 996. (2) L. 6. v. 90. (3) L. 4. (4) In *Theseo*.

very near upon the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, and the first whereof, I believe, even preceded it. Thus 'tis impossible for us to extricate ourselves from these Difficulties.

Such were the Heroes who joined in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, that is, all who were most distinguished in *Greece* at that Time, both for their Valour and their Birth, and whereof the most Part were *Jason's* Relations, because at that Time, almost all *Greece*, except a Part of the *Peloponnesus*, was peopled by *Deucalion's* Descendants, from whom he derived his Original.

As the Art of Navigation was then so little known, that they kept generally pretty near the Coasts, and yet foresaw they would be obliged often to lose sight of them, they applied to *Chiron* to make up a new Kalendar, and to reform the old one; because, according to the old Kalendar, where the Ascensions and Declinations of the Sun were not marked, the Equinoxes and the Solstices happened in times remote from the Points where they ought to have been fixed: *Chiron*, say some Authors, rectified them, and formed a Kalendar proper to direct the Princes in their Navigation; which Opinion I have examined in a Chapter by itself (1).

When all things were in readiness for the Voyage, *Jason*, according to *Apollonius*, before he set sail, ordered a solemn Sacrifice to the God the Founder of his Race, and to all the Divinities whom he thought able to succeed his Enterprize. Every one was zealous to carry Stones for erecting the Altar (2), which was covered with Olive-branches. After the ordinary Oblations, the Priests sprinkled upon the Altar Flour mixed with Honey and Oil, offered up two Oxen to the Gods in Honour of whom the Sacrifice was performed, and invoked their Protection from the Dangers of so long a Voyage. *Jupiter*, adds *Apollonius* after *Pindar* (3), promised by the Voice of Thunder his

(1) B. II. Ch. 12. p. 541. (2) Apoll. c. 4. (3) Pyth.

his Aid to this heroic Body, who embarked after the Sacrifice.

The *Argonauts* were already in the Ship, when *Chiron* arrived to take leave of his dear *Jason*; and after having embraced him as well as the other Heroes, gave them proper Directions for their Voyage, and offered up Vows for the happy Success of their Enterprize. He hugged the young *Achilles* in his Arms; a Circumstance which I remark, because it will be of use afterwards to prove the Date of this Expedition.

In fine, the Wind being favourable, they launched out into the Sea, and set sail.

C H A P. I.

The Voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis.

THE Voyage of the *Argonauts*, which furnishes several Adventures, which I shall endeavour to reduce to History, was at first prosperous enough; but a Storm obliged them very soon to put in to the Island of *Lemnos*. The Women in that Island had failed in their respect to *Venus*, and the Goddess in revenge, had infected them with such a bad Smell, that their Husbands had forsaken them, for Slaves whom they had taken from the *Thracians*, with whom they were at War. The *Lemnian* Ladies, exasperated with this signal Contempt, conspired against the Men in the Island, and falling upon them in their Sleep, assassinated all of them who were in *Lemnos*, for the greater Number was not there at that Time, as we shall see afterwards. *Hyppsihrile* alone spared the Life of her Father *Thoas*, who was the King of the Island. However extraordinary this Fact appears, 'tis however confirmed by the unanimous Testimony of all the Ancients; for their varying in some Circumstances, instead of destroying it, demonstrates on the contrary, that it was generally believed. *Apollodorus* (1), and after him *Suidas*, alledge that *Venus's* Resentment was owing to the *Lemnian* Women having desisted to offer Sacrifice
to

(1) L. 2.

to her, and we know how highly the Gods thought themselves outraged by such Sort of Contempt. The Scholiast on *Euripides* (1), after *Hyginus* (2), says this Goddess was provoked at the abolishing of a Festival, which used to be celebrated in her Honour, which amounts to much the same, and was equally punishable according to the Principles of their Theology. Others in short (a), ascribe the Cause of the Goddess's Wrath to the Adventure of the Net in that Island, the Work of *Vulcan*, who by means thereof discovered to the Gods the Adultery of his Spouse with *Mars*. The learned Scholiast on *Apollonius* (3), says after *Myrtilus* of *Lesbos*, that it was *Medea*, upon the Return of the *Argonauts*, had infected the Women of *Lemnos*; but this Opinion which changes the Time of this Event, is embraced by no other Author.

Since this Adventure is generally attested, in order to reduce it to History, we need but set the Fiction of *Venus's* Wrath aside, and say that those Wives jealous of the Slaves who had been preferred to them, revenged themselves upon them at a Time when part of the Men in the Island were absent and engaged in the *Thracian* War. In this Conjunction the *Argonauts* arriving at *Lemnos*, the married Women run to the Shore to oppose their landing, upon which ensued a Skirmish (4); but our Warriors, whom the Ladies had mistaken for their Husbands, making themselves known, were kindly received by them. They spent two Years in the Island, where they had several Children, who were those *Mynians* I shall have occasion to speak of afterwards. *Hypsiphile* for her part had two by *Jason*, the one of whom was called *Thoas* after his Grandfather, the other *Euneus*, who commanded the *Lemnians* at the Siege of *Troy*.

From *Lemnos* the *Argonauts* went to *Samothrace*, first to accomplish the Vow which *Orpheus* had made during

(1) Upon the Trag. of *Hecuba*. (2) Ch. 15.

(a) *Lact.* upon the 5th Book of *Statius's Thebaid*. Val. Flacc. l. 2, &c.

(3) Upon the first Book of the *Argonauts*. (4) *Soph. Lemn.*

ing the Storm we have mentioned ; and in the second Place, because *Castor* and *Pollux*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (1), were desirous to be initiated into the Mysteries that were celebrated in that Island, in order to render the Gods propitious to their Expedition.

As they were at Sea after departing from *Lemnos*, the *Tyrrhenians* gave them a bloody Battle, where all our Heroes were wounded, except *Glaucus*, who disappeared, and was taken into the Number of the Sea-Gods (2). From thence they entered the *Hellepont*, turned towards *Asia*, and landed upon the Coasts of the *Lesser Mysia*, above *Treas* ; and there it was that *Hercules*, *Telamon*, and *Hylas* lost them, as shall be more fully said afterwards (3).

From thence the *Argonauts* landed at *Cyzicum*, a City situated at the Foot of Mount *Dindymus*, whereof *Cyzicus* was King. Besides the *Molions* who inhabited his City, *Apollonius Rhodius* (4) says, there were Giants who had each six Arms and six Legs, whom *Juno* had made the Earth produce to be the Death of *Hercules* ; that is, some Pyrates who cruized upon their Coasts with six Ships, signified by the Number of their Arms and Legs ; or, which comes to the same, some Freebooters who ravaged the Country, as we learn by *Polygnotus*, cited by the ancient Scholiasts ; for they gave the Name of Giants to that sort of Banditti, as well as to those who were of an extraordinary Size. The King being apprized by an Oracle of the Arrival of those Strangers, gave them a favourable Reception ; and after giving them an Entertainment, and large Presents, he dismissed them ; but being driven back in the Night-time, by a contrary Wind, into the same Port, *Cyzicus* hearing a Ship was newly arrived, and apprehending it to be the *Pelasgi* his Enemies, went to attack them, and was slain in the Engagement by *Jason* himself, who to expiate this Bloodshed, tho' involuntary, having first given the Prince a magnificent Funeral, offered a Sacrifice to the Mother of the Gods, and

(1) L. 5. (2) Pausis in Athenæus, l. 7. c. 12. (3) See the
of *Hercules*. (4) Loc. cit.

and built her a Temple upon Mount *Dyndimus*, employing therein the Water of a Fountain which the Goddess, we are told by the Poets, made to spring out of the Earth; that is, setting aside the Marvellous, which the *Argonauts* found in an unknown Spot of Ground. *Clyte*, the Wife of that King, not being able to survive the Death of a Husband whom she fondly loved, hanged herself in Despair, as we read in *Apollonius* and his Scholiast, who had borrowed the Story I have now related from the *Periplus* of *Calisthenes*.

After departing from *Cyzicum*, our Voyagers spent some time in *Bebrycia*, which was the old Name of *Bithynia*, if we may believe *Servius* (1). There reigned *Amycus*, who was wont to challenge in Gauntlet-fight those who arrived in his Dominions, *Pollux* accepted the Challenge; but having learned that Ambuscades were laid for him by the Prince, to take away his Life, he called one of his Companions to his Assistance, and served the King himself with his own Measure. *Theocritus*, in the Idyllium he has composed upon the *Dioscouri* (2), describes this Combat, as also *Valerius Flaccus* (3). *Virgil*, who keeps always Probability in his Eye, speaking of *Butes*, celebrated in the Gauntlet-fight, says he came from the *Bebrycians*, and valued himself on having derived his Original from *Amycus* (4).

After the Death of *Amycus*, the *Argonauts* set out from his Dominions to continue their Voyage; but being driven by Strefs of Weather upon the Coasts of *Thrace*, they landed at *Salmydeffa*, where reigned *Phineus* the Son of *Phænix*, a Prince old and blind, who was continually tormented by the Harpies. Some Authors make *Phineus* to have reigned in *Bithynia*; others in *Arcadia*; but the most common Opinion, and that which *Servius* follows (5), is, that he was King of *Salmydeffa* in *Thracia*. He married *Cleobule*, accord-

VOL. IV.

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ing

(1) Upon the 5th of the *Æneid*. v. 373. (2) Idyll. 22.

(3) L. 4. (4) *Æn*. 5. (5) Upon the 21st Verse of the 3^d *Æneid*.

ing to the same Author, or *Cleopatra* (1) the Daughter of *Orythia* and *Apollo*, or rather of *Boreas* King of a Part of *Thrace*, and his Neighbour, and had by her two Sons *Plexippus* and *Pandion*; but having afterwards divorced this Princess and married *Idea* the Daughter of *Dardanus* (2), this cruel Step-dame, to get rid of these two Princes, accused them of having offer'd to dishonour her, and the too credulous *Phineas* put out their Eyes. The Gods, we are told, made use of the Northwind to be the Instrument of their Revenge, and by means thereof struck him blind; which no doubt means, that *Boreas* his Father-in-law retaliated upon him the same Punishment he had inflicted upon his two Sons.

As the Traditions of these antient Histories were never uniform, some Authors will have it, that *Phineus* was struck blind by *Neptune* (3), for having shewn the *Argonauts* the Way to *Colchis*; others, that it was for having disclosed the Secret of the Gods; which signifies some Piece of Indiscretion that Prince had been guilty of, like that of *Tiresias*. They add further, that he was at the same Time given over to the Persecution of the Harpies. These Monsters, whereof the Poets have said so much, were as *Hesiod* tells us, the Offspring of *Taumas* and *Electra*. They were three Sisters, *Celene*, *Ocipeta*, and *Aello*, who with a Woman's Face, had a Bill and crooked Claws, and a prodigious big Belly (a). They raised a Famine wherever they came, carried off the Provisions from *Phineus's* Table, poisoned whatever they touched, and predicted future Events.

Phineus having given a kind Reception to the *Argonauts*, and promised them a Guide (4) to conduct them through the *Cyanean* Rocks, or *Symplegades*, which were then reckoned extremely dangerous to pass, they offered to employ their utmost Efforts to deliver him

(1) Apollon. l. 5. (2) Apollod. (3) Apollod.

(a) Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris
Proluvies, uncæque manus, & pallida semper
Ora fame. *Virg. Æn.* l. 3.

(4) *Servius* upon the third *Æneid*.

him from the Persecution of those Monsters, and *Cælais* and *Zethes* the Sons of *Boreas*, who had Wings, pursued them without Intermission as far as the Islands *Plotæ*, in the *Ionian* Sea; and there it was that they received an Order from the Gods by *Iris*, to give them no further Disturbance, but to return. This return *ερόφη* was the Occasion of changing the Name of those Islands, which from that Time were called *Strophades*.

This Fiction undoubtedly conceals some Truth; accordingly great Pains have been taken to find it out. *Palephatus* is of Opinion, that the *Harpies* were *Phineus*'s own Daughters, who ruined him by their Debauchery. According to *Servius* (1), they were the Furies who incessantly reproached him for his Cruelty towards his Children; and 'tis true that *Virgil* confounds the *Harpies* with those Goddesses (2). *M. le Clerc* (3), takes the *Harpies* for a Swarm of Locusts, which after they had laid waste *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*, produced a Famine there; and it must be owned, that his Explication of this Fable is very ingenious. The Word *Arbé*, says he, of which that of *Harpy* is formed, signifies a *Locust*; and as the Northwind rid the Country of them, having driven them as far as the *Ionian* Sea, where they perished, hence it was fabled, that the Sons of *Boreas* had put them to flight. Whatever the Poets, continues he, have said of the *Harpies*, agrees to the Locusts. To raise Famine, is not this to carry off the Food even from the Tables of Kings? To say that they are invulnerable, is undoubtedly true in respect of their prodigious Number; that they were the Dogs of *Jupiter* or *Juno*, that they had the Gift of Prediction, and that *Tartarus* had thrown them out; in fine, that they returned as fast as they were pursued: What else does all this signify? but that this Plague was considered as an Effect of Divine Vengeance, which the Gods had poured forth from the Gulph of Hell, to be a sad Prognostic of Famine.

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(1) Ibid. (2) See their History, Vol. III. B. 4. (3) Bibl. Univerf. T. 2.

and Desolation, and to make such Havock as was not in the Art of Man to prevent. And what others add of their being the Daughters of *Neptune* and the *Earth*, is agreeable to the ancient Physiology, which taught that all Insects were formed of a Mixture of Earth and Water. We may add further, that the Names given them by the Antients, wonderfully quadrate with this Explanation, since *Occipeta*, signifies *Volatile*; *Celeno*, *Obscurity*, a *Cloud*; and *Aello*, a *Storm*; and is it not their Nature to fly, to obscure the Air, and make greater Havock than the most violent Storms?

However happy these Conjectures are, I cannot give into them: 1st, Because the Scene of this Adventure not having been in *Bithynia*, but in *Thrace*, the Northwind cannot have driven the *Harpies* to the *Strophades*. 2^{dly}, In support of this Explication *Calais* and *Zetbes* can only be considered as allegorical Personages, against the Sentiment of all Antiquity, which takes them for Heroes, the Sons of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*, but confounded sometimes with the Wind of the same Name, and of *Orythia* the Daughter of *Pandion* King of *Athens*. *Phineus* had married their Sister, and 'tis no Wonder that finding their Brother-in-Law in the Condition we have now represented him, they assisted him with all their Might. But who then were those *Harpies*? For my Part, I believe Antiquity designed to figure by those pretended Monsters some turbulent and troublesome Neighbours, or rather some Pirates who made frequent Descents upon *Phineus's* Dominions. As, no doubt, they pillaged the Country and the Towns, they literally carried off the Provisions that were for his Use; and what accounts for their being called *Juno's* Dogs, is, that the Ravages they committed were considered as an Effect of celestial Vengeance. *Calais* and *Zetbes*, with a Ship which *Phineus* equipped, put them to flight, and pursued them to the *Strophades* Isles, where they destroyed them, or put out their Eyes. What *Apollodorus* says (1),
that

(1) L. 2.

that one of the *Harpies* fell into the River *Tygres*, upon the Coasts of the *Peloponnesus*, since called *Harpis*, where she perished, undoubtedly signifies, that one of those Pirates was shipwrecked at the Mouth of that River; and what we are further told, that the other having flown as far as the *Echinades*, turned back, and not being able to bear up any longer, fell into the Sea, signifies that this was the Place where the second Pirate perished.

Diodorus Siculus (1) relates this Adventure, without mentioning the *Harpies*, he who seldom omits the ancient Fables; all he says is, that *Hercules*, who had not yet left the *Argonauts*, not being able to obtain from *Phineus* the Release of the young Princes whom he kept in Prison, put him to Death, and parted his Dominions between them.

After having received from *Phineus* seasonable Directions for the rest of their Voyage, and especially as to the Passage of the *Cyaneæ* or *Symplegades*, the *Argonauts* quitted *Thrace*, and entered into the *Euxine* Sea.

The *Cyaneæ* are two Clusters of Rocks at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, of an irregular Figure, whereof one Part is on the Side of *Asia*, and the other of *Europe*, and which leave between them, according to *Strabo* (2), only a Space of twenty Furlongs; so that the Waves of the Sea, which break against them with a violent Noise, raise a Foam which darkens the Air, and makes that Passage very difficult. As the nearer you approach to an Object, or go further from it, its Extremities seem proportionably to draw nearer, or remove farther; hence the Opinion that those Rocks were moveable when seen at some Distance, and that they drew nearer to one another to swallow up Ships, which made them get the Name of *Symplegades*, which implies that they dashed upon one another (a); and this, *Pliny* tells us, was the Origine of the Fable.

D 3

Our

(1) L. 4. (2) L. 7.

(a) The same Conceptions they had of the Rocks of the Straits of *Scylla*, as shall be said in the History of *Ulysses*.

Our Voyagers, startled at the Sight of this Frith, let go a Pigeon, which happily flew across it; after which they attempted the Passage themselves. This Pigeon which the Poets speak of, was nothing else but a light Vessel *Phineus* had given them, and whose Pilote was well acquainted with those Straits. Nor is this a mere Conjecture, since *Apollodorus* expressly says, that this Prince, to fortify the *Argonauts*, had given them a Guide. *Homer* will have it, that *Juno* befriended them on that Occasion; which signifies, that the Air, whereof this Goddess was the Symbol, was calm and serene; and as to the additional Circumstances, 1. Of the Pigeon's having lost its Tail, and the Ship *Argo* a Piece of its Stern; this intimates that those two Vessels struck against one of the Rocks, by which the former lost her Rudder. 2. That from that Day *Neptune* fixed those Rocks; as much as to say, that the Passage once well known, there was no longer such Difficulty in attempting it; and from that Time Commerce was free in that Sea. Accordingly, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was by that Voyage of the *Argonauts* the Commerce of the *Greeks* in the *Euxine* Sea was established, *Jason* having cleared it of the Pirates who infested it.

Our Voyagers, leaving this Pass, turned towards *Asia*, and landed in the Country of the *Mariandinians*, where *Lycus*, who was their King, and a *Greek* by Birth, gave them a favourable Reception; but during their Stay in that Country, they lost two of their Companions; *Idmon* the Son of *Abas*, who died of a Wound from a Boar, and the Pilote *Tiphis*. They gave them a magnificent Funeral; and after substituting *Anceus* in *Tiphis's* Stead, they reimbarked, and a Storm having driven our Heroes upon the Island of *Arecia*, they found there the Children of *Phryxus*, whom *Ætes* their Grandfather was sending into *Greece* to inherit their Father's Estate, and carried them back to *Colchis*, after a sharp Encounter with certain Fowls; which, according to *Apollonius Rhodius* and *Pomponius Mela*, darted deadly Quills at a Distance;

stance ; that is, no doubt, with the Inhabitants of that Island, who pursued them with Showers of Darts. Nothing remarkable befel them from the Island of *Mars*, till they came to *Æea*, the Capital of *Colchis*, the Theater of their great Adventures.

C H A P. II.

What happened to the Argonauts in Colchis.

WHILE *Jason* and his Companions passed the Night in deliberating after what Manner they should present themselves next Day to the King, and what Way they should take to demand the Effects which *Phryxus* had left at his Death. *Æetes*, on his Side, hearing of their Arrival, and of the Motive of their Expedition, and moreover terrified by an unhappy Dream, was contriving Means how to destroy them, or at least their Chief, as the most interested in the Affair. Thus when the *Argonauts* appeared before him, that Prince, upon *Jason's* demanding the *Golden Fleece*, prescribed to him such hard Conditions, that he was hopeful he would either desist from his Purpose, or perish in the Execution. There is nothing in all this but what is natural ; but as the Relation of this Voyage was probably written in that antient Language of *Greece*, which was almost the same with that which *Cadmus* introduced thither, I mean the *Phœnician*, those who came afterwards to read it, finding in it many Expressions which they did not understand, and which offered several Senses, embraced that which appeared the most marvellous ; and upon occasion of an Adventure quite simple, broached Fables no less extraordinary than difficult to be explained. The Poets especially who borrowed from this History the Subject of their Poems, or of their Tragedies, sought to embellish it. The Interposition of the Gods, so common in Works of Antiquity, and Love, those two great Springs, were the Machinery they employed. *Apollonius Rhodius*, and *Onomacritus*, probably after other more antient Poets, for

the *Argonaut Orpheus* himself had composed a Poem upon this Subject, tell us, that *Juno*, who loved *Jason*, and *Minerva* agreed together that it was necessary to make *Medea* fall in love with *Jason*, not doubting but that she, who was perfectly Mistress of the Art of Incantments, would happily extricate him from the Dangers to which he was going to be exposed. In the mean time *Jason* and *Medea* meet together without the City, near the Temple of *Hecate*, whither both of them had repaired to implore the Assistance of the Goddess; and *Medea*, who was already beginning to conceive a fond Regard for *Jason*, promises him all Manner of Assistance, if he will plight his Faith to her. After mutual Oaths they parted, and *Medea* goes to prepare whatever was necessary for the Preservation of her Paramour; for the King had prescribed, that before he could have the *Golden Fleece*, in quest of which he had come so far, he was first to put under the Yoke two Bulls, a Present from *Vulcan*, which had Feet and Horns of Brass, and vomited Clouds of Fire and Smoke; fasten them to a Plough of Adamant-stone, and make them plough up two Acres of a Field consecrated to *Mars*, which had never been cultivated, there to sow the Teeth of a Dragon, whence armed Men were to spring up, who were all to be exterminated without so much as one of them being left (*a*); lastly, to slay the Monster that waked continually for the Preservation of that sacred *Depositum*, and to execute all these Labours in one Day. *Jason*, secure of *Medea's* Assistance, accepted all, and the next Morning an Assembly is held without the City in the Field of *Mars*. The King on one Side, accompanied with a Multitude of his Subjects, came up to be Spectator of the Combat; on the other, the Leader of the *Argonauts*, with all his Associates, full of Consternation at seeing

(*a*) These, according to some Mythologists, were the Teeth of that Dragon of *Mars's* Fountain, which *Cadmus* had slain, and a Part whereof *Minerva* had given to *Æetes*, to destroy him who should one Day come on purpose to carry off the *Golden Fleece*.

seeing the Danger to which he was going to expose himself. The Bulls are let loose, whose very Sight made the Spectators tremble. *Jason* tames them, puts them under the Yoke, ploughs the Field, sows therein the Teeth of *Mars's* Dragon ; and when he sees the Combatants spring up, throws a Stone among them, which puts them into such Fury, that they kill one another ; goes next in quest of the Monster that kept the *Golden Fleece*, laid him asleep by means of enchanted Herbs and a prepared Draught, which his Lover had given him, puts him to Death, and carries off the precious Treasure ; returns victorious to his Ship, where *Medea* having come to him by Night, he sets sail, and goes off with her.

It might be said, that all these Fables are nothing but the mere Invention of the Poets, who, contrary in that to the Historians, never recount the Facts which are the Foundation of their Poems without Machinery. However, the celebrated *Bochart*, who perfectly understood the Genius of the Eastern Languages, thinks he has found in that of the *Phœnicians* a Key to most of these Fictions ; and as no body has succeeded better than he in the Explanation of this Fable, I shall set before the Reader his Thoughts. *Medea*, whom *Jason* had promised to marry, and to carry along with him to *Greece*, at the Solicitation of *Calciope* her Sister, *Phryxus's* Widow, who saw her Children a Prey to the Avarice of a cruel Tyrant, assisted her Paramour to rob her Father's Treasures, either by giving him a false Key, or in some other Manner, and set sail with him.

This History was written, as has been already said, in *Phœnician*, which the Poets, who came long after, understood not, and 'tis the equivocal Words of that Language that gave Rise to the Fable which I have now recited. For, in that Language the *Syrian* Word *Gaza* (1) signifies literally *a Treasure* : *Saur*, which imports *a Wall*, signifies also *a Bull*, and in that Language, Brass, Iron, and a Dragon, are all expressed by the

(1) Boch. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 31.

the Word *Nachas* : Thus, instead of saying that *Jason* had carried off a Treasure, which the King of *Colchis* had in a Place well secured, and which he carefully kept, they fabled, that in order to carry off a *Golden Fleece*, he was put to the Necessity of taming Bulls, slaying a Dragon, and the rest. *Medea's* love to *Jason*, this great Spring, which *Eliau* takes to have been the Invention of *Euripides* in the Tragedy of *Medea*, composed at the Desire of the *Corinthians*, has nothing in it but what is common ; and that Princess, who left her Father and her Country to follow *Jason*, makes it plain, by this Conduct of hers, that she was in love with him, without any Occasion of bringing in *Juno* and *Minerva* in this Intrigue, which was the Work of *Calciopé*, who, to revenge the Death of her Husband, and to save her Children, whom *Æetes* resolved to put to Death upon their Return from *Greece*, whither he had sent them, as I have said, exerted all her Endeavours to promote the Passion which her Sister had conceived for *Jason*. We may further add, that the four young Princes whom he had brought back into *Colchis*, seeing themselves exposed to the Fury of their Grandfather, if the *Greeks* were overcome, assisted them to the utmost of their Power.

The same *Bochart* gives a very happy Explication of the Circumstance of the armed Men who sprung out of the Earth, and killed one another. There must have been, says he, in this History a Phrase consisting nearly of Words that signify, *Jason drew together an Army of Soldiers, armed with Brazen Pikes, ready to fight*, which they explained thus by means of equivocal Words : *He saw spring up from the Teeth of Serpents, an Army of five Men, or rather of armed Soldiers ranged by Fives*, which was the ancient Manner, especially among the *Egyptians*, of marshalling and marching Troops. Thus we may very reasonably conjecture, that *Jason*, besides his Companions, had raised in the Country some auxiliary Troops, which were given out to be sprung out of the Earth, because they were Subjects of the King of *Colchis*, and of the same Country,
and

and who perished in the Battle that was probably fought between the *Greeks* and the *Colchans*: For this whole poetical Mystery which I have set forth, may very well be understood of a Battle which made the *Greeks* victorious, and Masters of *Æetes's* Person and Treasures. This Explanation is undoubtedly preferable to that of *Diodorus Siculus* (1), who says the Keeper of the *Golden Fleece* was named *Draco*, and that the Troops which served him had come from the *Tauric Chersonesus*, which gave Rise to the Fables I have been now explaining.

We have observed, in the History of *Cadmus*, that the antient Poets introduced into it the same Fable of those armed Men, sprung from the Teeth of *Mars's* Dragon, who killed one another, all but five; because, in fact, such another Adventure having happened to that Leader of the Colony, with the Assistance of Troops which he had levied in *Beotia*, was writ in the same Language, and probably pretty much in the same Terms with that of *Jason*.

I know it is not generally agreed that the *Golden Fleece* was nothing but the King of *Colchis's* Treasure. *Diodorus Siculus* is of Opinion, that it was the Fleece of a Ram which *Phryxus* had sacrificed, and which was kept very carefully, because an Oracle had foretold, that the King would be slain by him who should carry it off. *Strabo* and *Justin* thought the Foundation of the Fable of this Fleece was, that in *Colchis* there were Streams which rolled a golden Sand, which they gathered with Sheep's Skins, as is the Practice at this Day about *Fort-Louis*, where the Gold Dust is collected with such Fleeces, which, when well filled therewith, may be considered as golden Fleeces. *Varro* and *Pliny* will have it, that this Fable derives its Original from the fine Wool of those Countries, and that the Expedition which some *Greek* Merchants had undertaken in quest thereof, had given Rise to the Fiction. We may add, that as the *Colchans* had great Traffic
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(1) Lib. 4.

in *Marten's* Skins, and other Furs, this perhaps was the Motive of the *Argonautic* Expedition.

Palephatus (1) imagines, I know not upon what Foundation, that under the Emblem of the *Golden Fleece*, was designed a fine golden Statue which the Mother of *Pelops* had procured, and which *Phryxus* had carried with him into *Colchis*.

Lastly, *Suidas* reckons that the *Golden Fleece* was, a Parchment Book, containing the Secret of making Gold, a proper Object to inflame the Ambition, or rather the Covetousness, not only of the *Greeks*, but of the whole Earth ; and this Opinion, which *Tollius* thought to have revived, is followed by all the *Alchymists*.

C H A P. III.

The Return of the Argonauts into Greece.

JASON having happily accomplished all his Designs, was now solicitous to be gone, and how to conceal his Departure ; thus taking Advantage of a dark Night, when *Medea* and those who accompanied her, had repaired to his Ship with *Æetes's* Treasures, he quickly set sail, not doubting but that he would soon be pursued. Accordingly he was so : The King quickly fitted out some Ships, which set out under the Command of *Abfyrthus* his Son, with a View to pursue the Ravisher. He very soon overtook him ; but *Jason*, according to *Oronacritus*, having landed with his Brother-in-law, conveyed him with *Medea* into some remote Place, under Pretext of treating of an Accommodation, where he and *Medea* assassinated him, and scattered the Members of his Body along the Way to retard the March of his Pursuers ; after which they re-imbarked.

This Fact is undoubtedly the Invention of the Poets now quoted, since we shall find afterwards, that *Abfyrthus* pursued the Ship *Argo* for a long Time. Further, the Character of *Medea*, which I shall give in a particular

(1) De Incred. c. 31.

cular Chapter, where I shall shew, that she was by no means such a bad Woman as some Poets have represented her, especially *Euripides*, corrupted by the *Corinthian* Money, will remove the very Suspicion of so barbarous an Action.

His Return into *Greece* is told by antient Poets in several Ways very different one from another; and however extravagant their Relations are, yet they had all the good Luck to find in the Places which they make him to pass through, Monuments to confirm that *Heroe's* having been there; and their Relations have been adopted either in whole or in part, by grave Historians, such as *Hecateus* of *Miletus*, *Timagetes*, *Timeus*, &c. *Strabo* himself, who gives no Credit to them, mentions however Monuments found in the Places where the Poets now cited make him to have passed.

Onomacritus makes him to have cruised along the Eastern Coasts of *Asia*, sailed through the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and the *Palus Meotis*; whence having entered certain Straits, they passed there nine Days, at the End of which they were got into the Northern Ocean, where the Wind failing them, they were obliged to land, and lay up their Ship. Some time after a gentle Gale invited them to put again to Sea, and they sailed on, still keeping to the Left, and arrived at the Island *Peucestes*, which was not unknown to the Pilote *Anceus*: From thence to that of *Circe*, where *Jason* sent out for Intelligence, had an Interview with that Princess, who after informing him that all his Misfortunes were owing to the Murder of *Absyrthus*, from which, however, she refused to expiate him, they continued their Course, arrived at *Hercules's* Pillars, re-entered the *Mediterranean*, passed near *Sicily*, and fell into the Straits of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, where they would infallibly have been shipwreck'd, if *Tethys*, to prevent the Calamity with which her Husband *Peleus* was threatned, had not extricated them from it. The Seat of the *Sirens*, which is not far from thence, was like to have been as fatal to them as the Straits; but *Orpheus's* Eloquence saved them from that Peril. Having
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ing escaped this new Danger, they arrived in the Country of the *Pheacians*, where they met with the Enemy's Fleet, which was come by another Way to wait for them. The Commanders of that Fleet demanded of him *Medea*, and it was agreed on both Sides, that *Jason* should be obliged to deliver her up to them, if he had not actually married her. But the Wife of *Alcinous*, who was chosen Judge, having got the Nuptials celebrated that same Night; and having declared to the Deputies from the Enemy's Fleet, that she certainly knew that *Jason* and *Medea* had been married from the Time of his carrying her off, they were obliged to let him keep her, and return. In the meantime, our Adventurers departed from the Island of the *Pheacians*, and were now arrived in the Gulf of *Ambracia*, when a Storm drove them upon the Quick-sands of *Africa*, where they underwent a vast Number of Dangers. At length having got clear of so hazardous a Place, they made the Cape *Malea*, where was performed the Expiation for *Absyrtus's* Murder, as *Circe* had enjoined them, after which they arrived upon the Coasts of *Thessaly*.

How improbable soever this Voyage is, especially for a Period of Time when Navigation was but little improved, that which *Apollonius Rhodius* makes them accomplish, is still more so. *Juno*, says that Poet, having a Mind to deliver the *Argonauts* from the Danger which they were in from the Fleet of *Absyrtus*, which was in Pursuit of them, was turning the Ship *Argo* towards *Greece*, when they called to mind that *Phineus* had bid them return home by a different Way from that which they had taken in going to *Colchis*; that this Course had been marked out by the Priests of *Thebes* in *Egypt*; that from that Country had antiently come a Conqueror, who after having over-run *Europe* and *Asia*, and conquered many Countries, had founded several Cities, and among others *Æea* the Capital of *Colchis*; that those antient People shewed Pillars whereon were engraved the Roads and Courses from and to all Places both by Sea and Land that were

accessible, which Pillars intimated, that there was at the Extremities of the Ocean a vast River, of a very extensive Course. This River was the *Danube*, into which they entered by one of its Mouths, while *Absyrthus*, whom that Poet makes to have been then dead in the Manner above mentioned, entered thither by another Mouth, and went up the River for several Leagues. Then the River failing them, they landed, and carried their Ship for upwards of fifty Leagues, as far as the *Adriatic* Gulf, where they met with *Absyrthus*, who had got before them; and there it was, according to this Poet, that *Jason* put him to Death, much in the same Manner as *Onomacritus* relates.

It was after this Murder an Oracle was delivered from the Beam that had grown in the Forest of *Dodona*, letting them know that they were not to get home till *Jason* had submitted to the Ceremony of Expiation: Upon which, they thought fit to steer their Course another Way, and landed in the Port of *Æea*, the Seat of *Circe*, Sister to the King of *Colchis*, and Aunt to *Medea*. This Princess received her Niece with *Jason* without knowing them: They both advanced with downcast Eyes, and without uttering a single Word, till they came up to the sacred Hearth, where *Jason* fixed in the Ground the Sword wherewith he had killed *Absyrthus*. Their Silence, and the Posture in which they appeared, made *Circe* apprehend that they were Criminals, and therefore she prepared herself to give them Expiation. First, she ordered to be brought a young Pig, not yet weaned, and having cut the Throat of it, rubbed the Hands of *Jason* and *Medea* with its Blood, and performed the usual Libations in Honour of *Jupiter Expiator*. After which, having thrown out of the Palace the Remains of the Sacrifice, she burnt upon the Altar Cakes baked with Meal, Water, and Salt, and accompanied all these Ceremonies with Prayers proper to appease the Gods. The Expiation ended, she made her Guests sit down to an Entertainment; but afterwards, coming to understand that *Medea* was her Niece, she expelled her with *Jason*,
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without however doing them any Harm, because they had implored her Protection in the Posture of Suppliants.

Leaving this Seat, they again put to Sea, made a prosperous enough Voyage for some Time ; and they were just almost arrived on the Coasts of *Greece*, when a Storm drove them upon the Quick-sands of *Africa*, from which they had the greatest Difficulty imaginable to extricate themselves. However, they got clear of them at length, and arrived happily in *Greece*.

Lastly, a third Tradition, after making the *Argonauts* go up the *Phasis* a second Time, brings them to visit several Countries of *Asia*, where they left many Footsteps of their Rout. However void of Probability these three Relations seem to be, they deserve some Reflections. *First*, That of *Onomacritus*, which makes our Heroes return by the northern Ocean, is plainly a Fiction, which demonstrates, that in the Time of that Poet the northern Countries were but little known. That the *Argonauts* entred by the *Euxine* Sea into the *Palus Meotis*, has nothing strange in it : 'Tis even possible that they might have for some Time gone up the *Tanais* ; but to imagine it possible by that River to go as far as the Ocean, is the Height of Ignorance, and a childish Fiction which the Author has introduced, only to give him an Opportunity of describing to us the People of those distant Countries so far as they were known in his Time ; People to the most of whom we are intire Strangers, and who had not so much as an Existence in the Time when *Onomacritus* is said to have lived ; while the Situation of others is only placed at a Venture in the Relation of this Expedition. I shall not enter into any Detail with respect to all the Nations which the *Argonauts* light upon in this Rout of theirs, and which the Author barely mentions, without saying any thing particular about their Manners or Customs. *Herodotus* alone is sufficient to rectify the greatest Part of this Relation. What *Onomacritus* says of the *Macrobiani* is fully explained in the two Dissertations which the Abbé *Gedouyn* and I have made upon the *Hyperboreans*. As to the *Cimmerians*, who
inhabited

inhabited near the *Bosphorus* of that Name, this Poet, in Imitation of *Homer*, has placed them in the Ocean, because possibly it was known even in their Time, that a People could not be buried in Darkness, unless they inhabited nearer the Pole than the *Bosphorus* is. I say nothing of the other geographical Errors with which this Poet may be charged, because they are obvious; far less of the Conveyance of the Ship by Land, which appears a mere Fiction; but I ought not to pass over in Silence what *Apollonius Rhodius* says of those Pillars of *Colchis*, upon which were engraved all the Routs known in that Time; this Fact relating to *Sesostris*, who actually extended his Conquests as far as the *Phasis*, and left there several Monuments of no less Magnificence than Utility. This Poet having spent most of his Life in *Egypt* in Quality of Librarian to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, had undoubtedly in his Possession the History of *Sesostris*; and tho' this was posterior to the *Argonautic* Expedition, he might, by way of Anticipation, speak of the Monuments which that Conqueror left in *Colchis*: For which, besides *Herodotus*, I refer to *Syncellus*, *Jamblicus*, *Huetius* (1), and several other Authors. The antient Commentator on *Apollonius Rhodius*, gives the Name of *Sethoncosis* to the Prince who had erected these Pillars, who is the same with *Sesostris*.

I might content myself with these general Reflections upon the two Poets, and the Historians who have spoke of the Return of the *Argonauts*; but as among the Fables with which they have interspersed the Relation of this Voyage, there are some that may be reduced to History, I hope it will not be ill taken that I attempt to explain them.

I begin with that of *Abfyrthus*. The Murder of this young Prince, sent by his Father in pursuit of those who had carried away the *Golden Fleece*, is so variously related by those who have had Occasion to speak of this Expedition, that there is little Doubt of its being

a mere Fiction. That *Medea*, or *Jason*, or both together, laid a Plot to put him to Death; that after having assassinated him, they cut his Body in Pieces, and strewed them in the Way of the *Colchians*, that they might spend Time in gathering up the scattered Members, and thereby be retarded in their Pursuit; all this appears to be fabulous. The Authors of this Murder, by making use of that Stratagem, instead of retarding, would much more have hastened the Pursuit of the *Colchians*, who would probably have deferred the gathering up of those sad Remains of their Chief, till they had overtaken and punished the Criminals. Thus, with respect to this Pursuit, I prefer the Opinion of those of the Antients who tell us there was an Engagement upon the *Euxine* Sea, when the Fleet of *Æetes* had joined the *Argonauts*, wherein that Prince and his Son were slain; which left our Voyagers the Liberty to return into *Greece* by the same Way they came; thus they landed at the Cape of *Malea*, as *Herodotus* expressly says (1).

What we read in *Pindar* (2), that the *Argonauts* arriving near the Coasts of *Greece*, were assailed by a Storm which drove them upon the Coasts of *Africa*, is the more probable, that *Herodotus*, and some other Historians, are agreed with that Poet; but whether it was in their Return, or at their first setting out, is not easy to determine. *Herodotus*, who advances this Fact, is not clear enough upon this Article. We may suppose it happened not long after their setting out. That Author, speaking of the River *Triton*, which discharges itself into the Lake *Tritonis*, where is an Island which was called *Phla*, says it was believed that this Island must have been inhabited by the *Lacedæmonians*; and he adds, it was reported by Tradition, that when *Jason* had built at the Foot of Mount *Pelion* the Ship which was called *Argo*, and had stowed in it a Hecatombe and a Tripod of Brass, he undertook the Voyage to *Delphi* by the Tour of *Peloponnesus*; that tak-

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(1) L. 4. (2) Pyth. 4.

ing his Rout by the Promontory of *Malea*, the North-wind drove him upon *Libya*, where he found his Ship run aground in the Lake *Tritonis*; and while he was endeavouring to extricate himself, a *Triton* appeared to him, and told him, that if he would give him the Tripod he had in his Ship, he would shew him how to get clear of this Danger; upon which, *Jason* agreeing to the Proposal, gave him the Tripod, which the *Triton* laid up in his Temple, and foretold *Jason* and his Crew, that when one of their Descendants should carry off that Tripod, it was fixed by Fate that there should be a hundred *Greek* Towns built upon the Lake *Tritonis*; in fine, that the *Libyans* being informed of this Oracle, kept the Tripod carefully concealed.

I shall first make some Reflexions upon this Narration. The first is, that if this Adventure is true, it must have happened not long after the Departure of the *Greeks*, as has been said; and 'tis natural to believe so, from the Hecatomb which *Jason* had stowed in his Ship, which would have greatly encumbered him in his Expedition; besides, it was destined for a Sacrifice to *Apollo* for obtaining a prosperous Voyage, according to the Practice of those Times, and if so, then *Medea* was not at that Time with the *Argonauts*, as *Pindar* tells us (*a*). 2. Though little Stress is to be laid upon a Story which *Herodotus* relates upon the Faith of another, without seeming to adopt it, yet, as it was the Consequence of an antient Tradition, and stood connected with Events which we learn from History, 'tis better to explain the fabulous Circumstances thereof than to reject it.

'Tis certain in Fact, as far as may be affirmed of the Events of that Time, that the *Argonauts* landed in that Part of *Libya* which is called *Cyrenaicum*. Being embarrassed in a difficult Pass, they had the Assistance

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of

(*a*) See Page 53. where *Pindar* supposes that *Medea*, in whose Mouth he puts a Prediction, was then with the *Argonauts*.

of the People of the Country to help them to get clear of it. This Fable is clothed in a fabulous Dress; the Poets hardly venting any Thing but under the Veil of Fiction. The *Triton* who appeared to them under a human Form, was a Prince who reigned in that Place, whom *Pindar* and his Scholiast name *Eurypilus*. He gave good Instructions to our Heroes to avoid the Sand Banks which lie in the *Syrtes* and thereabout. This is the whole Mystery: The Prediction which they put in his Mouth having only been invented after the Event; that is, after the *Greeks* were settled in that Part of *Africa*, and had built Cities there.

The *Sea-Goddesses* and the *Genii*, whom *Apollonius* makes also to appear to our Voyagers, are the Inhabitants of that Coast who assisted them; and that Horse unyoked from *Neptune's* Chariot, whose Tract he ordered them to follow, is a Ship detached from *Eurypilus's* Fleet, which served them for a Guide. This Horse was feigned to have Wings, and to cut the Air with vast Rapidity, which denotes the Swiftneſs of the Ship: For how is it poſſible otherwiſe to reconcile what we read in the Poet now named, of the *Argonauts* having carried their Ship, being ordered at the ſame Time to follow the Traces of a Horse which went as faſt as the ſwifteſt Bird?

Our Heroes, in Gratitude for the ſignal Service done them by *Eurypilus*, made him a Preſent of the Tripod above mentioned. *Diodorus*, who alſo ſpeaks of it, ſays there was upon the Tripod an Inſcription in very antient Characters, and adds, that it was preſerved to the lateſt Times among the People called *Hesperitans*, in *Cyrenaicum*.

Pindar, intending to write a Panegyric upon *Arceſilæus* King of *Cyrene*, one of the Deſcendants of *Euphemus* that celebrated *Argonaut* mentioned elſewhere, quite forgets his Heroe, and runs out at great Length upon the Adventures that beſel the *Argonauts*, eſpecially in *Africa*, relating the Hiſtory of that Clod of Earth which the *Triton* gave them; but he differs from *Apollonius Rhodius*, who wrote not till after him. The *Triton*,
ſays

says *Pindar*, charmed with the Tripod given him by the *Argonauts*, beg'd them not to set out till he should have Time to go and fetch them the Presents which every Host is bound to make to his Guests ; but those Princes, whom a favourable Wind perhaps invited to set sail, not having allowed him Time, he took a Clod of Earth and gave to *Euphemus*. When the *Argonauts* had arrived near the Island *Calisthé*, the fatal Clod drop'd into the Sea, and *Medea* foretold *Euphemus* that this Incident would retard the Settlement of his Posterity in *Libya*.

For understanding this Prediction of *Medea*, we must relate here what we are told by Historians, of the Descendants of the *Argonauts*, and of the Women of *Lemnos*, whom the Antients called the *Mynians*. The *Pelasgi*, says *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (1), having made themselves Masters of that Island, expelled them from it, in the fourth Generation after the Passage of the *Argonauts*. Being forced to quit their Country, they put to Sea, as we read in *Herodotus* (2), and passed into *Laconia*. The *Lacedemonians* perceiving them near Mount *Taygetus*, where they had lighted up Fires, sent a Deputation to them ; and hearing that they were the Descendants of the *Argonauts*, who were coming in quest of their Relations, they received them into their City, upon Account of *Castor* and *Pollux*. But these new Guests having become factious, were banished the City, and came most of them and settled in the Island *Calisthé*, named afterwards the Island of *Thera*.

From the Island *Calisthé* the *Argonauts* happily arrived on the Coasts of *Thessaly*, whence they set out. *Peleus* having died in the Voyage, *Acastes* his Son engaged his Companions before their Separation to celebrate Funeral Games in Honour of his Father ; and as *Pausanias* (3) gives the Description thereof, we shall here set down his Words.

“ Behind the Place which represented the Palace of
“ *Amphiaraus*, upon the Coffer of the *Cypselides*, is

(1) L. 1. (2) L. 4. (3) In *Eliac.* l. 1.

“ to be seen a Multitude of Spectators, in the midst
 “ of whom is *Hercules* sitting upon a Throne. Behind
 “ him, is a Woman playing upon the *Pbrygian* Flute,
 “ as appears from an Inscription. *Petus*, the Son of
 “ *Perieres*, (he was only his Grandson) and *Asterion*
 “ the Son of *Cometes*, each mounted on a Chariot,
 “ are urging their Steeds in the Race : *Pollux*, *Adme-*
 “ *tus*, and *Euphemus* are disputing for the same Prize.
 “ And we see it is the last that gains the Victory.
 “ On another side *Admetus* and *Mopsus* the Sons of
 “ *Ampysus* are engaged in the Gauntlet-fight ; between
 “ them is a Man playing upon the Flute. The
 “ wrestling Match is between *Jason* and *Peleus* ; they
 “ seem to be of equal Strength. *Eurybotus* is in the
 “ Posture of a Man throwing a Coit. *Melanion*,
 “ *Neotheus*, *Pbalarus*, *Argius* and *Iphiclus* are the
 “ five who seem to have disputed the Prize of the
 “ Foot-race : *Iphiclus* wins the Prize, and *Acastes* is
 “ putting a Crown upon his Head. This *Iphiclus*
 “ was the Father of *Protesilaus*, who went to the Siege
 “ of *Troy*. We see also in the same Picture several
 “ Tripods for the Conquerors. The Daughters of
 “ *Pelias* join in those Games, one of whom is named
 “ in the Inscription ; namely *Alcestes*. *Jolaus* the Com-
 “ panion of *Hercules* in his Labours, carries the Prize
 “ of the Chariot-race, and this closes the Funeral-
 “ Games of *Pelias*.”

The same Author adds (1), that *Glaucus* the Son
 of *Sisyphus*, had been trod down by his Horses in the
 same Games ; but he says nothing of the literary Con-
 tests that accompanied them : *Acesander* however, cited
 by *Plutarch* (2), will have it that this Sort of Match
 was likewise exhibited there, wherein the Poets dispu-
 ted the Prize, in reading their *Tetralogia* ; and this
 no doubt, is the most antient Example that can be
 cited of this literary Trial, so much used afterwards
 in the Games of *Greece*.

The *Argonauts* before they separated (3), entered
 into a Confederacy against all who should have any
 Quarre

(1) In *Eliac.* L. 2. (2) In *Symp.* (3) L. 4.

Quarrel with them; and to make it the more solemn, *Hercules* convened them in the Plains of *Ælis*, there to celebrate the Olympic Games, which had been interrupted for a long Time, as they likewise were afterwards. *Jason* consecrated in the Isthmus of *Corinth* to the God of the Sea, the Ship *Argo*, which the Poets have since placed in the Heavens, as may be seen in *Hyginus*, and in the first Verses of *Valerius Flaccus*.

C H A P. IV.

The Date of this Event.

AS the Date of this Event may cast a great Light upon the Age whereof I am now writing the History, I shall endeavour to settle it with some Accuracy. But the Difficulty that occurs here is very great: The Learned have embraced different Opinions as to this *Æra*; some removing it too far from the *Trojan* War, for it is enough if we can determine its Distance from that Event; others again bringing it too near; that is to say, the first set it at the Distance of 96 Years from it, with *Eusebius*; and others only 20 Years, with *Joseph Scaliger*; both which are equally contrary to what I am going to demonstrate.

If the Date of *Hercules's* Death, assigned by *Apollodorus* (1), who makes that Heroe to have died 53 Years before the Taking of *Troy*, was once fixed, and the Space of four or five Years were to be allowed for what he did from the Expedition of the *Argonauts* to his Death, this Conquest would then have fallen out about 58 Years before the taking of *Troy*; which cannot be admitted. 'Tis true *Velleius Paterculus* (2), makes *Hercules* to have died only forty Years before that War, to which if we add the five Years I have mentioned, the *Æra* we want, would fall in the Year 44 or 45; but this Distance is still too great, and is inconsistent, tho' less than the rest, with the most incontestable Records of Antiquity with relation to the

E 4

Age

(1) Clem. of Alex. Strom. l. 1. (2) L. 2.

Age in Question. For in fine, how can we think otherwise of two Events, in the last of which, we find a good Number of the same Warriors, several of their Sons, and only a few of their Grandsons, but that they were much nearer to one another than several Authors allow, namely, at the Distance of not above 34 or 35 Years; much in the same Way as we judge of the War in 1701, and that in 1734, where we have seen the same Warriors, their Sons, and some of their Grandsons. Now this is precisely the Case of the *Argonauts*, and the Captains in the *Trojan War*, according to all Antiquity, beginning with *Homer*.

Among the Warriors who joined in both Expeditions, I reckon first *Philoctetes*, who without dispute was of the Number of the *Argonauts*, and concurred in the Siege of *Troy* after *Ulysses* brought him from *Lemnos* where he had been left, and who consequently went twice to that Island, as we have it in *Valerius Flaccus* (a). I shall even make it appear in the particular History of this Heroe, that he survived the taking of *Troy* a long Time. *Euryalus* the Son of *Mecestheus*, and Grandson of *Talaus*, the same who had been present at the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, commanded the *Argives* with *Diomedes* at the Siege of *Troy*: I say the same, since *Homer* gives him the same Genealogy with that now mentioned.

Tho' *Nestor* is named among *Jason's* Companions only by *Valerius Flaccus* (1), he is at least to be reckoned in the Number of their Contemporaries. He had seen his Country laid waste by *Hercules*, he had been at the Battle of the *Centaur*s, and at the Hunting of *Calydon*; two Events, whereof the one preceded, and the other followed soon after the Expedition of the *Argonauts*.

Tho' *Castor* and *Pollux* two of the principal *Argo-*
nauts,

(a) *Tu quoque Phryxos, vidco, Pæantie Colchos,
Bis Lemnum visure petis: nunc Patris — —
Inchytus, Herculeas olim moture sagittas.*

Val. Flac. l. 1. v. 39.

(1) L. 1. & l. 6.

nauts, were not present at the *Trojan War*, they may serve for the same Synchronism, since they died only at the Beginning of that War, or not long before it, and even died very young. *Helen*, their twin Sister, who must have been about the Age of 15 or 16 Years, when her Brothers embarked with *Jason*, was at the taking of that City, being then not very old, as I shall prove in her History.

We are to think the same of *Priam*, who had been Witness to the Taking of *Troy* by *Hercules*, at the very Time of the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, and was then of Age fit to govern; for 'tis no where said that *Hercules*, who left him the Crown after he had put *Laomedon* to Death, gave him at the same Time a Tutor. *Anchises* had also been witness to this Expedition of *Hercules*; as *Virgil* makes him say at the Time when *Aeneas* was advising him to leave *Troy* with him.

- - - - - *Satis una, superque*
Vidimus excidia, & captæ superavimus urbi (1).

I find also among those who joined in both the Expeditions, *Ascalaphus* and *Falmenus*, both Sons of *Mars*; for as *Apollodorus* (2) reckons them in the Number of the *Argonauts*, so *Homer* (3), who gives them the same Father and Mother, *Mars* and *Astioché*, tells us that they were at the Siege of *Troy*, where they commanded the *Beotians* of *Aspledon* and *Orchomenos* a City of *Mynias*. What is also singular in this, the same *Apollodorus* (4) reckons these two Princes in the Number of *Helen's* Lovers, who came to *Sparta* to make Proposals of Marriage to her, a new Argument that several Persons had seen both the Events now in Debate. It may be objected that these two Princes were Grandsons of the *Argonaut Aëtor*, by their Mother *Astioché*; but in answer to this, it is no rare Thing for the Grandsons, especially on the side of the Daughters, to perform their first Campaigns with their Grandfathers.

Theseus,

(1) *Æn.* l. 2. (2) *Bibl.* l. 1. (3) *Iliad.* l. 2. (4) *L.* 3.

Theseus, who had been of the Number of the *Argonauts*, or at least had joined in the War between the *Centaur*s and *Lapithæ*, died indeed some time before the Siege of *Troy*; but he might have been there for Age, since his Mother *Æthra* was at *Troy* when the City was taken, the Slave of *Helen*, from the Time that *Castor* and *Pollux* had delivered their Sister, to whose Care *Theseus* had committed her. *Plutarch* I know contradicts the Authors who assert this; but a historical Monument quoted by *Pausanias* (a), shews that this was a current Tradition. This Monument was a Picture of *Polygnotus*, representing the taking of *Troy*, wherein among several other Personages, was to be seen at *Helen*'s Side, *Æthra* the Mother of *Theseus*, with her Head shaved, and *Demophoon* the Son of *Theseus*, who, as far as one can judge from his Attitude, was contriving how he might set her at Liberty. The Poet *Lescheus*, from whom the Painter had got those Facts, as *Pausanias* remarks, said in his Poems, that after the taking of *Troy*, *Æthra* came into the *Grecian* Camp; that she was known there to *Demophoon* the Son of *Theseus*, who ask'd her Liberty from *Agamemnon*, and obtained it from him, with *Helen*'s Consent. This fact, if true, is the most proper to determine the nearness of the two Events in Question; for here is the Mother of a Contemporary of the *Argonauts*, who outlived the Destruction of *Troy*. Nor is *Pausanias* the only one who attests this Fact, since we find it in the tragic Poets, in *Lescheus*, *Cleon* (1), and in the Historian *Isthor* (2).

According to *Servius*, here is another *Argonaut* who was also alive after the taking of *Troy*; namely, *Eryx*, whom *Eneas* saw in *Sicily*. In fine, if the *Argonaut* *Peleus* was not present at the *Trojan* War, he was however then very vigorous, and survived the taking of that City many Years, since the Chronicle of *Paros* observes, that seven Years after he banished his Son *Teucer* from his Court.

These

(a) In Phocic. See also the tragic Authors who relate the same Fact.

(1) Var. Hist. l. 4. c. 5. (2) Attic. l. 3.

These are the *Argonauts* or their Contemporaries, who either were, or might have been, present at both Expeditions; thus reckoning only thirty four or thirty five Years between them, those Heroes, as yet very young at the first, will have been Fifty five or Sixty Years of Age at the End of the second, some over, some under, and this is nearly the Age that *Homer* gives them. As for *Priam*, *Nestor*, and some others who were older, it is because they were already Men full grown at the Time of the War of the *Centaur*s, and of the Expedition to *Colchis*, while most of the rest, as *Castor* and *Pollux*, were in the Bloom of Youth. To which purpose, 'tis proper to observe, that when the Poet now named says *Nestor* had seen two Ages of Men, and was then living in the third, he means that he had seen a Revolution of two Generations, that is Sixty or Sixty-six Years; and if he was in the Middle of the third, he must have been about Seventy-five or Eighty Years.

Almost all the other Captains of the *Grecian* Army were either Sons of the *Argonauts*, or of their Contemporaries. *Teucer* and *Ajax* were the Sons of *Telamon* who had embarked with the *Argonauts*. *Schedius* and *Epistropius* had for their Father *Iphitus* the *Argonaut*: *Agapenor* was the Son of the Pilote *Anceus*: *Thespius*, of *Eurytus*; *Thoas*, of *Andremon*: *Tlepolemus*, of *Hercules* and *Astioché*: *Achilles*, whom all the Antients allow to have been at the Siege of *Troy* while he was very young, was however born before the setting out of the *Argonauts*, to whom *Chiron* presented him, as has been said; and consequently we may conclude, that when *Ulysses* found him out in the Isle of *Scyros*, and brought him to *Troy*, he was about Thirty-five Years; which perfectly well agrees with the Age of *Pyrrhus* his Son, who probably was about Seventeen or Eighteen Years when he arrived at *Troy*, in the tenth Year of the Siege.

Podarces was the Son of the *Argonaut* *Iphiclus*: *Eumenes*, of *Admetus*, *Jason*'s Contemporary: *Polypates*, of *Pirithous*: *Diomedes*, of *Tydeus*; *Ulysses*, of *Laertes* likewise

wife Contemporary with *Jason*; and if *Glaucus* was only *Bellerophon's* Grandson, 'tis certain that his Father *Hippelocbus* was still alive. In fine, *Calchas* was the Son of the *Argonaut Testor*, and all these Sons were, as *Homer* tells us, in the Flower of their Age. I say nothing of the Grandsons, who are not above two or three, some of whose Grandfathers were even still alive. I have therefore good reason to maintain that there was between those two Expeditions but an Interval of Thirty-four or Thirty-five Years, or to speak the Language of those Times, that the last happened but one Generation after the first; and I dare challenge those who are of the contrary Opinion, to advance any thing as certain against the *Synchronisms* now offered. I know there are vast difficulties in reconciling the Chronology of the Age now in question; but weighing one Difficulty against another, the Opinion I have established is loaded with fewer than all the rest.

C H A P. V.

The Continuation of the Adventures of Jason and Medea.

THE Sequel of *Jason's* History is told by the Antients in so many different Ways, that 'tis not easy to establish any thing certain upon this Head, from the Return of the *Argonauts*; that of *Medea* especially, is interspersed with a Number of Fictions which destroy one another. Here she is a cruel inhuman Princess, the Murderer of her Brother and of *Pelias*, having obliged her own Daughters to cut his Throat under pretext of making him renew his Youth; of her Rival whom she put to a miserable Death, and of her own Children whom she sacrificed to her Jealousy (1). There she is a virtuous Person, whose only Crime is the Love which she had for her Spouse, who basely abandoned her, notwithstanding the Pledges he had of her Affection, to wed the Daughter of *Creon*; a Woman of a very different Character from *Circé* her Aunt

(1) Eur. Ovid. &c.

Aunt (1), who employed the Secrets she had learned from *Hecate* her Mother, only in making up salutary Remedies for those who came to consult her, while *Circé* used only to the Purposes of her own Revenge the Knowledge she had acquired, or in the Language of the Fable, which the *Sun* her Father had communicated to her.

Lastly, a Queen forsaken, persecuted, who after having had recourse in vain to the Security of her Husband's Promises and Oaths, is obliged to wander from Court to Court, and at length to cross the Seas in quest of a Sanctuary in distant Countries: Accordingly even those who have loaded her with the greatest Number of Crimes, could not help owning, that being of a virtuous Disposition, she had only been drawn into Vice by a Kind of Fatality, and by the Wrath of the Gods, especially of *Venus*, who persecuted without Intermision the whole Race of the *Sun*, who had discovered her Intrigue with *Mars*. Hence these Words of *Racine*: *O Sun whom I abhor!* Hence again that fine Sentiment of *Ovid* (2): *Video meliora, proboque; deteriora sequor*; which one of our Poets has happily imitated in these Lines: *

*I see the Right, and I approve it too;
Condemn the Wrong—and yet the Wrong pursue.*
Garth's *Ovid*. Met. l. 7.

The antient tragic Writers are blamed, and I think justly, for having vitiated the History of this Princess, and entirely perverted her Character, as we shall see afterwards. The Pathetic is what tragic Poets aim at, and enormous Crimes, which being wrought into the odious Characters of their Personages, are susceptible of those theatrical touches, that are so apt to produce Terror and Compassion. Being authorised by Traditions that favoured their Design, tho' not so well vouched as others which would have crossed their Purpose,

(1) Diod. Siculus. (2) Met. l. 7. v. 20.

* *Le destin de Médée est d'être criminelle,
Mais son cœur étoit fait pour aimer la vertu.*

pose, they greedily laid hold on them, and without troubling themselves about the exact Truth, they have transmitted down to us the History of *Medea* under the most odious Character; and the modern Poets have not been wanting to imitate them.

We shall endeavour to unravel the Truth from what is Fiction, weigh Authorities, and leave the Reader at liberty to judge if this Princess was so bad as she has been represented.

To begin with the Murder of *Absyrtus*. I have made it appear that this Fact is differently related by the Poets; that the Story of that Prince's Members being dispersed in the Way, was a pure Chimera; and besides, here is a Fact related by *Herodotus*, the natural Inferences from which prove that I have reason thus to judge of it. That knowing and judicious Author says, *Æetes* finding that those whom he had sent out against his Daughter's Ravishers, were not able to come up with them, thought it necessary, in order to do himself Justice, to send Ambassadors into *Greece*. These Deputies arrived there accordingly; but as the *Argonauts* had taken an Oath, that before their Separation they would support one another, and as they were the stronger Party, the Ambassadors of the King of *Colchis* had no other Answer, but that as no Reparation had been made to the *Greeks* for the Rape of *Io*, the Daughter of *Inachus*, ravished by *Phenician* Merchants who had come to traffick at *Argos*, neither were they disposed to give them any Satisfaction. It does not appear that the King of *Colchis*, after receiving this Answer, took any other Step for the Recovery of his Daughter. This Embassy supposes that the Prince would have been overjoyed to see his Daughter again, whom however he had reason to consider as a Monster, if she had really imbrued her Hands in the Blood of her Brother.

In the mean time, the Death of *Pelias*, whose Funerals had been celebrated with so much Pomp and Apparatus, left the Throne vacant, to which *Jason* had

had a legal Title, but probably the Party of his Cousin *Acastus* was the stronger, and it does not appear that he shared it with him, as he ought to have done, or resigned it to him altogether, since his Father had only possessed it by Usurpation from *Eson*. *Jason* thus seeing himself deprived of his Inheritance, and not being powerful enough to obtain it by Force, embarked with *Medea*, and retired to *Corinth*, where he had Friends, and even some Pretensions to the Crown by his Wife, as shall be said afterwards.

Diodorus Siculus says the same upon the Authority of *Simonides*, and contends, that it was the *Corinthians* themselves invited *Medea* to come and take Possession of a Throne which belonged to her; or at least to share the Authority of it with *Creon*, who was in Possession. Here again is a Fact attested by antient Authors, which overthrows another Calumny published against *Medea*, by *Ovid*, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, and some others.

First, 'tis supposed by them that *Pelias* and *Eson* were still alive at the Return of the *Argonauts*, that the latter being extremely old, and hardly able to support himself, *Jason* had desired *Medea* his Wife to employ some secret Art, which she knew, some Composition capable to restore him to his Strength and Vigour; and that she had accordingly given him one so efficacious, that by means of it he became young again. This is the Substance of that miraculous Operation as it is described in *Ovid*: “ While all *Thessaly* was rejoicing
“ for the Arrival of the *Argonauts*, *Eson* alone did
“ not join in the Festival that was celebrated on that
“ Occasion. Oppressed with old Age, and just upon
“ the Brink of the Grave, he could enjoy no part
“ of the public Mirth: *Jason* his Son much affect-
“ ed to see him in this Condition, thus bespoke *Me-
“ dea*. I know, my dear Spouse, that you have saved
“ my Life: The Obligations I lie under to you are
“ inexpressibly great. But I have one Favour more
“ to ask you; cut off some Years of my Life, and
“ add them to those of my Father: This is what
“ you

“ you can do, for nothing surmounts the Power of
 “ your Art. As he thus spoke, he could not refrain
 “ from Tears. *Medea* was touched with *Jason’s* ten-
 “ der Affection for his Father ; it made her call to
 “ Mind *Æetes*, whom she had left ; but this she kept
 “ to herself. What you require of me, says she to
 “ him, is highly unjust ; do you really believe, my
 “ dear Husband, that any Motives can determine me
 “ to abridge a Life which I prize so much ? Were I
 “ capable of such an Action, I would pray the God-
 “ dess *Hecate* to prevent me from it. The Love
 “ which you bear to your Father urges a Crime which
 “ I am incapable of committing. Your Wishes
 “ however shall be gratified, but in a Manner which
 “ you did not expect. I am going to exert all my
 “ Endeavours to prolong the Life of a Father whom
 “ you love.”

Upon this she went out of the Palace ; and mount-
 ing a Chariot drawn by winged Dragons, which de-
 scended from Heaven in her Sight, she traversed sever-
 al Countries, and there gathered Herbs of all Kinds,
 of which she composed a Potion, then drew out the
 Blood which run in *Eson’s* Veins, and injected in its
 stead the Liquor which she had prepared. So soon
 as the Draught had insinuated itself into the Body of
 the old Man, his Beard and his gray Hairs began to
 darken, the Wrinkles of his Face disappeared, and he
 recovered his pristine Vigour and good Plight.

The Daughters of *Pelias*, amazed at this Prodigy (1),
 besought *Medea* to vouchsafe the same Remedy to
 their Father ; and she having a mind to avenge her Fa-
 ther-in-law and her Husband of *Pelias’s* Usurpation,
 persuaded her Cousins that the Remedy would have
 the same Effect upon their Father as upon *Eson*. First,
 she took an old Ram, cut it in Pieces, which she
 threw into a Caldron, and after mixing certain Herbs
 therewith, took it out and let them see it transformed
 into a young Lamb. She therefore set about making
 the

(1) Ovid. loc. cit. Pausan. in Arcad.

the same Experiment upon the Person of the King (*a*); she dissected him in the same Way, and threw his Body into a Caldron of boiling Water; but the perfidious Sorceress left it there till the Fire had entirely consumed it; insomuch that nothing of it remained for his Daughters to bury. This, says *Pausanias*, is what made those unfortunate Princesses fly into *Arcadia*, where they ended their Days and were interred; while *Medea*, to save herself, mounted her Chariot in Haste, and flew through the Air.

The Mythologists, I know, give Explications of this Fable; some of them alledging that it refers to an Experiment of transfusing the Blood, which has sometimes been tried, but always with bad Success; while others say *Medea* having learned of her Mother the Knowledge of some Simples, had composed a Remedy of them which had restored her Father-in-law to his Vigour: For which I refer to *Pliny*, *Servius* and *Elian*. The same Mythologists add, that she mixed up with the Draught designed for *Pelias*, some venemous Herbs that poisoned him.

By bad Luck these Explications rest upon nothing; and this Fable, which was only invented to make *Medea* pass for a great Sorceress, has no Foundation in History. *Eson* had been forced by *Pelias* to drink Bull's Blood, and was dead before *Jason's* Arrival, as also his Wife, who had strangled herself for Grief. *Pelias* himself was deceased at the Return of the *Argonauts*; of which his Funeral Games celebrated by those Heroes are a convincing Proof. *Jason* joined in them with the other *Argonauts*; and how could he have been present there, if his Wife had been guilty, as is said, of the Murder of his Uncle? The Fact is, that after the Celebration of those Games, *Jason* seeing his Cousin's Party too strong, found it convenient to quit *Iolchos*; and having embarked with *Medea* in a Ship named *The Dragon*, which gave Rise to the Fable of

VOL. IV.

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those

(*a*) *Ovid* says she induced the Daughters of *Pelias* to cut their Father's Throat, and then to divide his Body in Pieces with their own Hands.

those winged Dragons we have mentioned (*a*), went to push his Fortune elsewhere.

Corinth presented him with a secure Retreat, and *Creon* (*b*), who reigned there, made no Opposition, or durst not make any to his entering that City. For, if we may believe *Eumelus*, a very antient Author, a *Corinthian* by Birth, and of the Blood-Royal (1), *Medea*, as has been said, had a Right to the Crown, since, according to this Author, the *Sun*, the Son of *Hyperion*, having had by *Antiope*, *Æetes* and *Alous*, divided his Dominions among them, and *Corinth* having fallen to the first, who went and settled in *Colchis*, committed that City in Trust to *Bunus*, to be kept until he or one of his Children should come and demand it of him. The same *Eumelus* added, that *Medea* actually reigned at *Corinth* jointly with *Creon*, which is confirmed by *Simonides*. *Diodorus Siculus* says (2), it was the *Corinthians* themselves had invited this Princess to quit *Iolchos*, to come and take Possession of a Crown which belonged to her.

Medea and *Jason* resided ten Years in that City, where they lived in perfect Harmony, and had two Children. But *Jason's* Perfidiousness having made him forget the Obligations he owed to his Spouse, and the Oaths which he had taken to her, he made no Scruple to violate the sacred Ties of Marriage, which were then very much regarded; and falling in love with *Glaucé*, *Creon's* Daughter, divorced *Medea*. As antient Histories are always intermixed with Fables, it was given out that *Medea*, to be avenged of her Rival, had sent her a poisoned Garment, which, like the Shirt that *Dejanira* had given *Hercules*, no sooner was put on by that unfortunate Princess, than she felt a secret Flame

(*a*) *Horace* thus speaks of her Chariot:

Hoc delibutis ultra donis pellicem

Serpente fugit alite. Epod. III. 13.

(*b*) As we frequently find at *Corinth* the Name of this *Creon*, *Paulmier de Grantmenil*, thinks it rather was a Title of Dignity, *ἡγεμῶν*, *Imperans*, than a personal Name, and that he who reigned then in that City was called *Glaucus*; and his Daughter *Glaucé*.

(1) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* (2) *L.* 4.

Flame begin to prey upon her, and died in the most exquisite Torment. They further added, that *Creon's* Palace was set on Fire, and he himself consumed in the Flames ; and lastly, that after having torn in Pieces her two Sons, *Pheres* and *Memercus*, she retired to *Thebes* to *Hercules*, hoping that he would avenge her of *Jason's* Falsehood, in regard that he, with the other *Argonauts*, were engaged to see to his keeping the Oath which he had taken at Marriage, never to have any other Wife but her ; but that not being able to procure Satisfaction from him, she had repaired to *Athens*. This again is another Fiction, without all Foundation. Not to insist upon what is certain, that *Hercules* died ten or twelve Years after the Return of the *Argonauts*, as I shall prove elsewhere, I have this to say further ; it was a current Tradition, that the *Corinthians* themselves had stoned them to Death, either to revenge the Death of *Creon*, whom *Medea* was said to have slain, or to put an End to the Intrigues she was still forming for securing the Crown to her Children. It was *Euripides*, in his Tragedy of *Medea*, that propagated the Fable which I am refuting ; a Mystery which it is proper to explain. The Report which had been spread on all Hands, of the Cruelty exercised by the *Corinthians* upon *Medea's* Children, had made them odious to all *Greece*. Therefore, being informed that *Euripides* was designed to bring that Subject upon the Stage, they made him a Present of five Talents, to induce him to lay to *Medea's* Charge the Murder of the young Princes. They had Reason to hope that this Fable would gain Credit from the Character of the Poet who employed it, and would at length jostle out a Truth which was little to their Honour. For History bore, that these two Princes having fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Juno*, surnamed *Ἀνρείη*, found no Protection from the Sacredness of the Place, but were assassinated even at the Feet of the Goddess. The same History added, that some Time after, the *Corinthians* being distressed with the Pestilence, were apprized by the Oracle, that they would

never see an End of their Calamities till they were expiated from the sacrilegious Murder whereof they were guilty. This Fact we learn from *Parmeniscus*, a very antient Author quoted by the Scholiast on *Euripides*, who added, that the *Corinthians* on that Occasion had instituted a Festival which was still subsisting at the Time when he wrote. The principal Ceremony of this Feast consisted in prohibiting seven young Virgins, and as many Youths, of the principal Families of *Corinth*, from approaching the Territory consecrated to *Juno*, a Prohibition which lasted a Year.

Pausanias, who is as little favourable to the *Corinthians* as *Parmeniscus*, relates the Story somewhat differently ; according to him it was not the Pestilence that laid *Corinth* waste, but an epidemical Distemper which destroyed all the Children of the *Corinthians*, until, by the Advice of the Oracle, they instituted Sacrifices in honour of *Medea's* Sons, and consecrated to them a Statue which represented *Fear* ; and this Statue was still subsisting in his Time. To give the greater Solemnity to the Reparation the *Corinthians* thought themselves obliged to make to those unfortunate Princes, they made their Children wear Mourning, and cut off their Hair, to a certain Age. 'Tis therefore manifest, that the *Corinthians* alone were guilty ; and I am also persuaded, that the Story of the fatal Robe which she had sent to *Glaucé* is another Fiction, as well as the burning of *Creon's* Palace : For when one has a mind to render a Person odious, he takes Care to do the Work not by Halves : Thus, whatever it cost, *Medea* was to be made guilty of all the Crimes could be imagined. Unluckily for the *Corinthians*, History has unravel'd the Truth from among the Fictions wherewith *Euripides* and the other Tragic Poets had disguised it ; and Monuments still more certain than History, Feasts, Sacrifices, and Statues, were plain and standing Proofs that reproached the *Corinthians* with a Crime wherewith they endeavoured to blacken *Medea's* Reputation : And if the Fact be as I have now related, as is exceeding probable, it makes
not

not much for the Honour of *Euripides*, who allowed himself to be corrupted by the *Corinthians* for five Talents ; but not to insist here that he may have followed other Traditions, perhaps as well vouched as that which *Parmeniscus* has transmitted to us ; that the Subject, as he has managed it in his Tragedy of *Medea*, seemed to him calculated for raising Terror and Fear, and the other Emotions which the *Drama* requires ; 'tis not so strange as may at first appear, to suppose he would prefer the present Reputation of the *Corinthians*, who suffered still by those Reports, to that of a Princess dead several Ages ago, wherein, probably none interested themselves.

Be that as it will, she removed to *Athens*, where, according to *Ovid* (1), *Egeus* received her, and married her some Time after. *Plutarch* (2), who relates the same Fact, says not that *Egeus* married her, but that she lived with him in a shameful Intimacy, promising him that by her Drugs she would procure him Children. In the mean while *Theseus*, say those Authors, arrived at *Athens* for the first Time ; and *Medea* hearing of his Arrival, and of the Design he had of discovering himself, had such Influence over the Mind of *Egeus*, grown weak with Age, and rendered fearful and suspicious by the different Factions that prevailed in the City, as to persuade him to poison his Son, at a Feast he had provided for him as a Stranger. *Theseus* therefore was invited in his Name. When he was in the Hall, he thought it not proper to declare who he was ; but having a Mind to give his Father an Occasion of making the first Discovery, so soon as the Meat was served up, he drew his Poinard to cut it up, and having let the Guard of his Sword be seen, on which was *Egeus's* Seal, that Prince knew him, and presently overturned the Cup in which was the Poison, then proposed several Questions to *Theseus*, and after embracing him, made him be acknowledged, by all the *Athenians*. *Medea*, by mounting her flying Chariot, escaped the Punishment she deserved,

Here again is a new Crime with which the Poets thought fit to load the Memory of *Medea*; for this Narration can by no Means be supported. *Egeus* was dead long before *Medea's* Arrival in *Greece*, having thrown himself down, as has been said (1), from a Precipice upon the Return of his Son from *Crete*, which was *Theseus's* first Expedition after his Discovery. Besides, *Theseus* having been of the Number of the *Argonauts*, how could *Medea* have forgot him after she had made that long Voyage with him? And how is this consistent with what *Plutarch* asserts, as has been already remarked, that this Prince had been in *Colchis*, and at the same Time that he had found *Medea* at her Father's Palace, at his first Departure from *Trezene*? These are some of the Contradictions which Compilers not very exact are apt to fall into.

After this Adventure we hear little more of *Medea*; only *Trogus Pompeius*, as we read in *Justin* (2), had wrote that she crossed the Sea, and returned to *Colchis* with young *Medus* and *Jason*, who was reconciled to her; that there they had re-established *Æetes* upon the Throne from which he had been deposed by a powerful Faction; that *Jason* had made War upon the Enemies of his Father-in-law, had conquered a great Part of the *Lesser Asia*, and at length acquired so great Glory, as to be honoured as a God, some of his Temples being still to be seen in the Time of *Alexander*, which *Ephestion* had demolished, that none might be equalled to his Master. Lastly, That after the Death of *Jason*, *Medus* had built the Town of *Medea* in Honour of his Mother, and had given Name to the *Medes*. But this whole Narration is overthrown by the *Greek* Traditions, which make *Jason* to have died in *Thessaly*, as we shall see by and by. *Pausanias* (3) says, that Part of *Asia* was denominated *Aria*, and that the Inhabitants were from that Time called *Medes*, from the Name of that Princess. This Author adds farther, that the Son whom she carried with her, and whom

(1) The History of *Minos*. (2) L. 4. c. 2 & 3. (3) In *Corinth*.

whom she had by *Egeus*, was called *Medus*; but that *Hellanius* gave him the Name of *Polixenes*, and made him the Son of *Jason*.

The *Greeks*, according to the same Author, had old Pieces of Poetry which they called *Naupaetian*, from their Author *Carcinus*, of the City *Naupaetus*, where it was said, that *Jason*, after the Death of *Pelias*, had quitted *Iolchos* to go and settle at *Corcyra*, and had lost there his eldest Son *Memercus*, who had been torn in Pieces by a Lioness, as he was diverting himself in hunting, in that Part of the Continent which is opposite to the City; but they give no Account of *Pheres* his other Son. There were also in *Greece* ancient Genealogies of one named *Cinetho* a *Lacedemonian*, where it was said that *Jason* had by *Medea* a Son *Medus*, and a Daughter *Eriopis*; but neither of these Authors said any Thing of *Medea* and *Jason's* having resided at *Corinth*, which was so plainly set forth in the History of *Eumelus* which we have mentioned; who, besides what has been said, added, that after the Death of *Bunus*, to whom *Æetes* had given in Trust his Property in the City *Epbyre*. *Poppæus*, the Son of *Aloeus*, having ascended the Throne, and *Corinthus*, the Son of *Marathon*, who changed the Name of the City *Epbyre* to that of *Corinth*, having succeeded him, and having left no Male Issue, the *Corinthians* had sent for *Medea* from *Iolchos*, as has been said. The same Author added that *Medea* had several Children by *Jason*, whom she carefully concealed in *Juno's* Temple, hoping thereby to procure them Immortality; that at length being baulked of this Expectation, and seeing that *Jason*, incensed against her, had returned to *Iolchos*, she had formed a Resolution to leave *Corinth*, as has been already related.

As to the last Years of *Jason*, all we know is that he led an unsettled Life, without any fixed Residence; and that as he was one Day resting himself upon the Sea-shore, under the Shelter of the Ship *Argo*, which had been laid up, he was there crushed to Death by the Fall of a Beam which was loosened from it, an

Event said to be foretold him by *Medea*, as *Euripides* reports.

To conclude: It is not without Reason that I have not represented *Medea* as criminal as Authors commonly make her; having good Vouchers for my Opinion among the Antients. I presume that I have sufficiently overthrown, and that by formal Authorities, the odious Facts that are laid to her Charge. I may further add, that the only Thing for which she can be blamed, is for having left her Father and Mother to follow a Stranger; but besides that it was a Relation she followed, who was become her Husband, we are told that her Departure was forced and involuntary, being hated both by her Father and Mother because she was of a humane beneficent Disposition. They tell us further, it was this generous Temper prompted her to befriend the *Argonauts*, who, but for her, must all have perished. The antient Scholiast on *Euripides* confirms this Opinion of *Diodorus*, and other Authors, when he says *Medea* was highly in Favour with the *Corinthians*, for having delivered them from a grievous Famine by Means of her Inchantments; that is, by the Resources her extensive Knowledge had found out for bringing about a good Harvest.

Ovid himself, who seems to have so little Favour for her, after he has put the most virtuous Sentiments in her Mouth, before she gave Way to her growing Inclination towards *Jason*, makes her utter those remarkable Words before quoted.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Hercules.

THAT there were several *Hercules's* is a Thing not to be doubted. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons three of them: The first an *Egyptian*, who travelled into *Africa*, and raised those famous Pillars near *Cadiz*, to give Notice to Voyagers that they were not to attempt

tempt to go farther (*a*). The second was born in *Crete*, among the *Idæi Daëtyli*; he it was, according to the same Author, that instituted the *Olympic Games*. The last was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*; he was born at *Thebes*, and signalized himself by a thousand Labours. He might have added a fourth, more antient than the others, namely, the *Phœnician*. *Cicero* (1) reckons there were six of them. The first, according to that Author, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Lysidice*. The second is the *Egyptian Hercules*, sprung from the *Nile*. The third was one of the *Daëtyli* of Mount *Ida*. The fourth was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the Sister of *Latona*, and this is he whom the *Tyrians* worshipped. The fifth is the *Indian* surnamed *Belus*. In fine, the sixth is the Son of *Alcmena*. There are *Greek Authors* who reckon to the Number of Forty three of them, either because several Persons did themselves the Honour to assume so illustrious a Name, or rather because *Hercules* was not a proper Name, but an Appellative, derived perhaps from the *Phœnician* Word *Harokel*, which signifies *Merchant*, as has been proved some Years ago by the learned *M. le Clerc* (2), who alledges that this Name was formerly given to the famous Traders who went to discover new Countries, and to plant Colonies there, frequently signalizing themselves no less by purging them from the wild Beasts that infested them, than by the Commerce they established there; which, no doubt, was the Source of antient Heroism and War (*a*). Thus it appears that the Word *Hercules* was only the Surname of the *Hercules's* we have mentioned: For the *Tyrian* was called *Thasius*; the *Phœnician*, *Desanaus*, or *Agenor*; the *Grecian* (*b*), *Alceus*, or *Alcides*; the *Egyptian*, who was contem-

(*a*) See what has been said from the same Author, in the Article of *Osiris*, Vol. I.

(1) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3. (2) *Bibl. Univers.* Tom. 2.

(*a*) See what the Bible says of *Nimrod*, that first Heroe and Conqueror: It calls him, *Fortis Venator coram Domino*. *A mighty Hunter before the Lord*.

(*b*) *Diodorus* is of Opinion that *Alcides* was called *Hercules*, that is, the Glory of *Juno*, not till after he had in the Cradle squeezed two Serpents to Death, which *Juno* had sent to devour him.

contemporary with *Osiris*, and General of his Troops, *Osochor*, or *Chon*; the *Indian*, *Dorsanes*; and the *Gaul*, *Ogmion*.

But 'tis to be observed that the *Greeks* have filled up the History of the *Theban Hercules* with the Exploits of all the rest, with those numerous Travels mentioned by the Poets who have written his Life, and with so many Adventures, for which the Life of no one Man would be sufficient: Here is his History.

Perseus had by *Andromeda*, *Alceus* (1), *Sthenelus*, *Hilas*, *Mestor*, *Electrion*, and a Daughter named *Gorgophone*, who, as has been said elsewhere, was married to *Perieres*. *Alceus* having married *Hippomona*, the Daughter of *Menecus*, had two Children by her; namely, *Amphitryo* and his Sister *Anaxo*. To *Mestor* and *Lysidice*, the Daughter of *Pelops*, was born *Hippothoë*, who, having been ravished by *Neptune*, that is, by some Pirate, was conveyed into the *Eschinades* Islands, where she had a Son named *Taphius*, who led a Colony to *Taphos*, the Inhabitants whereof he afterwards called *Teleboans*, to denote that they had settled far from their own Country. To this *Taphius* was born *Pterelas*, who had several Male Children (a), and a Daughter named *Cometo*.

Electrion married his Niece *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alceus*, and of this Marriage was born *Alcmena* (b). From *Sthenelus* and *Micippe*, the Daughter of *Pelops*, sprung *Alcinoe*, *Medusa*, and *Eurystheus*, who was afterwards King of *Mycenæ*. *Taphius* being dead, *Pterelas*

(1) Apollod. l. 2. Diod. &c.

(a) Namely, *Chromius*, *Tyrannus*, *Antiochus*, *Cherses*, *Damas*, *Mastor* and *Ezeres*.

(b) *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Theseus*, delineates *Alcmena's* Genealogy otherwise: He says she was the Daughter of *Lysidice*; and the Scholiast upon *Pindar*, Ode 17. Olymp. agrees with *Plutarch*. *Euripides*, in the Tragedy of the *Herculides*, *Servius* upon the fifth Book of the *Æneid*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 4. plainly make *Alcmena* descended from *Pelops*; but the two first name not her Mother, and the last calls her *Eurymede*: But *Apollodorus*, Bibl. l. 2. is of a quite different Opinion; for he makes the Mother of this Princess *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alceus*.

relas sent his Children to *Mycenæ* to demand of their Grand-uncle *Electrion*, who was King thereof, that Share of their Grandfather *Mestor*'s Estate which belonged to them. That Prince having refused to satisfy their Claim, they ravaged the Country, and carried away his Flocks. Upon which, the Sons of *Electrion* drew together their Troops, and gave them Battle, where both the one and the other lost their Lives. *Lycimnus*, the natural Son of *Electrion*, a Prince then but very young, remained alone to carry the News thereof to his Father ; and on *Pterelas*'s Side, there was none escaped the sad Fate of the Brothers but *Eve-res*, who had the Care of the Ships, who having put the rest of his Troops on board with those of *Electrion*, repaired to his own Country.

The King of *Mycenæ*, before he set about revenging the Death of his Children, left the Government of his Kingdom, with his Daughter *Alcmena*, to *Amphitryo* his Nephew, promising to give her to him in Marriage upon his Return. As he actually returned victorious, and was bringing back his Cows, *Amphitryo* was going to have stopped one of them which had got away, and threw after her his Club, which lighted upon *Electrion*, and slew him. This Murder, tho' involuntary, was the Mean of that young Prince's losing the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* ; for *Stbenelus*, the Brother of the Deceased, taking Advantage of the public Odium which *Amphitryo* had incurred by this Accident, expelled him from the whole Country of the *Argives*, and made himself Master of *Mycenæ*, where his Son *Euristheus* reigned after him. *Amphitryo*, forced to retire to *Thebes*, was received there by *Creon* ; but his Cousin *Alcmena*, whom he had brought along with him, not being satisfied with the Vengeance which her Father had taken upon the *Teleboans*, declared that she would marry him who should declare War upon them. *Amphitryo*, who was passionately in love with her, accepted the Proposal, and having struck up an Alliance with *Cephalus*, *Anceus*, *Creon*, and some other neighbouring Princes, went and laid waste the Islands
of

of the *Taphians*. But while *Pterelas* was alive, he was not able to take *Taphos*; but *Cometo* his Daughter being enamoured of *Amphitryo*, or, according to others, of *Cephalus*, and having cut the fatal Hair on which her Father's Destiny depended; that is, having conspired with his Enemies, this unfortunate Prince lost his Life. *Amphitryo* having thereby become Master of the Isles of the *Taphians*, gave them to *Cephalus* and *Eleus*, who built Cities therein, put *Cometo* to Death, and returned loaded with Spoils and Booty (a). Hear how *Plautus* makes *Amphitryo* speak in Reference to this :

Ego idem ille sum Amphitryo---qui
Acarnanios & Taphios vi vici, & summâ Regum.
Virtute bellica. Illisce præfeci Cephalum
Magni Dionei filium. Amph. Act. 4.

It was during this War that *Hercules* was born; and whether *Amphitryo* had consummated his Marriage before he set out, or whether he had returned to *Thebes incognito*, or to *Tyrinthia*, where *Hercules* is thought to have been born, it passed current that *Jupiter* was this young Prince's Father, and that he had imposed upon *Alcmæna*, by assuming the Figure of her Husband; a Fable which was propagated to cloak some Intrigue of *Alcmæna*; or perhaps *Jupiter* was afterwards given out to be *Alcides's* Father, instead of *Amphitryo*, only upon account of his Valour; and 'tis very probable that it is to be understood in this last Sense, since *Seneca* thus brings in *Hercules* himself speaking of his Birth: "Whether this whole Story
 " be taken for Truth, or for a mere Fiction, and my
 " Father be really but a mere Mortal, my Mother's
 " Infamy is sufficiently wiped off by my Valour; nor
 " am I unworthy to be *Jupiter's* Son (b)."

To

(a) See the History of *Theseus*, where the like Adventure befel *Afinos*.

(b) *Virtute nostra pellicem feci, tuam*
Credo Noxeram, sive nascente Hercule

To this Fable it was added, that on the Day of his Nativity loud Peals of Thunder had been heard, and several other Prodigies seen (*a*).

To the same Purpose it was given out, that the Night on which *Jupiter* counterfeited *Amphitryo* had been prolonged. *Lycophron* says it lasted the Space of three Nights, and others extend it even to nine. *Hyginus* (*b*) and *Seneca* describe this Fable, as also *Plautus* (*c*) in his *Amphitryo*.

Some Authors say this Princess was delivered of Twins, of whom the one, *Iphicles*, passed for the Son of *Amphitryo*, and the other, *Alcides*, claimed *Jupiter* for his Father ; and tho' they had been conceived at three Months Distance the one from the other, yet they were born on the same Day. 'Tis thus that *Plautus* makes *Mercury* speak of them (*d*).

But

*Nox illa certa est, siue mortalis meus
Pater est ; licet si falsa progenies mihi,
Materna culpa cesset & crimen Jovis ;
Merui parentem, contuli cælo decus.*

Sen. de Herc. Oeteo. Act. 4.

(*a*) ——— *Ibi continuo contonat
Sonitu maximo. Ædes Primo ruere rebamur tuas,
Ædes totæ consulgebant tuæ quasi essent aureæ.*

Plaut. Amph. Act. 5. Sc. 1.

(*b*) *Amphitryon* cum abesset ad oppugnandam *Oecaliā*, *Alcmēna* existimans *Jovem* conjugem suum esse, eum thalamis suis recepit ; qui cum in thalamos venisset, & ei referret quæ in *Oecaliō* gessisset, ea credens conjugem esse cum eo concubuit.——Postea cum nunciaretur ei conjugem victorem esse, minime curavit, quod putabat se conjugem suum vidisse. Qui cum in Regiam intrasset, & videret negligentius secutam, mirari cæpit & queri quod se advenientem non recepisset. *Hygin.*

(*c*) *Cui lege mundi Jupiter rupta
Roscidæ noctis geminavit horas,
Jussitque Phæbum tardive celeres
Agitare currus ; & tuas lente
Remeare bigas, candida Phæbe !
Retulitque pedem, alternis nomen
Stellæque mutat, seque mirata est
Hesperum dici. Aurora movit
Ad solitas vices caput, & relabens
Imposuit senis humero mariti.* Senec. Amph. Act. 4.

(*d*) *Hodie illa pariet filios geminos duos :*

Alter

But this I take to be another Fiction, owing to this that the two first of *Alcmena's* Children had been confounded together, the one of them being born during the War of the *Teleboans*, and the other but a short while after ; unless we choose to think, that she was really delivered of Twins.

To proceed, I am of Opinion that there was no Foundation for the Fable of *Jupiter's* having made the Night in which he lay with *Alcmena* longer than others : At least, this Event put nothing in Nature out of Order, since the Day that followed it was proportionably shorter, as the same *Plautus* remarks :

*A:que quanto nox fuisti longior hac proxima,
Tanto brevior dies ut fiat faciam, ut æque disparet,
Et dies e nocte accedat.* Ibid. Ac. 1. Sc. 3.

As for *Galantbis*, *Alcmena's* Slave, whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a Weasel, for having imposed upon *Juno*, (who in the Disguise of an old Woman, planted herself near *Amphitryon's* Palace, in a fit Posture, as she thought, to retard *Alcmena's* Delivery) by making her believe that her Mistress was brought to bed ; this is an Episode invented to set the Resentment of *Juno* in a stronger Light. As to which, however, we may add, that Similitude of Names had given Rise to the Transformation ; and the pretended Punishment which *Juno* is said to have taken on that new Animal, by condemning it to bring forth its Young by the Mouth, this is only an Allusion to a popular Error, which has no other Foundation, but that the Weasel is almost always bearing about its Young in its Mouth, continually shifting them from Place to Place. *Eliau* says the *Thebans* worshipped this little Animal (1), because it had facilitated *Alcmena's* Labours. What-

*Alter decimo post mense nascetur puer
Quàm seminat, alter mense septimo.
Eorum Amphitryonis alter est, alter Jovis.*

*Alcmenæ hujus honoris gratia
Pater curavit uno ut factu fieret.
Uno ut labore absolvat ærummas duas.*

(1) De Anim.

Whatever be in that, *Amphitryo*, who was of the Race of *Perseus*, and sole Heir to *Electrion* by his Wife, ought to have succeeded to the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and his Son *Hercules* after him ; but having slain his Father-in-law, as has been said, he was obliged to retire to *Thebes*, and by that means *Sthenelus* became sole King of *Mycenæ*, and after him his Son *Euristheus*, who was born at the same time with *Hercules*. Thus our Heroe became Subject, and as it were Slave to that King ; tho' others will have it, that he was subjected to him by the Oracle of *Delphi*, upon account of the Murder of his Children, whom he slew in the Rage of his Madness (2), since he might have exempted himself from Subjection to the King of *Mycenæ*, being under the Protection of *Creon*, whose Daughter he had married.

This is the Source of the Fables of the Jealousy of *Juno*, who had retarded *Alcmena's* Delivery, to gain Time for *Eurystheus* to come first into the World, and consequently to command the other, as by Right of Seniority. *Homer* relates this Fact with an Air of the Marvellous, which he knows so well to give his Narrations :

*Hear me, ye Sons of Greece ! with Silence bear,
And grant your Monarch an impartial Ear :
A while your loud, untimely Joy suspend,
And let your rash injurious Clamours end :
Unruly Murmurs, or ill-tim'd Applause,
Wrong the best Speaker, and the justest Cause.
Nor charge on me, ye Greeks, the dire Debate ;
Know, angry Jove, and all-compelling Fate,
With fell Erinnys, urg'd my Wrath that Day,
When from Achilles' Arms I forc'd the Prey.
What then could I, against the Will of Heaven ?
Not by myself, but vengeful Ate driv'n ;
She, Jove's dread Daughter, fated to infest
The Race of Mortals, enter'd in my Breast.*

Not

(1) Sup. to Vell.

*Not on the Ground that haughty Fury treads,
 But prints her lofty Footsteps on the Heads
 Of mighty Men ; inflicting as she goes
 Long-fest'ring Wounds, inextricable Woes !
 Of old, she stalk'd amid the bright Abodes ;
 And Jove himself, the Sire of Men and Gods,
 The World's great Ruler, felt her venom'd Dart ;
 Deceiv'd by Juno's Wiles, and female Art.
 For when Alcmena's nine long Months were run,
 And Jove expected his immortal Son ;
 To Gods and Goddesses th' unruly Joy
 He show'd, and vaunted of his matchless Boy :
 From us (he said) this Day an Infant springs,
 Fated to rule, and born a King of Kings.
 Saturnia ask'd an Oath to vouch the Truth,
 And fix Dominion on the favour'd Youth !
 The Thund'rer, unsuspecting of the Fraud,
 Pronounc'd those solemn Words that bind a God.
 The joyful Goddess, from Olympus' Height,
 Swift to Achaian Argos bent her Flight ;
 Scarce sev'n Moons gone, lay Sthenelus's Wife,
 She push'd her ling'ring Infant into Life :
 Her Charms Alcmena's coming Labours stay,
 And stop the Babe, just issuing to the Day.
 Then bids Saturnius bear his Oath in Mind ;
 " A Youth (said she) of Jove's immortal Kind,
 " Is this Day born : From Sthenelus he springs,
 " And claims thy Promise to be King of Kings."
 Grief seiz'd the Thund'rer, by his Oath engag'd ;
 Stung to the Soul, he sorrow'd, and he rag'd.
 From his ambrosial Head, where perch'd she sat,
 He snatch'd the Fury-Goddess of Debate,
 The dread, th'irrevocable Oath he swore,
 Th'immortal Seats should ne'er behold her more,
 And whirl'd her headlong down, for ever driv'n
 From bright Olympus, and the starry Heav'n :
 Thence on the nether World the Fury fell ;
 Ordain'd with Men's Contentious Race, to dwell,
 Full oft the God his Son's hard Toils bemoan'd,
 Curs'd the dire Fury, and in secret groan'd.*

Pope's Iliad xix. 81, &c.

Hence

Hence also came all the Heroism of *Alcides*: For *Eurystheus*, jealous of his Reputation, enjoined him those immense Labours which gave him an Opportunity to display his Valour and Courage; that Prince, notwithstanding their Affinity, (for they were Cousin-germans) having persecuted him without Intermiſſion, or, to ſpeak more properly, that political King who was afraid leaſt he ſhould be dethroned by the brave *Alcides*, who had a Title to the Crown, took Care to cut out Work for our Heroe, during his whole Life, by imploving him in Enterprizes equally artful and dangerous; which was no difficult Matter at a Time when *Greece* was no leſs over-run with Robbers and Free-booters, who had ſeized upon the High-ways, than with Lions, Boars, and other wild Beaſts. The Extirpation of theſe Monſters employed the whole Life of our Heroe, who commanded the Troops of *Eurystheus*, as is expreſſy ſaid by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*; and theſe are the pretended Perſecutions enjoined by jealous *Juno*'s Counſel, that is, by the Influence and Policy of the King of *Mycenæ*.

Alcides was brought up at the Court of *Creon* King of *Thebes*, who took great Care to cultivate his Genius; and this young Prince having from the earlieſt Years given Marks of Valour, and eſpecially of a good Diſpoſition (1), by making War upon the Tyrant *Erginus*, to deliver his Country from the Tribute it payed to him (a), *Creon* gave him in Marriage his Daughter *Megara*, by whom he had ſome Children; but when he underſtood that he was obliged to be ſubjected to the Orders of *Eurystheus*, he fell into ſuch a Fit of Madneſs, that he ſlew his Couſin *Iolas*, and even his own Sons without knowing them; which threw him afterwards into ſuch Melancholy that he left *Thebes*, and after receiving Expiation for the Murder at *Athens*, went in queſt of *Eurystheus*.

Thoſe who gave Account of this ſad Event took
VOL. IV. G Care,

(1) Diodor. l. 1.

(a) It was in this War that *Amphiaraus* died.

Care, in support of the Fable of his Birth, to ascribe his Madness to *Juno's* Jealousy. *Aristotle* is of Opinion, that he was under the Influence of a melancholy Humour, others think he was subject to the Epilepsy, or to some Fits of Madness. We are told farther, that *Pallas* having thrown a Stone made him fall asleep; which probably signifies that the wise Precautions of his Friends, and their Remedies, restored him to the Use of his Reason (*a*). He gave *Megara* afterwards to another *Iolas*, the great Companion of his Travels, from a Persuasion that his Marriage with her could not but be fatal.

In his most tender Years, and perhaps in his first Expedition, *Alcides* slew some Serpents : It was given out afterwards that this Adventure happened to him, when yet in the Cradle, and that the Goddesses *Juno* sent them to devour him (*b*). *Plautus* adds, that these two Serpents left the young *Iphiclus* the Brother of *Hercules* go to him ; and that as soon as he had seen them, he started up from his Cradle, and squeezed them to Death ; whereby he was known to be the Son of *Jupiter* (*c*). Thus it was thought fit by poetical Exaggerations to embellish the Infancy of this Heroe.

The Chace which he gave to some Lions of the *Nemean* Forest, among which was one of an overgrown Size, which he slew himself, and whose Skin he wore, was the first of the twelve Labours that have been so much celebrated. To make this Fact the more memorable, it was afterwards fabled that this Lion was ranked among the Stars (1). Several Kings of *Syria*, or of the *Seleucides*, as also the
Hera-

(*a*) Some Authors tell us, that *Pallas* threw this Stone at him, when he was going to kill *Amphitryo* his Father.

(*b*) *Cunarum labor est angues superare mearum,* Ovid. Met. l. 9.
Par ut erat, manibusque suis Tyrinthus Heros,
Pressit, & in cunis jam Jove dignus erat. Id. de Art. Am.

(*c*) *Citius è cunis exilit, facit recta in angues impetum*
Alterum altera apprehendit ; eos manu perniciter
Puer ambo angues enecat. Plaut. Amph. Act. 5.

(1) *Manilius Aëginus, &c.*

Heracles from whom they descended, affected frequently to wear this Skin. According to *Pausanius* (1), there was still to be seen in his Time, in the Mountains that are between *Cleone* and *Argos*, the Cave into which that Lion had retired, which is only at the Distance of fifteen Furlongs from the Town of *Nemea*.

The same Heroe delivered also *Arcadia* from another Calamity which laid it waste; namely, from the Birds of the *Stymphalic* Lake, which are thus described in *Lucretius* (2):

— — — *Uncisque timendæ*
Unguibus Arcadiæ volucres Stymphala colentes.

We are told, that *Hercules* banished them out of the Country by pursuing them with a loud Noise. *Mnaseus* explains this Fable, by telling us there were Robbers laid waste the Country, and robbed Passengers in the Confines of the Lake *Stymphalus* in *Arcadia*. These *Hercules* with his Companions destroyed; hence the Fable of the Birds *Stymphalides*, whom this Heroe is said to have banished, having invented a kind of brazen Timbrals to fright them away, and which are said to have been given him by *Minerva*. The crooked Talons that are given them, are perfectly applicable to Robbers, as well as the Wings, the Head and Iron Beak which *Timagnetes* gives them, with Javelins of the same Metal, which they darted at those who attacked them, as we are told by *Euripides* and *Claudian* (a); the Import of which is, that they were armed with Lances and Javelins. We are told further, that they were trained up by the God *Mars*, to intimate that they were very warlike. *Hercules* found a Way to dislodge them from the Woods where they sheltered themselves, by affrighting them with the Sound of his Timbrals, and thus cut them off.

We may remark by the Way that *Natalis Comes* is mistaken

G 2

(1) In Corinth. (2) L. 3.

(a) *Audierunt memorande tuas Stymphale volucres,
Spicula vulnifico quondam sparsisse volatu.* Claud.

mistaken (1), in confounding the Birds *Stymphalides* with the *Harpies*, since *Petronius*, not to mention others, so plainly distinguishes them :

*Tales Herculeâ Stymphalides arte cruentas
Ad cælum fugisse reor, pennaque fluentes
Harpyias, cum Phineo maduere veneno
Fallaces epulæ, &c. (a).*

Tho' to say the Truth, the Antiquaries are very much divided about some Birds which occur upon Monuments and Medals, and which some take for *Harpies*,² others for the *Stymphalides*.

The Fens of *Lerna* near *Argos* were infected with several Serpents that seemed to multiply as fast as they were destroyed : *Hercules*, with the Assistance of his Friends, cleared the Fens of them entirely, set Fire to them to burn the Reeds, and thus made the Place habitable and fertile, and this perhaps is what made *Ptolomy Ephestion* say, as we are told by *Photius*, that the Heads of the *Hydra* were of Gold : An ingenious Symbol of the Fertility which our Heroe procured to a Place before inaccessible. It is no doubt for the same Reason that *Euripides*, in his Tragedy intitled *Ion*, says, the Scythe which this Heroe made use of to cut off the Heads of that Monster was of Gold. *Apollodorus* adds, that whenever *Hercules* lop'd off one of the Monsters Heads, *Iolous* his Companion set Fire to it, lest the Blood that sprung from it should produce a new one. Wherein he only copies the Poet now quoted ; and thus was that Event actually represented in a fine Picture that was in the Temple of *Delphi* (2). Perhaps among those Serpents there was one of that kind which the *Greeks* call *Hydros*, being of a very venomous Nature ; which might give rise to the Fable of the *Hydra*. It is to be re-
marked

(1) L. 7. c. 6.

(a) Consult besides the Poets, *Pausanias*, in *Arcad.* and the Scholiast on *Appollonius*, upon the 105th Verse of the 11th Book of his *Argonaut.*

(2) Eurip.

marked that *Hercules* dipt his Arrows in the Blood of this Serpent, or rather, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Eschiles*, *Hyginus*, and several others, in its Gall, which was the most venomous Part of its Body; which communicated to them a poisonous Quality, as appears from the Wound given to *Nessus*, whom we shall speak of very soon, and from that of *Philoctetes* who was diseased ten Years for having had one of them fall upon his Foot.

Servius gives another Explication of the Fable of the *Hydra*; he says what gave rise to it was that from the Fens of *Lerna* issued several Torrents which flooded all the Country; that *Hercules* drained them, planted Moles, and made Canals to carry off the Water. I have read some where (a), that this Fable was owing to seven Brothers who lived upon Plunder, and used to shelter themselves in the Fens of *Lerna*, whence none was able to dislodge them. *Hercules* first slew one of them, then the other six, by drawing them two by two to the Fight. This possibly might have given the Poets a Handle to say that the *Hydra* had seven Heads; but they are not very consistent upon this Article. *Simonides* says it had ninety. According to *Alceus* it had fifty; and others give it only five. *Pausanias* says it is very possible that the Blood of the *Hydra* poisoned *Hercules's* Arrows; but he cannot persuade himself that it had many Heads, this being a Circumstance, he says, which had been added to make the Monster still more terrible, it having been first represented in that Manner by *Pisander* of *Camira* in the Island of *Rhodes*, to give a greater Air of the Marvellous to his Poetry; probably in the Poem he had composed upon Fables, as we read in *Macrobius*.

Plato thinks that by the *Hydra*, the Poets intended a Sophist of *Lerna*, who let loose his envenomed Tongue against *Hercules*; and that by the Heads that grew again, are figured his Fruitfulness in producing fallacious Arguments, wherewith that kind of People

(a) Hist. Mem. of the *Morea*, by M. Corcelli, after *Tzetzes*.

never fail to support their Sophistry. Others will have it, that by the *Hydra* and its fifty Heads, we are to understand a Citadel defended by fifty Men under the Command of *Lernus* their King; and they explain the Fable of the *Crab* defending the *Hydra*, by saying that a Prince of that Name aided his Ally against *Hercules* and *Iolaus* who besieged it, and that those two Heroes were forced to set fire to the Citadel before they could make themselves Masters of it (1). As all the Incidents of this Heroe's Life were related in an extraordinary and fabulous Manner, we learn from *Hyginus*, that *Juno* seeing *Hercules* ready to overcome the *Hydra*, had sent a Sea-Crab which bit him in the Foot, and that it being slain by the Heroe, was placed by the Goddess among the Stars, where it forms the Sign of the *Crab*. But of all these Explications, the first, importing that *Hercules* had drained the Fens of *Lerna*, is the most natural, and probably the only true one. The *Abbé Fourmond*, who in his Travels to the *Morea* visited this Place, says it is still quite Fenny and full of Reeds.

The Wood of *Erymanthus* was full of Boars which *The Boar of Erymanthus* made great Desolation in the Country: *Hercules* was employed to give Chase to them; which he did with such Success, that having with his own Hands slain the largest of them, he made a Present of it to *Eurystheus*. To embellish this Event, they added that *Hercules* bore it upon his Shoulders, and that the Sight of this struck such a Terror into the King of *Mycenæ*, that he went and hid himself in a brazen Cask. Perhaps the good-natured *Eurystheus* was not very stout, and believing the Boar not quite dead, fled into his Chamber and lock'd himself up. The Teeth of this frightful Boar were a long Time preserved in the Temple of *Apollo*.

Hercules having for a whole Year been in pursuit of *The Hind with the Brazen Feet* a Hind, which *Eurystheus* had enjoined him to bring to him alive, they fabled afterwards that it had brazen Feet; a figurative Expression,

(1) Lylio Giraldi de Hercule.

Expression, intimating the Swiftneſs with which it run. We are told further that it had Horns of Gold; tho' whatever the Poets may ſay, 'tis certain Does have no Horns.

King *Augias* had ſo many Herds of Cattle, that not having Stables enough to contain them, he was obliged to leave them in the open Field; and his Lands were at laſt ſo overſtock'd with Dung, that they became entirely barren. *Hercules*, with the Aſſiſtance of his Troops, made the River *Alpheus* to paſs thro' them, and thus reſtored them to their wonted Fruitfulneſs: Hence the Fable of *Augias's Stables*. That Prince, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus* (1), having a Mind to defraud him of what he had promiſed, *Hercules* ſought an Opportunity of being revenged on him; and having found *Eurytus*, whom his Father was ſending to *Corinth* to celebrate the *Iſthmic* Games, put him to Death. Then he ſet out for *Elis*, and cut off *Augias* himſelf; ſubſtituting in his room his Son *Phileus*, who having been choſen Arbitrator, had adviſed his Father to reward *Alcides* for ſo important a Piece of Service. It was during this Work, which he performed with the Troops he had attending him, as we learn from *Pausanias* (2), that he was obliged with *Minerva's* Aid to fight with *Pluto*, incenſed againſt him for having carried off from Hell the Dog *Cerberus*, and that he wounded the God. The *Eleans*, in Proof of this, cited the Verſes of *Homer*, where that Poet actually ſays the God of Hell was wounded upon that Occaſion with an Arrow, by which he ſuffered grievous Pain. But if we would ſet aſide the Allegory, we may ſuppoſe that *Aidoneus* the King of *Theſprotia*, came to the Aſſiſtance of the *Eleans*, to defend them againſt *Hercules's* Army, who, in order to be revenged of *Augias's* Perfidiousneſs, had made War upon them.

The Iſland of *Crete* had a Breed of Bulls remarkably beauteous, and *Euryſtheus* being deſirous to have ſome of that Race, ordered our

G 4

Pariſphae's Bull.
Heroe

(1) L. 4. (2) In *Eliac.*

Heroe to go and fetch him the fattest of them, which accordingly he did. This was given out afterwards to be the same with that of *Pasiphae*.

Diomedes having very fine Mares, *Eurystheus* enjoined *Diomedes's* *Hercules* to go and carry off some of *Mares.* them. *Diomedes* offering to resist him, was slain in the Scuffle; and as that Prince had ruined himself by breeding Horses, and had sold for that Effect his very Slaves, hence it was fabled that his Mares were fed with human Flesh, as we read in *Palephatus* (1), and perhaps what contributed to the Fable, is, that they had actually devoured a young Man. Some Authors explain this Fable of *Diomedes's* Daughters, who fattened themselves at the Expence of the Victims, which their Lust enticed to the Court of their Father (2), who prostituted them to Strangers.

Hercules in his way to *Spain* sacked the Island of *Cos*; *The Defeat* then he defeated the famous *Geryon* who of *Geryon.* had three Bodies, and carried away his Flocks; that is, he with his Army, (for he was very well accompanied both in this, and his other Expeditions, as good Authors remark) defeated either a Prince who reigned over three Islands, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Ebusa*, or according to others, over *Tartessus*, *Cadiz*, and *Euritbia*; or else three Princes in Alliance, who were considered as one Person, so closely were they united; which comes to *M. le Clerc's* Explanation (a), who will have it that *Hercules* defeated three small Armies made up of the Inhabitants of that Country. *Hesiod* says, this *Geryon* was the Son of *Cbrysaor*, sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, as we have already said elsewhere. If we may believe the learned *Bochart* (b), *Geryon* reigned not in *Spain*, but in *Epirus*, and there it was that *Hercules* defeated him, and carried away his Oxen. For, says that Author, besides

(1) L. 4. (2) Erasmus in Adagiis.

(a) *M. le Clerc* upon *Hesiod*, says, the *Phœnician* Phrase, wherein occurred the Word *Griana*, and whose Sense was that *Hercules* had defeated three Armies, had given Rise to the Fable of *Geryon*.

(b) Consult for this *Bochart*, *Loc. Cit.* and *Possius* upon *Seylae*.

besides that this famous *Greek* never was in *Spain*, it was not so much as known in his Time. *Coleus* of *Samos*, who lived near a hundred Years after, was the first who travelled thither, or rather was driven thither by a Storm; and besides the Pastures of *Eurithia* were not proper for feeding Oxen. Accordingly *Strabo*, speaking of that Island, makes no Mention of him; thus all that the *Greeks* say of the Travels of their *Hercules* into *Spain* and *Cadiz*, is a Fable.

Bochart's Opinion is not founded, like most others of his, upon bare Conjectures, or upon Analogy drawn from the Oriental Languages: It is supported by the Testimony of the Antients. *Hecateus*, cited by *Arrian*, says *Geryon* was King of *Epirus*; that the said Country had excellent Pastures, and fed great Herds of Oxen, and that it was from thence *Hercules* carried off those of *Geryon*. *Eustatbius*, upon *Diomysius Periegetes* says the same Thing, and *Pindar* in his fourth *Nem.* speaks of the Pastures and Horses of *Epirus*. These Things may perhaps incline the Reader to adopt the ingenious Conjecture of *Bochart*, who says *Epirus* took its Name from the Hebrew Word *Abiri*, as much as to say, *the Land of Horses and Oxen*: But whether it does or not, still it must be owned there is no Likelihood that *Hercules* went to a remote Country in quest of *Geryon's* Oxen: *Epirus*, at a Time when it was not very well peopled, when Voyages were hazardous, and Navigation full of Danger, was reckoned a Country very remote from the eastern Provinces of *Greece*, such as *Beotia*; it was to the *Greeks* the Extremity of the World, the *Hesperia*, the Country where the Sun set, and which was the Seat of Hell and the infernal Rivers. These Notions were apt enough to signalize the Voyages of that Heroe, and to make it be considered as a very hazardous Enterprize (a).

But let that be as it will, *Hercules* having travelled from *Epirus* to *Italy* (b), there defeated certain Robbers,

(a) *Hecateus*, cited by *Arrian*, de *Rap. Alex.* says the same Thing. See the Passage in *Grant-menil's Greece*, p. 441.

(b) For *Hercules's* having travelled into *Italy*, we have several Proofs in the 8th Chapter of *Theodorus Ryckius's* Dissert.

bers, among others one *Cacus*, whose Retreat was in the *Aventine* Mount, and who was even so daring as to steal his Oxen. *Caca* discovered her Brother to *Hercules*, who put him to death, as we learn from *Titus Livius* (1) and *Servius* (2). *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (3) thus relates this Adventure. *Hercules* having arrived with his Troops in *Italy*, while he was waiting for his Fleet to return to *Greece*, made several Conquests upon the People its antient Inhabitants, and several among them were glad to submit to his Authority. The Heroe, satisfied with what he had atchieved, and reckoning that all was quiet, had encamped in a negligent Manner, with a Design to rest himself from his Labours, when *Cacus*, a petty Tyrant, who dwelt in Rocks inaccessible, surprized him by Night, and carried off from him a Part of his Booty. *Hercules* pursued him, block'd him up in his strong Hold, and as he made a stout Resistance, he lost his Life. *Hercules's* Soldiers, with the Troops that had come to our Heroe's Assistance under the Conduct of *Evander*, shared *Cacus's* Spoils. *Hercules*, continues the same Author, after having purged *Italy*, disbanded a Part of his Troops, and divided the conquered Lands among his Allies and Soldiers, who settled in the Country, united with the *Aborigines*, and lived with them in perfect Harmony. The Foundation whereof was this.

Evander, an *Arcadian* by Birth, had left *Greece* some Time before, and planted a Colony in that Part of *Italy* which was afterwards called the *Latin* Territory. That Prince, who had introduced thither the Use of Letters, which was then unknown there, had gained the Affection of the *Aborigines*, who without considering him as their King, obeyed him as a Man of uncommon Wisdom. But nothing procured him more the Veneration of that People, than the Reputation of his Mother *Carmenta*, whom the *Greeks* named *Themis*, and who was looked upon as a Divinity. During her Life-time she was the Oracle of that whole Nation,

(1) L. 1. (2) Upon the eighth of the *Eneid*. (3) L. 1.

Nation, and after Death had divine Honours paid to her. *Evander*, who had learned not long ago from *Carmenta*, that a Heroe, a Son of *Jupiter*, was one Day to arrive in the Country, and that his heroic Achievements would raise him to divine Honours, had no sooner heard the Name of him who had slain *Cacus*, than he was determined to be the first who should do honour to him, even in his Life-time as a Divinity. Thus he erected an Altar to him in haste; and after having let him know his Mother's Predictions, sacrificed to him a young Bullock. After the Sacrifice, it was agreed to, at *Hercules's* Desire, and with the Consent of the whole Nation, that such a Solemnity should be perpetuated from Year to Year, according to the *Grecian* Rites, which he himself took Care to teach them, and for that Effect two of the most noble Families of the Country were set apart, that of the *Potitians*, and that of the *Pinarians*. The former, according to the *Roman* Historians, was afterwards entirely destroyed for having offered to perform that Ceremony upon public Slaves, while that of the *Pinarians*, faithful to their Engagements, was still subsisting in the Time of *Cicero*.

To proceed; I know not for what Reason some Authors consider the Adventure of *Cacus* as a Fable. For tho' it were not even attested by two antient ones, namely, *Titus Livius* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and, what is still more decisive, by a Festival to perpetuate the Memorial of it; and tho' we should understand it literally in the Manner as *Virgil* relates it in the eighth Book of his *Eneid*; yet, what is there in it of so extraordinary a Nature to hinder us from believing it to be a true History? Might there not have been in *Italy*, in the Time that *Hercules* arrived thither, one of those Robbers who were then so common, who having found some of *Hercules's* Oxen straying from the rest of the Flock, stole and hid them in some Cave? Might not one of them have answered to the Lowings of the others, and thereby detected the Theft? And might not *Hercules*, who, as *Dionysius*

Jus tells us, had good Troops with him, have attacked him, and delivered *Italy* from a petty Tyrant, who was guilty of great Abuses in the Country? And as to what *Virgil* tells us, that this Robber was the Son of *Vulcan*, and that in defending himself against our Heroe, he had vomited Torrents of Fire and Smoak, these are only poetical Circumstances wherewith such sort of Adventures were usually embellished.

We learn from some of the Antients, that as our Heroe was desirous to perpetuate his Memory by more Ways than one, he married the Daughter of *Evander*, by whom he had *Palans*. He had also brought with him, says *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, a Female Slave, whom he gave in Marriage to *Faunus*, of whom was born *Latinus*. We are further told, that *Hercules* abolished in *Italy* the cruel Custom of offering to the Gods human Victims, substituting in their Stead only animal Sacrifices, or at most Representations of Men; for, to mention this by the Way, when they had not Ability to purchase the real Victims, they contented themselves with offering up something that represented them.

Being designed to plant a Colony in *Africa* for facilitating Commerce, which was one of the Ends of his Voyage, he was hindered from it at first by another Merchant who had settled in *Libye*, and was already grown so powerful that it was not possible to force him. Our Heroe artfully drew him out to Sea, and having cut him off from all Communication with the Land whither he used to go for fresh Provisions and Recruits, he thus destroyed him. Hence the Fable of *Antheus*, that famous Giant, the Son of the *Earth*, who could not die, as we are told, till he was stifled in the open Air, in regard that he recovered new Strength every Time he was laid in the Earth; because in fact he was always furnished from the Land with a Supply of Troops. Time has preserved to us a fine Groupe of Marble which represents *Hercules* holding up *Antheus* in the Air, and strangling him with all his Force. This *Antheus*

theus built the City *Tingi* (a), which is at this Day a small Town upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*. We are told that *Sertorius* caused the Tomb of that Giant to be opened, and that his Bones were of an extraordinary Bigness (b).

While *Hercules* was in *Africa*, *Busiris*, that noted Tyrant, had sent Pirates to carry off the Nieces of *Atlas* Prince of *Mauritania* and *Hesperia*, the Daughters of *Hesperus* his Brother, and therefore named the *Hesperides*. Our Heroe rescued them, gave Chace to the Pirates, and went and slew *Busiris* himself, 'as has been said elsewhere (1). *Atlas*, to reward *Hercules* for so signal a Piece of Service, taught him Astrology; and as it was he discovered the milky Way, which is an immense Cluster of Stars, hence arose the ridiculous Fable, that *Juno*, by the Counsel of *Minerva*, having suckled *Hercules*, whom she found in a Field where his Mother had exposed him, he sucked her Breasts with so much Eagerness, as to spill a great Quantity of the Milk, whereby was formed that milky Way.

Further, the wholesome Counsel which *Hercules* imparted to *Atlas*, and the Support he afforded him in the Wars wherein he was engaged, especially in the Affair of *Busiris*, gave Rise to another Fable, which imports, that he aided him in proping the Heavens for some Time upon his Shoulders (c). *Atlas*, before he took Leave of *Hercules*, made him a Present of some of the finest Sheep in the Country, and these are the famous golden Apples which that Prince is said to have kept by a Dragon in the Garden of the *Hesperides*, and the Fable is founded upon a mere Equivocation; for the Greek Word (2) signifies either a Sheep or an Apple. There is in the King's Cabinet a fine Medaillon, on which *Hercules* is represented gathering the golden Apples. The Serpent which twines about the

(a) It is called at present *Tangier*.

(b) See what has been said on this Subject, V. 2. B. 1.

(1) V. 2. B. 1. Art. of *Atlas*.

(c) See the Fable of *Atlas* in the History of *Jupiter*.

(2) τὸ Μῆλον.

the Tree that bore them, is bowing its Head, as if it had received a mortal Wound. That Monster, the Offspring of *Typhon*, had, we are told, a hundred Heads, and as many Voices; but upon the Medaillon it has only one. The three *Hesperides*, *Eglé*, *Arethusa*, and *Hypertbusa*, are near the Tree, and seem to be reproaching *Hercules* for his Theft.

M. *le Clerc* (1) remarks, that this Adventure happened near *Tingi* in *Africa*, where, according to *Pliny* (2), we are to place the Gardens of the *Hesperides*, so called, not from *Hesperus's* Daughter, but upon account of their westerly Situation; whence *Spain* got the same Name (3). *Palephatus* explains this Fable otherwise (4), and says, there was a *Milesian*, an Inhabitant of *Caria*, named *Hesperus*, whose Daughters were called *Hesperides*, who kept Flocks of Sheep so beautiful, that they might justly be called golden Sheep. These *Hercules* carried off, together with the Shepherd, whose Name was *Draco*. But this Author is apt to forge Explanations of his own, and to give Existence to Persons who never were; however, *Agroelas*, an antient Author, quoted by the learned Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius*, has much the same Sentiments of this Fable with *Palephatus*, and takes these pretended golden Apples to have been Sheep of a surprising Beauty, and which were therefore called *golden Sheep*, and their Keeper a *Dragon*, upon account of his Vigilance and Fierceness. The only Difference we find between those two Writers, is, that the first takes the Scene of the Adventure to have been in *Caria*, whereas the second makes it to have been in *Libya*; which is more conform to the Opinion of the Antients. Be that as it will, I would rather adopt the Conjecture of *Bochart* (5), who says, this Fable was intended to set forth the Riches of *Atlas*, the *Phenician* Word *Malon*, whence the *Greeks* formed *Melon*, signifying either Riches or Apples (a).

Hercules,

(1) Upon *Hesiod*, p. 41. (2) L. 5. c. 5. (3) *Macrobius*, Sat. l. 1. (4) *De reb. incred.* (5) *Chan.*

(a) The Reader will be pleased to call to Mind what has been said

Hercules, during this Expedition, having penetrated as far as *Cadiz*, which was considered as the Extremity of the World, whither the Sun went to set in the Ocean, erected two Pillars, to intimate it was there the Enterprises of that Heroe ended, and that no Body ought to attempt to go farther. *Bacchus*, or rather *Osiris*, had done the same in the *Indies*. Nothing is more famous in fabulous History than these Pillars of *Hercules*; and yet learned Critics reckon with *Bochart* that they never subsisted, and that what gave Rise to the Fable, is the Situation of two Mountains named *Calpé* and *Abyla*, whereof the one is in *Africa*, and the other in *Europe*, upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*, which were considered as a kind of Pillars, denoting that there was the Extremity of the World, and the Boundaries which Nature had planted, to intimate to Men that the Progress of their Conquests and Ambition must there stop short; and what confirms the Conjecture of that eminent Author, is, that *Abyla*, which is the Name of a Mountain, signifies likewise a Pillar.

Whatever be in that, 'tis certain there were magnificent Pillars in the famous Temple which the Inhabitants of *Cadiz* erected in Honour of *Hercules* at some Distance from their City; and as they were engraved in *Phenician* Characters, it was afterwards believed that Heroe himself had erected them. These two Pillars were looked upon by the Antients as two Talismans that had Influence to stop the impetuous Force of the Elements, least if they happened to blend with the Ocean, the Seat of dark *Chaos*, they should introduce universal Confusion and Disorder: *Terræ & Oceani vinculum sunt hæ columnæ, quas in domo Parcarum inscripsit Hercules, ne quâ Elementis contentio accedat, nec amicitiam disjungant, qua invicem junguntur* (1). It was undoubtedly the antient *Phenician* Characters engraved upon them, and which were not understood, that

said on this Subject in the second Volume, Book first, on Occasion of *Atlas*; and if he desires a fuller Account, he may read the Abbé *Massieu's* Dissertation. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Let. T. 3. p. 28.*

(1) *Apollon*.

that gave Rise to the Fable. This Temple was very famous; its Situation in so remote a Place, its Antiquity, the incorruptible Timber whereof it was built, its Pillars enriched with antient Inscriptions and Hieroglyphics, the Labours of *Hercules*, which were there represented (*a*); *Geryon's* Trees, which, according to *Philestratus*, sent forth Blood, the old Ceremonies that were practised (*b*); all these made it very celebrated, and *Cadiz* thought itself secure under the Protection of so great a Heroe. Accordingly, as *Theron*, the King of *Spain*, was coming to rife this Temple (*c*), a panic Terror dispersed his Ships, upon the sudden Appearance of Fire from some Cause unknown.

The Mythologists tell us that the *African* Expedition was the last of our Heroe's Exploits, and that *Eurystheus* being satisfied enjoined him nothing further. But it is to be observed with *Diodorus Siculus*, that among the Labours of this Heroe, some had been commanded him by *Eurystheus*, others to which he was prompted by his Valour alone. Thus he penetrated as far as the Extremity of *Scythia*, where he is said to have set at Liberty *Prometheus*, whom *Jupiter* had there fast bound, and where an Eagle was continually preying upon his Liver, to punish him for his Presumption, as has been already more fully said in his History.

The

(*a*) As to which we may observe, it was not till many Ages after the *Phenician Hercules*, who built this Temple, that the *Greeks* superadded to it the Ceremonies, Paintings, &c. which related to their *Hercules*.

(*b*) *Silius*, l. 3. describes them in these Verses:

Femineos prohibent gressus, ac limite curant
Setigeros arcere suos, aut discolor ulli
Ante aras cultus; velantur corpora lino,
Discinētis mors thura dare, atque è lege parentum
Sacrificam lato vestem distinguere clavo.
Pes nudus, consueque comæ, castumque cubile.
Inrestrineta focis servant altaria flammæ,
Sed nulla effigies, simulacraue nota Deorum.

(*c*) This Temple was at a considerable Distance from *Cadiz*, on the East of the Island, near the main Land. Consult *Bochart*, Can. l. 1. c. 34.

The River *Achelous* by its Inundations, laid waste the Plains of *Calydon*, and introducing Confusion among the Landmarks, often obliged the *Ætolians* and *Acar-nanians* to make War upon one another. This Prince, with the Assistance of his Companions, fenced it with Moles, and made the Course of the River so uniform, that it gave no further Trouble to those People. Those who wrote this Event, related it in a quite fabulous Manner: *Hercules*, said they, fought with the God of that River, who had first transformed himself into a Serpent, whereby was denoted its winding Course; and then into a Bull, which sets forth the swelling and Impetuosity of the River, and the Desolation it made in the Fields (a). They added, that *Hercules* had vanquished him at last, and had tore off one of his Horns; that is, he reduced into one single Channel the two Arms of the River; that this Horn became a *Cornucopia*, because it actually introduced Plenty into the Country; tho' by the *Cornucopia* is often understood that of *Amalthea*, who had nursed *Jupiter*, which the Nymphs, we are told, had given to *Achelous* in exchange for that which *Hercules* had torn from him (1). *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, to reward *Hercules* for this Service, gave him his Daughter *Dejanira* in Marriage, by whom he had a Son named *Hilus*. He continued three Years at that Prince's Court, and then went into voluntary Banishment for a Murder he had committed (2). If we compare now this Piece of History with the pompous Description which *Ovid* gives of the Combat between that River and our Heroe, we shall see how far poetical Licence carries Fiction.

I ought not to omit here the Explanation of that Circumstance in the same Poet, when he tells us, that

VOL. IV.

H

the

(a) Rivers were often represented under the Figure of a Bull, to denote the Desolation they made: *Taurorum specie simulacra fluminum, id est, cum cornibus, quod sunt atrocia ut Tauri.* says *Festus*, *Tzetzes*, *Eliau*, *Acron* upon *Horace*, L. 4. Od. 14. and others say the same; *Strabo* thinks it was from the Noise of the Water.

(1) *Apollon*. (2) *Diodor*. l. 4.

the River *Achelous* having been neglected by the Nymphs in a Sacrifice which they offered to the other Gods, he swelled over his Banks so high, as to bear them away into the Sea, where they were transformed into those Islands which we call the *Eschinades*. What gave Rise to this Fable, is, that the River *Achelous*, by its frequent Overflowings, carried down into the Sea such a vast Quantity of Sand and Mud, as to form thereof several Islands (1); to which we may add, that the Shipwreck of certain Shepherdesses in some of those Inundations, gave a Handle to the Invention of this Fiction. Those Islands lately formed, says another Poet, gave Rise to a pretty singular Adventure. *Alcmeon*, we are told, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, being left to wander as a Vagabond for the Murder of his Mother, came to consult the Oracle to know where he might find a Retreat; and the Answer was, that he never would be released from the Persecution of the Furies, till he had found a Place which was not enlightened by the Sun at the Time of his committing that foul Parricide. After having mused a long Time upon the Sense of the Oracle, he thought the *Eschinades* Isles must be intended, they being newly formed, and large enough for him to reside in. Thither he went and settled, founded therein a small Kingdom, and communicated his Son's Name to the neighbouring Coast (a).

Theseus delivered from Hell.

Theseus, for having attempted to carry off the Wife of *Aidoneus*, King of *Epirus*, for his Friend *Pirithous*, had been made the Prisoner of that Prince. *Hercules*, as he passed thro' that Kingdom, delivered him from his Confinement; and this *Aidoneus*, for Reasons already assigned, being considered as the King of Hell (b); hence the Voyage of *Hercules* was taken for a Descent into the Kingdom of the Dead; but two Things contributed to this Fable; the one, that he

(1) Diod. l. 4.

(a) It was called *Acarnania*.

(b) See the History of *Plato*.

he brought from *Epirus* some mastiff Dog, which was taken for *Cerberus*, as we have said (a); the other, that he slew at that time a famous Serpent that had its Den in the Cave of *Ténarus*, which was reckoned the Mouth of Hell. As to which *Palephatus* is of Opinion (b), that it was a Mastiff which *Hercules* had taken from *Geryon*; and he was said to have three Heads, because *Hercules* had taken him from the Town of *Tricassia*. *Molossus*, says he, that is *Aidoneus*, stole him from *Eurystheus*, and hid him in the Cave of *Ténarus*, whither *Hercules*, by Command of the King of *Mycenæ*, went in search of him; and this, according to that Author, is what gave Rise to that Prince's fabulous Journey to Hell (c). *Aidoneus* was probably wounded by our Heroë; and as that Prince was obliged to go to *Thessaly* for a Cure; hence it was given out, that the God of Hell had been necessitated to leave his Kingdom and repair to *Olympus* to implore the Succour of *Peon*, who was a famous Physician in *Thessaly*.

'Tis not agreed, as we have seen, by what Place *Hercules* went down to Hell. The History of *Theseus* seems to prove, that it was in *Thesprotia*; or in *Epirus*; other Mythologists speak of the Cave of *Ténarus* in *Laconia*, where the Descent to *Pluto's* Kingdom was believed to be: Lastly, *Xenophon*, in his sixth Book of the Retreat of the ten thousand; speaking of the Arrival of the Army in the *Acherontic Chersonesus*; adds, that it was in that Country *Hercules* was said to have descended into *Pluto's* Kingdom, and that there the Cave was still to be seen, which was more than 150 Paces deep.

Probably *Hercules* reckoned this Descent into Hell the most hazardous of his Labours, since he would not undertake it till he had first got himself initiated into the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. For that End he went to *Athens*; but *Eumolpus*, or according to others, *Museus* the Son of *Orpheus*, who presided therein, remonstrated

(a) In the System of Hell.

(b) Chap. 4. de reb. incred.

(c) See the System of Hell, in the Article of *Cerberus*.

to him; that no Stranger could be admitted into the Mysteries of *Ceres*. However, being unwilling to refuse the Heroe that Satisfaction, others were instituted upon his Account. These are what were called the lesser *Eleusmian* Mysteries, into which Strangers were from that time admitted.

Pelias (a) having been put to Death by his own Daughters, *Acastus* his Son resolved to pursue his Sisters as far as the Court of King *Admetus* his Cousin, whither *Alcestes* had retired (b); and because that Prince, who was enamoured of her would not deliver her up, *Acastus* ravaged the whole Country. *Admetus* having been taken in a Sally, the generous *Alcestes* came and made a voluntary Offer of herself to the Conqueror, if he would deliver her Lover from Death, with which he was threatned : *Acastus* accepted of her, and dismissed *Admetus*. *Alcides* arrived at that Time at the Court of *Thessaly*, and having found that Prince in the utmost Distress for the Loss of his Mistress, whom he believed upon the Point of being offered up to the *Manes* of her Father, was intreated by him to go in Pursuit of his Enemy. *Alcides* defeated *Acastus*, delivered *Alcestes*, and gave her back to *Admetus*, who married her. Those who wrote the History of this Event, clothed it in a fabulous Dress, and heightened it by saying that *Alcestes* had died to save her Lover; adding, that *Hercules* had encountered Death, and having gained the Victory, had bound him in Adamantine Chains, till he promised at last to restore *Alcestes* to the Light of Life, whereof he had so unjustly bereaved her. This, as we see, is an Allegory such as may well enough be justified ; since to deliver a Person ready to die, is to pluck him out of the Hands of Death : Thus we speak every Day without Fiction. But what rendered this Fable more probable is, when that Heroe delivered her, she had already passed the River *Acheron* in her Return to her Kingdom. Perhaps those who made

(a) *Palephatus* de reb. incred. Ch. 17. Diod. l. 4.

(b) She nevertheless was innocent, if we may credit *Diodorus*, l. 4.

made an Epithalamium upon the Marriage of that Princess, sung something like those Verses of M. *Quinault* :

*Alcide est vanqueur du trepas,
L'Enfer ne lui resiste pas, &c.*

*Alcides Death has overcome,
And o'er the Pow'rs of Hell prevail'd.*

The Intervention of *Apollo* was foisted into this Fable, because that God, as has been set forth in his History, had been obliged to keep *Admetus's* Flocks.

The *Amazons* were in high Reputation in the Time of *Alcides*, and their Conquests over their Neighbours rendered them formidable. *Eurystheus* ordered that Prince to go and carry off the Girdle of *Hippolita*, that is, make War upon them and plunder their Treasures. *Hercules* embarked upon the *Euxine Sea*, arrived upon the Banks of the *Thermodon*; and having attacked those Heroines, routed them, slew a Part of them, and put the rest to flight, took *Hippolita* or *Antiope* Prisoner; whom he gave to *Theseus*, and *Menalippe* their Queen ransomed herself, by giving the famous Girdle, that is, by paying her Fine.

The Defeat of
the *Amazons*.

Some perhaps will be curious to know who those *Amazons* were. It was a Republic of Women, who admitted no Men among them, contenting themselves with making them a Visit once a Year. If after this Interview they happened to be delivered of a Son, they exposed him, or sent him to the *Scythians* their Husbands; if it happened to be a Daughter, they took great Care of her Education, and burnt off her right Breast, that she might the more easily draw the Bow; hence they got the Name of *Amazons* *Ἀμαζόν*, without a Breast. In this all the Antients are agreed; and yet all the *Amazons* we see represented on antient Monuments have both Breasts.

Some Authors, among whom is *Strabo*, are of Opinion, that there never were *Amazons*; that all the Accounts given of them are mere Fables; and M. *le Clerc* adds, that what had given Rise to them is, that in

Cappadocia the Women went with their Husbands to War, as they had formerly been at the Conquest of the *Indies* with *Bacchus* or *Osiris*; that the Names given them, as *Antiope*, *Penthesilea*, and the rest, are *Greek*, and not *Scythian*; and that the best Historians of *Alexander's* Life say nothing of them. But considering the Manner in which all the Antients, I mean *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Velleius Paterculus*, *Mela*, *Pausanias*, *Trogus*, and several others, speak of the *Amazons*, we cannot question the Truth of what they say on this Head: They make them to have reigned in *Scythia*, upon the Banks of the *Thermodon*, and date the Commencement of their Empire from the Defeat of their Husbands, who having been driven out of *Scythia* by an Insurrection, seized upon *Cappadocia*. We are further told, that one of their Queens, named *Penthesilea*, came to the Assistance of *Priam*, and was slain by *Achilles* (a).

Herodotus tells us how the *Greeks* vanquished the *Amazons*, and in what Manner they saved themselves; as the *Scythians* came to know them after they had defeated them, and endeavoured to reduce them, by sending to them the handsomest Men of their Army. *Plutarch* speaks of their Irruption into *Attica* (1), and of the Victory which *Theseus* gained over them. *Quintus Curtius* informs us, that one of their Queens came to see *Alexander*, and passed thirteen Months with him. After these Testimonies, and several others which I cannot remember at present, it is hardly to be doubted that there were *Amazons* formerly. But without going to seek for them in so remote Ages, we are told (b) that there are of them at this Day in one of the *Marian* Islands. We are further told, that the Men of the neighbouring Islands visit them, and carry away with them the male Children, leaving only the Females; not to insist here on that vast Country of the

(a) *Diodorus* speaks of *Amazons* who signalized themselves in *Libya*.

(1) In *Thes.*

(b) *F. Gobian*, in his sixth Collection of edifying Letters.

the *Amazons*, which was discovered some Ages ago in the Continent of *South America*.

As the Conquest of the *Argonauts* happened in the Time of our Heroe, he could not choose but be of the Party; however, some Authors are of Opinion, as has been said, that he did not go so far as *Colchus*, but made a Descent upon *Troas*, to go in search of the young *Hylas*, who had lost himself in going to draw Water (a). That young Prince, we are told, the Son of *Theodomantus*, King of *Mysia*, having been sent with his Companions into *Phrygia* in search of Water, was devoured by some wild Beast, or drowned in some Rivulet. *Hercules*, who had a great Love to him, went in quest of him, and made the Shores resound with the Name of his Favourite.

*His adjungit Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum
Clamassent, ut littus Hyla, Hyla omne sonavit* (1).

However probable this Explanation is, M. le Clerc rejects it, and thinks the Word *Hyla* imports *Wood*; and that what gave Rise to the Fable, is, that *Hercules* actually landed with *Telamon* and his other Companions from the Ship of the *Argonauts*; and having cut down Timber on Mount *Ida*, employed it in building a Ship for their Expedition to *Troy*. The Sound of the Timber in falling, and the Echoe wherewith it was answered from the Forest, gave Rise to the Fable we have been explaining. Be that as it will, 'tis certain that the City *Troy* having been then very much damaged by the Inundations of the Sea, *Neptune*, by whom its Walls were built, was given out to be the Author of that Calamity, to punish the perfidious *Laomedon*. The Oracle being consulted, informed them, that there was no Way to appease the God of the Sea, but by exposing to a Monster a Virgin of the Blood Royal; and the Lot having fallen upon *Hesione*, that Prince's Daughter, *Hercules* offered to set her at Liberty, for a

(a) See what is said of him in the List of the *Argonauts*,

(1) Virgil. Ecl. 6.

Set of Horses which *Laomedon* promised him, and he was happy enough to succeed in his Enterprize; but the King having broke his Promise to him, he sacked the Town, carried off *Hesione*, whom he gave in Marriage to *Telamon*, slew *Laomedon*, and gave his Crown to *Podarces* his Son, at the Request of the Princess who ransomed him; for which Reason he got the Name of *Priam*. This Monster, in short, which desolated the City *Troy*, was the Sea, which, for want of Moles, overflowed the Country, and had brought a Contagion into the very City. The King was obliged to promise his Daughter to him who should stop the Inundation: This *Hercules* undertook and accomplished, and hence had the Fable taken its Rise. But, to mention it here by the Way, the Condition of this Contract is to be understood of some of the best Galleys of the *Pbrygian* Prince, which our Heroe had demanded as a Reward for his Services; and this Conjecture is proved, not only because 'tis unlikely he would be contented with six Horses for having saved *Troy*, but also because the Poets tell us, that these Horses of *Laomedon* were so light that they walked upon the Water; which can only be meant of a Ship under sail, or of a Galley. All are agreed in this Expedition of *Hercules* to *Troy*; but *Diodorus* thinks (1) this Hero performed it with the other *Argonauts*: He adds, that they left *Hesione* in the Hands of *Laomedon*, until they should return; that *Hercules* and *Telamon* having gone to claim her, that Prince had ordered the Gates to be shut against them, which drew upon him the Punishment we have described.

'Tis easy to comprehend what *Lycophron* means (2), when he tells us, that the Monster we have been speaking of, devoured *Hercules*, who continued three Days in its Body, and came out of it all bruised. 'Tis obvious that this is a bad Imitation of the Story of *Jonas*; or rather, this Fable has no other Foundation, but that *Hercules* employed three Days in raising Moles, and that he was said to have thrown himself into the
Belly

(1) L. 1. (2) In his Cal.

Belly of that Monster, because he and his Companions went into the Water there to plant the Piles; or, if we have a mind to embrace *Palephatus's* Opinion, who will have it, that *Hesione* was carried off by a Pirate, we may suppose that *Hercules*, to rescue her, threw himself into his Ship, which was perhaps called the *Whale*, and that he was wounded there.

We must not forget that the *Trojans*, to secure *Hercules* from the Fury of the Monster, made an Intrenchment for him to retire into, when it came out of the Sea in pursuit of him; a Work which the Poet attributes to *Minerva* the Goddess of Arts, and which was still subsisting in the Time of the second Siege of that City. There it was that *Juno* and *Neptune* planted themselves to be Spectators of the Combat between *Hector* and *Achilles* after his Reconciliation. Having finished these Words, 'tis *Neptune's* Speech to *Juno* (1), he marches up first towards the Place called *Hercules's Entrenchment*, which *Pallas* and the *Trojans* formerly made for that Heroe, to shelter himself there from the *Whale*, when that devouring Monster quitted the Shore in pursuit of him, and threatened to fall upon him. This Entrenchment, or Fort, had been raised by the *Trojans* to secure themselves from the Incursions of that Pirate, and *Hercules* made advantageous Use of it.

I say nothing here of several other Exploits wherewith the History of our Heroe is filled up; Cities taken; Tyrants chastised; Monsters subdued; Princes re-established in their Dominions; new Cities built in several Places; the Course of Rivers either diverted, or reduced within their Channels; new Ways made in Places inaccessible; Colonies transported into different Countries, were, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2), the most common Actions of his Life: But I cannot pass over in Silence what befel him at the Siege of *Messene*, where he cut off all the Sons of *Neleus*, none of all the twelve having escaped but *Nestor*, who was then absent. The Adventure of the last who was slain is singular; he was named *Perichlymenes*. *Hesi-*
ed

(1) *Iliad* 20. (2) L. 1.

ed (1), *Apollonius* (2), and after them *Ovid* (3), tell us, that young Prince had received from *Neptune* the Power of transforming himself into several Shapes. We are told, that in order to avoid the Blows of the redoubted *Hercules*, he changed himself into an *Ant*, a *Fly*, a *Bee*, a *Serpent*; and yet all availed him nothing: He thought at length to have escaped the Hands of his Enemy, by assuming the Figure of an *Eagle*: But *Hercules*, according to the *Latin* Authors, wounded him to Death with an Arrow, or, according to the *Greek* Authors, with a Blow of his Club (4); a Fable whereby we learn the various Turns of Address which the Son of *Neleus* put in Practice to ward off impending Death, from which Flight could not save him.

Hercules, as we read in *Ælian*, sacked the City *Messene*, to be revenged of *Neleus* and his Family for having refused to expiate him from a Murder he had committed; and the same Author adds, that he spared the young *Nestor*, and gave him the Kingdom of his Father, because he was not in the Plot with his other Brothers; which he reckons a high Mark of Generosity and Gratitude, without considering that this single Act of Justice can never atone for the unparalleled Cruelty of this Heroe, who sacrifices a Prince and eleven of his Sons to the Refusal of an Expiation, whereof, in all Probability, he was not deemed worthy.

His Encounter at *Sparta* with *Hippocoon* and his Sons, whom he slew to revenge the Death of *Oeonus* the Son of *Lycimnius*, his Mother's Brother, is also much celebrated by *Pausanias* (5). *Oeonus* having gone to *Sparta*, and passing by *Hippocoon's* House, as his Dog was offering to bite him, he threw a Stone at it; upon which his Sons run up, and knocked him in the Head with Cudgels. *Hercules* fell furiously upon them; but having received a Wound in the Scuffle, he was forced to retire. Some time after he returned with Assistance, massacred *Hippocoon* and his Sons, and

(1) In Scuto. (2) In Argon. (3) Met. l. 11. (4) Lylio Giraldi. (5) In Lacon.

and finding *Juno* not averse to his Vengeance, he built a Temple, and sacrificed to her a She-goat; whence came the Sirname of *Juno Egophaga*, or the Goat-eater, a Name given her by the *Lacedemonians*.

His wrestling Match with *Eryx*, whom he vanquished in *Sicily*, whither he had made *Geryon's* Oxen swim over by the Straits of *Scylla*, is no less noted. The Conditions were, That if *Hercules* was thrown down, *Eryx* should have his Oxen; and if *Hercules* got the better of the other, he should be Master of the Country. The *Atbenians* sent afterwards *Dorycius* to take Possession of the Canton of *Sicily* named *Erycia* from *Eryx*; but the *Egestbeans* assassinated him.

Lastly, *Hercules* having taken many Cities, and executed the Labours which *Erystheus* had enjoined him, fell in love with *Iolé* the Daughter of *Eurytus*, and this Prince having denied her to him, he subdued *Oechalia*, carried off the Princess, and slew the King. Upon his Return from this Expedition, he sent *Lychas* for his ceremonial Robes, for which he had Occasion in a Sacrifice he was going to perform. *Dejanira*, jealous of the Love he bore to *Iolé*, sent him either a Philter which killed him, or a Tunic besmeared with a Kind of Bitumen which grew near *Babylon*, and which was no sooner heated than it clung to the Skin; or, if we will not depart from the Antients, and especially from *Diodorus*, a Tunic dipp'd in the Blood of *Nessus*, whom he had slain with an Arrow, when that *Centaur*, after conveying his Wife *Dejanira* upon Horseback over the River *Evenus* at *Hercules's* Return from *Calydon* (a), offered Violence to that Princess: And as *Hercules's* Arrows were poisoned, as has

(a) He was going to *Trachine* to get himself expiated from the Murder of *Eunomus*, the Kinsman of his Father-in-law *Oeneus*, whom he had slain at a Feast, which obliged him to submit to voluntary Banishment from *Calydon*, as we learn from *Apollodorus* and *Diodorus*. In his Way from *Calydon* to *Trachine* he had to cross the River *Evenus*, which runs not thro' the Town, as some Authors will have it; for then he would have crossed it there either by a Bridge or in a Boat, without having Occasion for the *Centaur Nessus*.

has been said, the Blood that issued from his Wound was so too, and he made *Dejanira* believe that this Tunic would have Effect to prevent her Husband from loving other Women. Whatever be in this, *Hercules* having put on the Vestment, fell into a desperate Distemper, slew *Lychas* (a), went to *Trachine*, whither he had retired after his Exile from *Calydon*, obliged *Dejanira* to hang herself; and having consulted the Oracle about his Distemper, had no other Response, but that he was to go with his Friends to Mount *Oeta*, and there erect a funeral Pile. He took the Meaning of the Oracle, and prepared himself for putting it in Execution. *Philoctetes* lighted the Funeral Pile when our Heroe was burnt. Thus died the valiant *Alcides*, about thirty Years before the *Trojan* War, as I have proved in settling the Date of the *Argonautic* Expedition. He was only of the Age of fifty two Years (b). Some are of Opinion, that he died at the Court of *Ceyx*, and that they went and burnt his Body upon Mount *Oeta*, after the Fashion of the Country. *Dejanira* did not long survive him: She died at *Trachine*, and was interred at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, near the Town which was afterwards called *Herculeæ*, where, according to *Pausanias* (1), she had a Tomb.

All Antiquity is well enough agreed as to the Manner of *Hercules's* Death; but as this Event gave Rise to a fine Tragedy of *Sophocles*, intitled the *Trachinians*, and to two others of *Seneca* under the Titles of *Hercules Furens*, and *Hercules Oeteus*, we shall insist a little upon it. *Ovid* makes this Heroe receive *Dejanira's* fatal Present upon Mount *Oeta*, and to have died there without leaving the Place; but *Sophocles* makes him go to *Trachine*, and arrive there at the Time of *Dejanira's* having stab'd herself; and there preyed upon by the secret Poison which consumes him, he pours forth against

(a) Who was thrown into the Sea; whence the Story of his being transformed into a Rock, which bore his Name from that Time. *Ovid Met. l. 11.*

(b) *Eusebius* and *Isidorus*, in *Chronic*, after *Manetho*.

(1) In *Corinth*.

gainst her those doleful Complaints, mixed with Imprecations, which *Ovid* renders to very good Purpose, and *Seneca*, in his usual Way, with great Emphasis, and a small Share of good Sense. *Ovid* embellishes his Speech with this fine Sentiment:

*Defessa jubendo est
Sæva Jovis conjux, ego sum indefessus agendo.*

The Cruel Consort of Jove is tired out with multiplying her rigid Orders, while I am indefatigable in the Execution. Cicero, or according to others, *Attilius*, judged this Lamentation not unworthy their Pens, and have translated it into *Latin*. The Reader, I presume, will not be displeased to find it here, were it but to give him some Relief from the Barrenness of these Discussions (1). “ O unparalleled Enterprize of Woman! *Dejanira*, must I then be thy Victim! ’Tis not by the implacable *Juno*, nor the barbarous *Eurystheus* I fall, but by the Hands of my own Spouse. ’Tis she has caught me in this fatal Robe, as in a Net wrought by the Hands of the Furies; oh! detested Garment! oh horrid Poison! it seizes on my Body; it preys upon my Vitals; it penetrates into my Veins: My tainted Blood boils and consumes away: My Body burnt up by a hidden Flame, is wasted to a Shadow. O ye Gods, ye Gods! am I then doomed to expire by the Hands of a Woman, who has attempted and carried into Execution what neither armed Giants, nor monstrous *Centaur*s, nor the Power of *Greece*, nor all the World besides whom I delivered from a hundred Monsters, were able to accomplish! O my Son, if thou deservest that tender Name, neglect not the Duty thou owest to a wretched Father. Let not fond Compassion to a Mother prevail over the just Revenge I claim upon thy Father’s Murderer. Fly quick, drag that Fury hither, deliver her over to me, and be yourself the Spectator of her Punishment. I shall now prove whether of us you prefer,

(1) Apollod. l. 2.

“fer, her or me. Quick, fly apace I say, have Cou-
 “rage to obey me, take Pity on a Father the most
 “distrest of Mortals. See thy wretched Parent dis-
 “solved in Tears ; me, whom none ever heard utter
 “a Groan midst all the Horrors of adverse Fortune !
 “Ah, I blush at my own Weakness. Draw near,
 “my Son, witness the Extremity of my Sufferings.
 “Here are my Entrails. See this Body cruelly rack’d
 “and tortured. Ah, what Convulsions ! what
 “Flames ! what Pangs and Tortures still renewed !
 “Almighty *Jove*, hurl me down to Hell ; launch
 “thy Thunder and crush me to Pieces. My Wounds
 “bleed afresh ; I am quite consumed ; what Agony !
 “My Arms, my Arms, whose Strength was once
 “my boasted Glory, what are ye now become ? Are
 “these the Hands that squeezed to Death the Lion
 “of *Nemea* ? Yes, this is the Arm that cut off the
 “Hydra’s growing Heads ; this the Arm that van-
 “quished the *Centaur*s ; this the Arm whose Blows
 “laid the Boar of *Erymanthus* gasping on the Ground,
 “that dragg’d *Cerberus* from Hell, that tore in
 “Pieces the Dragon, the Keeper of the golden Fruit ;
 “this the Arm signalized by numberless Exploits,
 “and never disarmed by Mortal. Do you know it ?
 “To what sad Plight do you see it now reduced !
 “bruised, shattered, emaciated, it languishes, it is
 “not to be known. I, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Alc-*
 “*mena*, but what are these Names to me ! even I
 “am become the Victim of a perfidious Woman.
 “But thus low as I am reduced, I hope for Vengeance
 “on her guilty Head. Hear me, thou Reproach of
 “thy Sex ; publish this Truth to the World, *Hercu-*
 “*les*, dead as he appears, shall ever live to be the
 “Scourge of the Impious.” We must add, *imo. Sopho-*
 “*cles* says not that *Nessus* gave *Dejanira* the bloody
 “Shirt, as it is in *Ovid*, but some of his own Blood
 “poisoned by *Hercules*’s Arrows, enjoining her to keep
 “it in a secure Place ; and that it was not till such
 “Time as *Dejanira* was apprized of the Falshood of her
 “Husband, that she belmeared a Shirt with it, and
 sent

sent it to him. A precipitant Jealousy hindered her from giving Heed to all the Precautions of the *Centaur*; and having recollected, after the Departure of *Lycas*, that the Lock of Wool which she had employed in besmearing the Shirt, when brought out to Daylight, had taken Fire, she began to suspect that the Blood was rather a Poison than a Philter to regain her Husband's Heart, of whose cruel Agonies she was at the same Time informed; and upon this she stab'd herself to the Heart upon her Nuptial Bed.

2dly, According to *Ovid*, and others of the Antients, it was *Philoctetes* lighted the funeral Pile wherein *Hercules* was consumed; whereas in *Sophocles*, it is *Hilus* the Son of that Heroe, after he had been bound to it by Oath, upon Assurance given him that it was the Will of the Gods, and that he could not offend them in obeying his Father.

3dly, 'Tis easy to see that *Seneca* in his two Tragedies, abandons that noble Simplicity of *Sophocles* to follow that bloated Enthusiasm, into which a false Genius sometimes rises. But at the same Time it is to be observed, that after having in the one represented *Hercules* strangely delirious, he makes him die in the other, in a soft and tender Manner, after he had addressed his Father *Jupiter* in a most moving Prayer, which he had filled with the finest Sentiments.

But to proceed. *Hercules* had a numerous Progeny, both by his Wives *Megara*, *Dejanira*, *Iolé*, *Omphale* the Queen of *Lydia*, at whose Court he is said to have employed his Time in Spinning, because he there led a very effeminate and voluptuous Life; and also by his Mistresses, of whom he had a great many: And as several People valued themselves afterwards on being descended from him, 'tis proper to mention some of the most noted of his Sons. By *Omphale* the Queen of *Lydia*, he had *Agefilaus* (a), of whom *Cræsus* came; by *Epicaſte* the Daughter of *Egeus*, *Thessala*; by *Parthenope*

(a) According to *Palephatus*, he was named *Laomedon*, or according to others *Lamen*.

Ithenope the Daughter of *Stymphalus*, *Everes*; by *Augé* the Daughter of *Aleus*, *Telephus*; by *Astioché* the Daughter of *Philantus*, *Tlepolemus*; by *Astidamia* the Daughter of *Amintor*, *Etesipus*; by *Orchone* the Daughter of *Peleus*, *Pasoemon*; by *Megara* Daughter of *Creon*, *Therimachus*, *Deicoon*, *Crecntiades*, and *Deion*; by *Dejanira* the Daughter of *Oeneus*, *Hilus* who afterwards married *Iolé*, *Etesipus*, and *Glicizonus*; not to insist on fifty Sons, whom he is said to have had by the fifty Daughters of *Thestius*; which appears a Fable, as well as what is said of the Children he had by *Hebé* after his Apotheosis. I am of Opinion too, that several afterwards laid claim without any Foundation, to be descended from this Heroe (a). For the Ancients name so many of them, that 'tis impossible to give them all a Place here.

Such is the History of *Hercules*, made up, as we have seen, of several strange Adventures. That one Man should have been able to accomplish so many Voyages, and to execute so many Enterprizes, is not easy to be conceived. We are however to observe that he was always accompanied with a Number of Persons, leading about with him *Eurystheus's* Troops; as *Diodorus* and the other Ancients remark; and whatever was done by his Orders, has been placed to his Account. I am even persuaded, that his Voyages to *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the Adventures there, must relate to the *Phenician* or *Egyptian Hercules*, who lived about the Time of *Jeshua*, long before the *Grecian* Heroe (b); as also those famous Pillars which he erected near *Cadiz* (c). We are to think the same Way

(a) See for the Children of *Hercules*, *Lyllo Giraldi*.

(b) Accordingly the Ceremonies imployed in his Worship at *Tartessus*, were *Phenician*: *Phœnicio ritu colitur*; *Thebanus ipsis non est Deus, sed Tyriorum*. Appian. in Iber.

Diodorus and *Mela* say the same.

(c) *Bochart*, *Chan.* l. i. c. 9. is of Opinion, that a mere Equivocation made the Mountains of *Abyla* and *Calpe* to be taken in after times for two Pillars, the one of those Mountains being in *Africa*, and the other in *Spain* upon the Straits of *Gibraltar*. If so the Inscription we have mentioned, must have been upon the Pillars of *Hercules's* Temple at *Cadiz*, which according to *Philostratus* were of Gold, and according to *Strabo* of Bronze.

Way of his Travels to the *Gauls* and *Germany*, where probably this Heroe never was. It was also the *Phenician Hercules* found out the Art of staining Purple, his Dog having by chance ate of an Herb which made his Mouth all red.

M. *Loerquer* attributes this Invention to *Joshua* and his Companion *Caleb*, in his Journey to *Palestine*, because in the *Phenician* Language *Caleb* signifies a Dog: Accordingly *Vossius* takes *Hercules* to be the same with *Joshua*. We are likewise to detach from *Hercules's* History several other Actions, such as his Fight with the Giants, which refers to the *Egyptian Hercules*, that great General of *Bacchus's* or *Osiris's* Army; a Fight which happened, no doubt, many Ages before the Birth of *Alcmena's* Son. We are to judge much the same Way of the Adventure of *Prometheus*, and in general of all those whereof *Greece* was not the Theatre.

In fine, we are to observe that whatever great Exploits were atchieved in that heroic Age were attributed to *Hercules*, that is, to Force and Valour; thus the Separation of *Calpé* from *Abyla*; the Overthrow of the Giants near *Arles*; the Passage over the *Alps*, at that Time impracticable: All these great Events, were put down to his Account. Probably they would say of him who got over these Adventures *he is a Hercules*, as we say now, such a one is a *Sampson*, a *Cæsar*; thus 'tis very difficult to distinguish well what belongs to each of those, to whom the Ancients give the Name of *Hercules*; every Nation formed to itself a *Hercules* of the most famous of its Heroes, as has been said at the Beginning of this History, and these in aftertimes came to be confounded. But it will be said, how are we to understand the Poets, when they tell us, that when *Hercules* offered to engage in the *Olympic* Games, and no body durst enter the Lifts with him, *Jupiter* himself combated with him under the Disguise of a Wrestler; and when after a long Struggle, the Advantage was equal on either Side, that God discovered himself, and congratulated his Son on his Strength and Valour?

Our Mythologists will answer, that the Poets in this Fable are alluding to the mysterious Wrestling of *Jacob* with the Angel of the Lord, who discovered himself in the Morning, after having wrestled with him all the Night, and gave him the Name of *Israel*, which imports *Strong*; and to be sure the Resemblance between them is considerable: Besides, the *Greeks* omitted nothing they could find in foreign Histories, to embellish those of their own Heroes. What makes their Conjecture still more probable, is, that this Fable is delivered by *Lycophron* (1), who lived in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and who might have read the Book of *Genesis* in the *Septuagint* Translation, which was composed under that Prince's Reign. The same Way are we to judge, continue those Authors, of those Stones which *Jupiter* made to rain upon the Giants who fought against *Hercules*, since that bears a great Resemblance to a parallel Story, written in the Book of *Joshua* (2). *Pomponius Mela* (3) thus describes that Event upon Occasion of *Lacrau*, near *Arles*, a Plain covered with Stones, and which he calls, *Lapidum campum* (a). As *Hercules* was fighting with *Albion* and *Belgion*, the Sons of *Neptune*, and had emptied his Quiver upon them, he addressed himself to *Jupiter*, who struck them down with a Shower of Stones: And indeed there is such a vast Quantity of Stones in that Place, that one would be apt to believe that a Shower of them had fallen.

But that the Reader may not be under the Necessity of believing that the Poets had borrowed their Notions from what they had read in the sacred Books, of which few of them had any Knowledge, I reckon the first Fable may be explained, by saying that some Priest of *Jupiter* fought against *Hercules* with equal Advantage; and to heighten the Valour which that Heroe displayed in the *Olympic Games*, they added, that

(1) In his *Cassandra*. (2) Ch. 10. (3) L. 2. c. 5.

(a) *Herculem contra Albionem & Belgionem Neptuni liberos dimicantem, cum tela defecissent, ab invocato Jove, adjutum imbri lapidum ferunt: credas pluisse, adeo multi passim & late jacent.*

that his Antagonist was that God himself. As to the second, I suppose what gave rise to it, is, that in the Place where the Poets make this Combat to have been fought, there is such a vast Quantity of Stones, that it looks as if they had fallen from the Clouds, the Places about not being so full of them. This Plain, to mention it by the by, fed excellent Sheep, which turn over with their Feet, any little Stones where-with the Pasture is covered, and which conceal any Tufts of Grass.

As for the Fable, which imports that the same *Hercules* fought with *Apollo* for the Tripod of *Delphi*, it has no other Foundation, but that our Heroe having gone to consult the Oracle of that God about the Murder of *Iphitus*; and the Priest not having given him a favourable Answer, he carried off the Tripod of the Temple, in spite of the Priests who made Opposition to him; but the Priestess having reproached him for not treading in the Paths of the *Egyptian Hercules* whom he had taken for his Patron, he was moved with her Words, and restored it to her again.

Hercules was honoured as a God not long after his Death; his Friend *Iolaus* performed the Ceremony of his Deification; and as the Fire had not left so much as his Bones unconsumed, he gave out that *Jupiter* had carried him up to Heaven, to purify them from whatever was mortal in his Nature (a). In confirmation of this Testimony, he added a pretended Prodigy, alledging that so soon as *Philoctetes* had lighted the funeral Pile, Lightning had fallen upon the Body, and reduced it to Ashes in a Moment. He got a Tomb erected to him upon Mount *Oeta*, upon which *Menetius* sacrificed a Bull, and instituted an annual Festival to his Honour. The *Thebans* followed this Example, as also the other People of *Greece*, and Temples and Altars were raised to him afterwards in

I 2

several

(a) As Fables vary continually, another Tradition bore, that it was *Philoctetes* burnt this Hero's Body, and concealed the Ashes, as shall be seen elsewhere.

several Places, where he was always considered as a Demi-God.

Again, his Worship resembled that of the other *Indigetes*, bating some few Circumstances. In the Island of *Cos* he had a Priestess. In that of *Rhodes* the Sacrifices offered to him were accompany'd with a thousand Imprecations, as a Memorial of what had happened upon our Heroe's carrying off a Ploughman's Oxen (a), he having pour'd out many Reproaches upon him, at which *Hercules* only laughed; thus it was thought no greater Honour could be done him, than to repeat those Imprecations in his Sacrifices (1). We read in *Athenæus*, that the *Phenicians* offered in sacrifice to *Hercules* Quails (2), and the Origine of this Practice they said was, that when our Heroe was slain by *Typhon*, *Iolaus* had restored him to Life with the Smell of a Quail; the Foundation of which Fable, according to *Bochart* (3), is that *Hercules* was subject to the Epilepsy, as we learn from some Authors, and that he was brought to himself by smelling a Quail, the Scent whereof *Galen* tells us (4), is a useful Remedy in that Disease.

We must not omit here, that the White Poplar Tree was consecrated to our Heroe. *Servius* interpreting those Verses, where *Virgil* calls this Tree *the Poplar of Hercules*, relates the Fable which imports, that our Heroe having descended into Hell, made a Crown of Poplar-leaves, and that what touched the Head, received, or rather retained its white Colour, while the Part of the Leaf that was without, was blackened with the Smoak of which those dreary Regions are full: The Import whereof is, that this Heroe found in *Thesprotia*, in the Kingdom of *Aidoneus* whither he travelled, some of that kind of Poplars, and brought of them into *Greece*, as we read in *Pausanias* (5), having affected from that Time to wear
Garlands

(a) It was the *Thiadamas* whom we have spoke of.

(1) Lactantius, Div. Inst. l. 1. c. 21. (2) L. 9. c. 11.

(3) De Animal. Scrip. P. 2. l. 1. c. 19. (4) De partu facili, c. 155. (5) In Eliac. prior. id. l. 5.

Garlands of that Tree; and this is what makes *Ovid* say :

*Ausus es hirsutos mitra redimire capillos,
Aptior Herculeâ populus alba coma.*

In fine, 'tis proper to remark with *Herodotus*, that there was some difference between the Worship paid to *Hercules*, whom they stiled *Olympian*, and that given to *Alcmena's* Son; namely, that to the one Sacrifices were offered as to a God, whereas the other had only Honours paid to him, such as are due to Heroes, as has been already said.

Before we close the History of *Hercules*, whose Adventures we have now related, 'tis proper to explain the several Names given him by the Poets and Historians.

That of *Alcides*, according to some, was given him from his Grandfather *Alceus*, or according to others, upon account of his Strength and Valour; that of *Hercules*, had a Reference to the two Serpents sent by *Juno*, which he put to Death in his Cradle; for that Name signifying *the Glory of Juno*, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας τῆς κλεῖς, *a laude & celebritate Junonis*, seems intended to denote that the Persecutions of that Goddess would signalize him to Posterity. We are told that this Name was given her by the Priests herself.

Olaus Rudbeck, who imagines he has discovered in *Sweden* his Country, and in the ancient Language thereof, the Origin of most of the Pagan Divinities, offers a very probable Conjecture in relation to this Heroe's Name, which he derives from *Her*, an Army, and *Kulle*, Chief; which is very applicable to *Hercules*; but we cannot determine whether this is that Heroe's Name, or if we are not rather to suppose, that this great Warrior having carried his Arms as far as the Extremity of the North, and having made himself known in *Celtica*, *Germany*, and *Scythia*, as several ancient Authors tell us, the Name of *Hercules* was from thence communicated afterwards to great Captains, and these two Words, *Her* and *Kulle*, used to signify

the Leader of an Army. We cannot therefore admit the Consequence which that Author draws from thence ; namely, that the *Greeks* got this Name from the *Scythians*, since it may be equally supposed that the northern Countries borrowed it from the *Greeks*.

Some Authors call him *Tyrinthius*, from the City *Tyrinthus* where he was brought up ; *Baraicus*, from a City in *Achaia* of that name, famous for an Oracle of our Heroe. The manner of delivering this Oracle was singular ; after those who came to consult him had addressed their Prayer in the Temple that was consecrated to him, they threw four Dice at random, upon the Faces whereof were engraved certain Figures, and then they went and consulted a Tablet where those Figures were explained, taking for the Response of the God, the Interpretation that answered to the *Chance* they had thrown.

He was also denominated *Thasius*, from a City of that Name, built in the Island of *Thasos*, which is in the *Egean* Sea, by the *Phenicians* who came from *Tyre* in quest of *Europa*, as we learn from *Herodotus* and *Pausanias*. The Inhabitants of that Island looked upon this Heroe as their *Saviour* ; and we are told by *Ravellin*, that there are Coins whereon this Title is given him. The same People, according to *Pausanias*, had dedicated to *Hercules* in the City of *Olympia*, a brazen Statue ten Cubits high, upon a Pedestal of the same Metal. If Father *Tourneimine* shall ever make good his Assertion (1), that most of the Heroes of Antiquity were only Pagan Copies of the Messiah, known to all Nations by a Remainder of the Traditions which they had distorted, doubtless he will not omit to make mention of *Hercules* the *Saviour*, worshipped by a People, whom *Pausanias* and *Herodotus* make to have been originally from *Tyre* in *Phenicia*, a Country so near to that where the Prophets lived, who have said so much of the Messiah. No doubt he will also trace the resemblance which *Seneca* finds between them (2) ; and it must be owned, that either the tragic Poet had

borrowed

(1) In the journals of *Trevaux*. (2) In *Hercule*.

borrowed the pompous Ideas wherewith he embellishes the Story of that Heroe's Death upon Mount *Oeta*, from the Accounts delivered at *Rome* under the Reign of *Tiberius*, of the Saviour's Death upon Mount *Calvary*, or it will not be easy to find out what could so exalt his Imagination.

The Name of *Melius* was given to *Hercules*, either because he had carried off the Golden Apples of the Garden of the *Hesperides* (1), as some of the Mythologists will have it (2), or because an Ox which he was going to sacrifice (a) having escaped, a Representation of one was made in Miniature, with an Apple, to which were added Feet and Horns, according to the Manner of those Times of representing Victims, either in Paste or otherwise, when they fell short of real ones.

That of *Musagetes*, which imports *Companion of the Muses*, was given him, because he was honoured with Rites of Worship in common with those of the nine Sisters. Historians tell us, that *Fulvius* built a Temple in the *Circus* of *Flaminius*, to the Honour of our Heroe, and of the nine Muses (3), and we see him represented with them on ancient Monuments (4). The ancient Author who speaks of this Temple of *Fulvius*, says his Motive for building it was, that being Governor in *Greece*, he had learned that our Heroe was the Companion and Conductor of the Muses: *Ædem Herculis & Musarum in circo Flamini, Fulvius ille nobilior, ex pecunia.censoria, fecit, non id modo secutus quod ipse literis & summa Poetæ amicitia duceretur, sed in Græcia cum esset Imperator, acceperat & Herculem Musagetem esse, hoc est comitem ducemque Musarum.* This Author, *Lyllo Giraldi* tells us, is *Eumenius*; and what I have now quoted he delivers in an Oration intitled, *De instaurandis scholis*,

I 4

Suetonius

(1) Μῆλον, Malum. (2) *Lyllo Giraldi* in *Herçule*.

(a) *Pollux* says it was a Ram; and he adds, that ever since that Adventure, it was the Custom in *Beotia* to sacrifice to him those Animals.

(3) *Eumenius* apud *Lyl, Giraldi*. (4) *Spon. Misc. Erud. Antig.*

Suetonius (1), and *Ovid* (2), likewise make mention of a Temple which *Martius Philippus* dedicated to *Hercules* and the Muses; and *Plutarch* says (3), the Original of this Usage came from *Evander*, who in gratitude to our Heroe for having taught him certain Sciences, was induced to join his Worship to that of the Goddesses who presided over them. But the true Reason, I take to have been that *Hercules* being among the *Phœnicians* the Symbol of the Sun, the *Greeks* confounded him with their *Apollo*, and therefore gave him the Appellation of *Musagetes*. Some have fancied that the Reason of giving *Hercules* this Name, might be that the Muses being Virgins who are usually subject to fear, had this Heroe given them for their Companion, that his Valour might fortify them against the Insolence of those, who, *Pyreneus* like, should offer any Insult to them: But without examining whether this Conjecture be well founded, and if the Virgin Goddesses would have been quite safe under the Protection of a Heroe such as *Hercules*, we shall go on to the Explanation of the other Names that were given to this Demi-God.

That of *Myagrus*, or Fly-hunter, was given to him, as well as to *Jupiter*, for Reasons which I have already assigned. That of *Polyphagus*, of *Pamphagus*, or *Buphagus*, upon account of his Gluttony, which was so excessive that the *Argonauts* dismissed him from their Crew, as has been said, because he ate up all their Provisions.

We are told, that our Heroe having one Day carried off the Oxen of a Peasant named *Thiodamas* (a), he ate up a whole one at a single Meal, as I have already remarked; add to this, that he had three Rows of Teeth, as we learn from the Poet *Ion*.

That of *Cynosarges*, from an Adventure which I am going to relate. As a Citizen of *Athens* named *Dydymus*, or *Diomus*, according to *Stephanus* and *Hesychius*, was going to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, a white Dog seized

(1) In *Augusto*. (2) In *Fastis*. (3) In *Q. Q.*

(a) This Adventure having happened at *Lindus* in *Rhodes*, hence *Hercules* was named *Lindius*.

seized upon the Victim, and carried it off. *Dydimus* upon this, being at a Loss what to do, heard a Voice enjoining him to erect an Altar in the Place where the Dog had stopp'd, which accordingly he put in Execution, giving *Hercules*, as we read in *Hesychius*, the Surname of *Cynosarges*, from that white Dog. *Plato* however says, our Heroe was so called from the Name of the Citizen (*a*).

Upon a Vase dug up at *Malta*, and sent in the Year 1733 to Cardinal *Polignac*, we find the Epithet *Archegetes*, given to *Hercules*; a Word importing the same as *Dux*, *Princeps*. *Malta* had received a Colony of *Carthaginians* from *Tyre*; and *Hercules* being the principal Divinity of the *Tyrians*, no wonder that they gave him this Epithet; but 'tis remarkable that no ancient Author has taken Notice of it, and that this is the only Monument dug up where we meet with it, while *Thucydides* says *Apollo* had in the Island of *Naxos* an Altar and Worship under this particular Title of *Archegetes*; and we see in *Golzius*, that the ancient Inhabitants of *Taormina*, originally from *Naxos*, of whose Ruins their City had been formed, put upon their Coin *Apollo's* Head with the same Epithet: but it often happens that a Medal, an *Intaglio*, or other Monument informs us every Day of Facts well known in Antiquity, which we should have been Strangers to had it not been for them.

Hercules had also the Epithet given him of *Somnialis*: who those particular Gods were who presided over Dreams, and had the Appellation of *Dii Somniales*, we know not; nor yet what Ministers were set over their Worship. *Spon* in his *Miscellanies of Antiquity*, takes Notice of an Inscription, copied at *Florence* in the *Strozzi* Palace, where mention is made of Worship paid to *Hercules* as a God who presided over Sleep,

Cultores Herculis Somnialis.

'Tis not easy to find out the Reason why this God was
believed

(*a*) Consult *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, and *Hesychius* who speak of the Temple of *Hercules Cynosarges*.

believed to preside over Dreams; but 'tis not the less certain that he was believed to do so, and that the Sick were sent to sleep in his Temples, there to receive in a Dream the agreeable Prefage of the Recovery of their Health.

The *Sabins* termed *Hercules*, *Sanctus*, Holy; as we read in *Virgil* when he speaks of this Heroe (a).

Some Authors confound the Name of *Sanctus* with that of *Sangus*, given by the *Sabins* to the same God. The *Romans* had erected a Statue to him with this Inscription, *Semoni Sango*, which induced Saint *Justin* to take it for that of *Simon* the Magician. The Name of *Medius Fidius* was given to this Heroe by the same People, to intimate that he was the Son of *Jupiter*; for this is the best Interpretation given to those barbarous Terms. *Festus Pompeius* is of this Opinion in *Lyllo Giraldi*, who takes these Words to be compounded of *Dios*, the Name of *Jupiter*, and *Filius*; the Ancients frequently changing the *l* into *d*. A Passage from *Varro* quoted by that Mythologist, confirms this Conjecture (b).

The Poets too call *Hercules* sometimes *Trivesperum*, to denote that the Night in which he was conceived had been lengthened out to three, as we have said after *Plautus*.

In

(a) — — — *Et lati quem Sanctum voce canebant
Auctorem gentis.* *Æn.* 8.

Ovid says the same thing:

*Querebam nonas Sancto, Fidione referrem,
An tibi, Semipater; tunc mihi Sanctus ait:
Cuicunque ex illis dederis, ego munus habebo:
Nomina terna fero, sic voluere Cures.
Hunc igitur veteres donarunt æde Sabini,
Inque Quirinali constituere iugo.* *Fast.*

Propertius says also:

Salve sanctæ pater; cui non fueret aspera Juno.

We find also ancient Inscriptions where he has the Epithet:

Herculi pacifero, invicto, sancto. See *Gruter*.

(b) *Unde sub Dio Dius Fidius; itaque inde ejus tectum perforatum ut videatur divum, id est, cælum. Quidam negant sub tecto per hunc dejerare oportere. Filius Dium Fidium dicebat Dijovis filium ut Græci Αἰσάγγελος Castorem; & putabat hunc esse Sanctum ex Sabina lingua, Herculem a Græca.*

In *Zeland* was found an Inscription which bore *Herculi Magazano*. *Vossius* is very much puzzled about this Word, and he sees no reason why *Goropius* changed it to *Marcusano* from the Word *Marc*, which imports a Boundary in the *Gothic* Language; but *Olaus Rudbeck*, who understood that Language better than either *Goropius* or *Vossius*, derives this Word from *ma*, *valere* and *mageo*, *vis*, *potestas*; which is more suitable to this Heroe, since he had never been the God of the Landmarks (*a*).

I shall not insist here on what has been already said, that every Nation had a *Hercules* of its own; the *Egyptians* called theirs *Ozochor*, or *Chon*. It is he, if we may believe *Diodorus*, that was the General of *Osiris's* Troops, and who, according to an ancient Author, gave his Name to the People in *Italy*, whose Country he had cleared of some Tyrants (1). The *Cretans* surnamed him *Idean*, from Mount *Ida*, which is in their Island. This is that *Hercules*, who, as we learn from *Diodorus* and *Pausanias*, founded and first celebrated the *Olympic* Games long before the Birth of *Alcides*, who likewise celebrated them in his turn.

The latter of these Authors now named, speaks also of a *Hercules* of *Canopus*, a City of *Egypt*; but I take him to be the same with the *Egyptian Hercules*.

The *Indians* named their *Hercules*, according to *Eusebius* (2), *Desanaus*, or as others write it, *Desanas*, *Desinaas*, *Desines*, and *Dasinaus*; *Hesychius* fixes the true Pronunciation Δοράσνας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πᾶς Ἰνδοῖς. This is he whom *Cicero* (3) takes to be the same with *Belus*, *quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur*; the fifth is *Belus*, who is worshipped in *India*.

The *Tyrians* stiled their *Hercules*, *Melchrates*, according to the Testimony of *Sanchoniathon* in *Eusebius*; and as this Name appears to be the same with that of *Melicerta*, which imports *King of the City*, 'tis probable

(*a*) See what has been said of this *Hercules Magazanus*, v. 2.

b. 7.

(1) *Antiochus Xenophanes*, apud *L. Giraldi*. (2) In *Chronic.* p. 490. (3) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3.

bable that this was an ancient King of *Tyre* signalized by his heroic Atchievements. The *Celtes*, or the *Gauls*, gave him the Appellation of *Ogmion*. *Vossius* (1) owns his Ignorance as to the Etymology of this Name; but *Olaus Rudbeck* (2) derives it, with a good deal of probability, from the ancient *Gothic* Language, in which *Oggur*, whence the *Celtes* formed their *Ogmion*, imported *powerful by Sea*; and *Aggalir*, *powerful by Sea and Land*, such as he probably was whom the ancient *Gauls* acknowledged for their *Hercules*.

The *Spaniards*, according to some ancient Authors, gave him the Name of *Endovillicus*, at least we find the Name of this Heroe joined in Inscriptions with that of this Divinity; but I have proved in Vol. II. Book IV. that *Endovillicus* and *Hercules* were different Divinities.

Besides these Names, and some others which I omit because they are easy to be understood, and contain nothing of Importance, *Pausanias* gives him some which are no where else to be met with, on which 'tis proper to insist a little.

That of *Manticlus* he had from a Temple that was built to him by a Leader of a Colony of this Name, who came and settled in the Island of *Zacintbus*, now *Zante* (3). That of *Buraicus*, from a Chapel and a Statue which he had in a Grotto, near the River *Bura* (4) where he had also an Oracle, which gave Responses by Dice. In *Beotia* he had the Surname of *Charops*, from a Temple which he had in the Place where he was said to come up when he brought with him the Dog of the God of Hell (5). The Name of *Erythrus* was also given him from a Temple which he had at *Erythræ* in *Achaia* (6). *Pausanias* remarks that the Statue of this God, which is in the Temple of *Erythræ*, resembles the *Egyptian* Statues wrought with Art. The God, says he, is upon a kind of Raft, and the *Erythreans* say it was thus brought from *Tyre* into *Phenicia*,

(1) De Idol. l. 1. c. 35. (2) Att. c. 53. § 3. (3) In Messen.
(4) In Attic. (5) In Eect. (6) In Achaic.

Phenicia, by Sea. They add, that the Raft having entered into the *Ionian* Sea, stop'd at *Juno's* Promontory, otherwise *Messara*, half Way between *Erythræ* and *Chio*. So soon as those of *Erythræ* and *Chio* perceived the Statue of the God, all strove to have the Honour of drawing it ashore, and to that Effect exerted their utmost Efforts. An *Erythraean*, named *Phormio*, a Fisher by Occupation, having lost his Sight by a Disease, was apprized in a Dream, that if the *Erythraean* Women would cut off their Hair, and thereof make a Rope, they might draw ashore the Raft without any Difficulty. When none of the Women of *Erythræ* thought fit to comply with the Dream, some *Thracian* Women, who, tho' free born, were in Slavery at *Erythræ*, made a Sacrifice of their Hair: By this Means the *Erythraeans* got the Statue of the God in their Possession; and to reward the Zeal of those *Thracian* Women, enacted that they alone should have the Liberty of entering into *Hercules's* Temple. Those of that City, continues the same Author, shew at this Day the Rope made of Hair, and carefully preserve it: As to the Fisher, we are assured that he recover'd his Sight, and had the Enjoyment of it the rest of his Days.

Hercules was surnamed *Hippodetes* (1), in a Plain of *Beotia*, call'd the Plain of *Tenerus*, from the Name of a Soothsayer, who was the Son of *Apollo* and *Melia*; and this Name was given him, because the Army of the *Orchomenians* having come into that Place, *Hercules*, by Night, tied their Horses to their Chariots, and entangled them so, that the next Day the Enemy could not make Use of them.

The Surname of *Promachus* (2) derived its Original from a Temple which was called by the same Name, and was consecrated to this God, near the City *Thebes*, where he had a wooden Statue, of a very ancient Taste, which was believed to be done by *Dedalus*; and another of white Marble, the Work of *Xenocritus* of *Thebes*. A little further, in the open Field, was to be seen a

(1) In Beot. (2) Ibid.

Statue of *Hercules*, surnamed *Rhinoclustes* (1), because he cut off the Noses of the Heralds of the *Orchomenians*, who came to demand Tribute of the *Thebans*.

We find also, in antient Authors, several other Names or Epithets of *Hercules*, but they are either such as are easy to be understood, or the Commentators have taken Care to explain them.

This would be the proper Place to speak of the different Figures of *Hercules*, which Time has preserved to us; but as they are to be seen in the Antiquaries, *Beger* having collected them into one Volume, I shall not tire the Patience of the Reader by dwelling longer upon this Subject. All I shall observe is, that our Heroe usually appears under the Figure of a strong robust Man, with a Club in his Hand, and clad in the Lion's Skin of *Nemea*, which he sometimes wears over his Shoulder, and sometimes it covers his Head in a very coarse Manner. Be it owing to the Fancy of the Engraver, or to some Mystery which we know not, so it happens, that he is sometimes represented in Attitudes, and with Symbols that are singular; but one Glance of the Eye upon the Figures themselves will teach the Reader more than a long Dissertation.

I said he was represented as a robust Man; and tho' the Exploits he performed did not prove him to have been so, the Picture of him drawn by *Dicearchus*, quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, would be sufficient to convince us of it; since that ancient Author tells us he was extreamly nervous, of a square Figure, a swarthy Complexion, with an Eagle Nose, big Eyes, a thick Beard, &c. to which the Philosopher *Hicronymus* adds curled Hair, and horridly negligent.

(1) In Beot.

C H A P. VII.

An Abridgment of the History of Hercules's Successors, to the Time of their Re-establishment in the Peloponnesus.

CEYX had the Care of the Education of our Hero's Children, which inspired *Eurystheus* with so much Jealousy least they should very soon be in a Condition to avenge their Father, that he threatened the King of *Trachine* to make War upon him, if he did not dismiss them from his Court, together with *Iolaus*, and the Troops that had served under this Heroe. *Ceyx*, terrified with these Menaces, pray'd them to depart; and *Epalius*, King of the *Dorians*, gave them a favourable Reception, and even adopted *Hillus*, whom *Hercules* had by *Dejanira*, thereby acknowledging the Obligation he owed to his Father, who had restored him to his Dominions. Again being obliged to quit that Court, they retired to *Athens* to *Theseus*, the Relation and Friend of *Hercules*, who gave them a Settlement in *Attica*. In the mean Time, *Eurystheus* having led an Army against them, the *Athenians* opposed him with all their Forces, and gave him Battle, under the Conduct of *Theseus* and *Hillus*, put him to Flight, and *Hillus* slew *Eurystheus* with his own Hand. The whole Family of that unfortunate Prince was cut off in this Battle. Thus ended that Branch of *Perseus's* Successors; and the Crown of *Mycenæ*, which had continued a long Time in his Family, devolved upon that of *Pelops*; *Atreus* his Son, the Governor of *Mycenæ* (1), having got himself declared King thereof, after the Death of *Eurystheus*. The *Heraclidæ*, after his Defeat, retired into the *Peloponnesus*, and made themselves Masters of it: but the Pestilence having begun to lay waste their Army, Recourse was had to the Oracle, and the Answer was, that they having entered too soon into that Country, there was no Way for them to put a Stop to the Calamity, but by departing speedily, and they accordingly obey'd the Oracle.

Having

(1) He was also his Brother-in-law.

Having re-enter'd thither three Years after, according to the Interpretation they had put upon the Response of the Oracle, which had bid them wait for the third Crop, *Atreus* opposed them with his Troops, and gave them Battle, where *Thomacus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Heracidae*, was slain. *Hillus* seeing the War likely to continue, sent the Enemy a Challenge to fight with any one who should accept of it, on Condition that if he was victorious, *Atreus* should be obliged to resign the Crown to the *Heracidae*, his lawful Successors; but if he was defeated, his Descendants should not be permitted to re-enter the *Peloponnesus* till Eighty (1) or a Hundred Years after (2). *Echemus*, the King of *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, accepted the Challenge, slew *Hillus*, and, according to the Treaty, obliged the *Heracidae* to quit the *Peloponnesus*, and *Atreus* remain'd King of *Mycenæ*.

Cleodeus, the Son of *Hillus*, made an Attempt, but in vain, to re-enter thither some Time after; in which Enterprize *Aristomachus* his Son lost his Life. His three other Sons, *Themenes*, *Chresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, having equipped a Fleet at *Naupactus*, renewed the same Attempt, so much did this Conquest lie at their Heart. While they were drawing the Troops together, *Arnus*, a famous Soothsayer of that Time, arrived at *Naupactus*; but *Hyppoco'es*, the Son of *Phylas*, and Grandson of *Hercules*, who took him for a Spy, having put him to Death, the Pestilence began to ravage the Camp. Upon this, the Oracle was consulted, according to Custom, and the Answer was, that *Apollo*, by this Plague, was avenging the Death of his Prophet, and that if they would appease the God, the Murderer must be banished, and Funeral Games instituted in Honour of *Arnus*, which accordingly was put in Execution, and those Games were afterwards very famous, especially at *Lacedemon*.

The *Heracidae* resolving after this to set Sail, would needs, before their Departure, consult the Oracle, which ordered them to chuse for their Leader one who

(1) Vell. 1. Sup. c. 21.

(2) Schol. upon Thuc. 1. 1.

had three Eyes. *Oxilus*, an *Etolian* by Birth, blind of an Eye, whom they found in their Way, mounted on Horseback, was reputed to be the Man whom the Gods had mark'd out to lead them, and him they chose for their Head. He being a Man of natural Courage, and animated besides with the Hope of obtaining *Elis* for his Property, urged their Departure, and their Fleet being very soon got ready, they made a Descent upon the *Peloponnesus*. The *Acbeans* and *Ionians*, who had derived their Names from *Ion* and *Acbeus*, the Sons of *Xutus*, were the next who took Possession of that Province. The *Heraclidæ* drove them out of *Argos*, *Lacedemon*, and *Mycenæ*, and shared among them these three Cities; *Temenes* had the first, *Aristodemus* the second, and *Mycenæ* fell to *Chresphontes*, who afterwards made himself also Master of *Messene*, whence he banished the Descendants of *Nestor*, *Alcmeon*, and *Peon*, who fled for Refuge to *Athens*. His Son *Epitus*, after him, succeeded to the Crown of *Messene*, and gave the Name of *Epitides* to the Kings his Successors. The one-eyed *Oxilius* got *Elis*, which had been promised him: *Iphitus*, who renewed the Olympic Games, is noted among his Descendants. *Lacedemon* remained in the Possession of the two Sons of *Aristodemus*, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*; which made two Lines of *Spartan* Kings, who reigned there a long Time. The ancient Inhabitants of *Argos* and *Lacedemon* settled in the Cities which the *Ionians* possessed in *Egialia*, to which they gave the Name of *Achaia*.

Some Time after, *Aletes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, in Exile for the Murder of *Arnus* the Diviner, whom his Father had slain at *Naupactus*, seized upon *Corinth*, which the Posterity of *Sisyphus* had possessed till then.

Thus was peopled almost the whole *Peloponnesus*, by the Successors of *Hercules*, who had been expelled from thence by the *Pelopidæ*.

All these Revolutions were not brought about, as we have seen, at the same Time. After the Death of *Hercules*, *Hyllus*, and the other *Heraclidæ*, continued a Year or two at *Trachine*. Being obliged to depart

thence, they repaired to *Athens*, where they lived for some Time; and it was not till the End of eight Years, that *Eurystheus*, the irreconcilable Enemy to *Hercules's* Name, came and attacked them. This War lasted three Years, and he was slain in the fourth.

This Return of the *Heracidae* into the *Peloponnesus*, having fallen out eighty Years before the taking of *Troy*, makes one of the principal *Æra's* of the *Greek* History, and that which is best marked in their Annals. Were it not for what has been now said, we should be at a Loss to know that Part of *Greece* which was called the *Peloponnesus*, which comprehended several petty Kingdoms, to which the Descendants of *Hercules* furnished Kings for a long Series of Generations.

C H A P. VIII.

The Sequel of the History of Theseus.

THESEUS had too great a Connection with *Hercules* his Kinsman, whom he had accompanied in almost all his Expeditions, not to subjoin his History to that of the Heroe: And tho' we have been obliged to speak of him upon Occasion of *Minos* II. I judged, however, that the rest of his Adventures required a separate Article.

Besides what Accounts we have of *Theseus* from *Diomedorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, and in general all the Mythologists, *Plutarch* has written his Life, at great length, and *Meursius* has carefully collected all that is to be known of him from Antiquity; but the Illustrations of that judicious Critic have not always given Light to these two Compilers. We shall endeavour to shun that Fault, and examine the Facts which we advance.

Egeus, the ninth King of *Athens*, and of the Race of *Erechtheus* (a), having no Issue, and seeing new Parties

(a) Here is his Genealogy. *Erichthonius*, or *Erechtheus*, the Son of *Falcan* and *Minerva*, or rather of *Cranæus*.

Pandion I.

Pandion II.

Erechtheus,

Egeus,

Cecrops,

Theseus.

By the Mother's Side he derived his Original from *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, who was the Father of *Pitheus*, of whom was born *Æthra*.

Parties still formed against him, went to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, and the Priestess order'd him to have no Commerce with any Woman, before he returned to *Athens*. This Injunction was but ill obey'd; for *Egeus* having gone to *Trezene* (1), the sage *Pitheus*, whom he inform'd that the *Pallantides* his Nephews (b) were beginning to form a Conspiracy against him, because they saw he had no Children, gave him privately in Marriage his Daughter *Ethra*. *Egeus* set out some Time after on his Return to *Athens*; and *Pitheus*, who was unwilling to discover the Match, for Fear of incurring the Enmity of the Sons of *Pallas*, in order to save the Honour of his Daughter, who was with Child, gave out, that *Neptune*, the great Divinity of *Trezene*, had fallen in Love with her, which made *Theseus* pass for the Son of that God.

Egeus, at setting out from *Trezene*, had put his Sword and his Shoes under a large Stone, and recommended to *Ethra*, that if she was delivered of a Male Child, she would not send him to him till he was able to lift that Stone. *Pitheus*, the most renown'd for Wisdom in that Age, took great Care of the Education of young *Theseus*, and gave him for his Governor *Chronidas*, who, by his Application and Abilities, answered so well the Intentions of his Pupil's Grandfather, that the *Athenians* afterwards honoured him as a Demi-God, sacrificing to him every Year a Ram, on the Day that preceded the Feast of *Theseus*: thus doing Honour, as *Plutarch* remarks, with more Reason and Justice, to the Memory of him who had formed their Heroe's Manners, than to *Silanus* and *Parrhasius*, who had only made Statues and Pictures of him.

When *Ethra* his Mother saw her Son robust and full grown, she led him to the Place where his Father had concealed the Sword; he lifted the Stone, took his Father's Sword, and resolved to go and make himself

K 2 known

(1) *Plutarch* in *Theseo*. *Diodor.* l. 4. and some others.

(b) They were the Sons of *Pallas* his Brother. *Pandion* had left four Sons, *Egeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*, and had left to each of them a Part of his Kingdom.

known at *Atbens*, in spite of the Remonstrances of his Grandfather, who represented to him the Danger to which he was going to expose himself, the Ways he had to pass from the *Peloponnesus* to *Athens* being full of Robbers, upon account of *Hercules's* Absence, who was then in *Lydia* with *Omphale*. *Pitheus* therefore omitted nothing that might have Influence to divert his Grandson from his Purpose, or at least to oblige him to travel by Sea. He gave him a Description of these Robbers one after another, and set forth to him all the cruel Treatment they used towards Strangers; but the Glory and Valour of *Hercules* had now of a long Time enflamed his Courage: He esteemed nothing in Comparison of him, and listened always with eager Attention to those who entertained him with a Description of that Heroe's Person, especially to such as had seen him, and were capable to inform him in any of the Particulars of his Life, to which they had been Eye-Witnesses. Thus he was raised to such Admiration of the Life of *Hercules*, that his Actions became the Subject of his Dreams by Night, fired his Soul with a noble Emulation by Day, and animated him to an ardent Desire of imitating the great Example.

The Relation that was between them still heighten'd his Emulation; for they were Sons of two Cousin Germans, his Mother *Etbra* being the Daughter of *Pitheus*, and *Alcmena* again the Daughter of *Lysidice*. Now *Lysidice* and *Pitheus* were the Offspring of *Hippodamia* and *Pelops*. He was therefore filled with conscious Shame and Indignation to think that *Hercules* should have travelled all the World over in Pursuit of Freebooters, and such like, of whom he cleared both Sea and Land; whereas he, on the contrary, shun'd the Opportunity of encountering those who came in his Way; thus dishonouring, by such base Conduct, the Memory of him who was, by the Report of the People, his reputed Father, and having no other Trophy to carry it to his real Father but Shoes and a Sword, instead of appearing before him crown'd with Glory. Thus he set out courageously, resolving to attack none, but to stand bravely to his own Defence. It

It was not long before he met with Adventures: as he was passing thro' the Lands of *Epidaurus*, near the *Sarronic* Gulf, which was the Way that led from *Trezene* to the *Isthmus*; *Periphetes*, who was armed with a Club, and was therefore called *the Club-bearer*, had the Insolence to come up to him; and stop him: *Theseus* fought and slew him, and, overjoyed at having made himself Master of his Club, bore it always about with him, as *Hercules* wore the Lion's Skin. That Skin served to shew the enormous Size of the Beast which *Hercules* had slain; and the Club which *Theseus* bore, shewed that it was capable of being won from the Hands of a *Periphetes*, but that it was impregnable in his. From thence traversing the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, he punished *Sinius the Pine-bender*, in the same manner as that Giant had put several Passengers to Death. Not that he had ever learned any such Art, or had been exercised therein; but he shewed, by that Essay, that Valour is always superior to Art and Exercise. This *Sinius* had a Daughter, grown up, and very handsome, named *Perigone*, who, upon her Father's Death, had fled: *Theseus* went every where in quest of her; but she had hid herself in a thick Wood, over-grown with Reeds and Sparagus, which she invoked with a Childish Simplicity, as if they had been capable of hearing her, praying them to hide her well, and save her from being discovered; and promising them with an Oath, that if they did her that Piece of Service, she would never pluck them up, nor burn them. In the mean time, *Theseus* called out to her, and made her a promise that he would take Care of her, and do her no Injury. *Perigone*, moved with these Promises, came forth from her Hiding-Place, and delivered herself up to him. *Theseus* had by her a Daughter, who was called *Menalipe*. Her he gave afterwards in Marriage to *Deioneus*, the Son of *Eurytus* King of *Æchalia*. By this Marriage was born *Ioxus*, who, together with *Eurytus*, was Chief of the Colony that was led to *Caria*, whence came the *Ioxides*, who, from Father to Son, preserved the Custom,

not to burn nor pluck up the Reeds and Sparagus ; but, on the contrary, to pay them a sort of religious Regard, and particular Veneration.

There was then at *Crommyon*, a Sow which was called *Phaia*, which was no contemptible Animal ; being both very dangerous, and very difficult to be overcome. *Theseus* traced out the Animal, encountred and slew it, that it might not be thought Necessity alone had reduced him to undertake all his Exploits ; and besides, being persuaded that a virtuous Person ought to encounter bad Men, only by way of Self-defence from their Insults, but that it is his Duty to seek out the fierce wild Beasts, and to attack them first. Others, however, tell us, that this *Phaia* was a Woman of *Crommyon*, who prostituted herself to all Comers, and who lived on Murders and Robberies ; that she was called *a Sow*, upon account of her corrupt Manners and bad Life, and that she was at last put to Death by *Theseus*.

Near the Frontiers of *Megara* he defeated *Sciron*, and threw him from the Top of the Rocks into the Sea ; because he robb'd Passengers ; or, according to others, because, thro' an insupportable Insolence and Pride, he presented his Feet to Strangers, which he ordered them to wash, and while they were doing it, he pushed them down headlong from the Rocks. 'tis true, the Historians of *Megara*, combating against Length of Time, as says *Simonides*, oppose this Tradition, and maintain, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber, nor a bad Man ; but, on the contrary, the declared Enemy of that Sort of People, and the Friend of the just and virtuous : for every Body knows, say they, *Æacus* was esteemed the most holy Man of his Time ; it is as certain that *Cycbreus*, the *Salaminian*, had divine Honours paid him at *Athens*, and the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* is well known. Now *Sciron* was the Son-in-law of *Cycbreus*, and *Æacus*'s Father-in-law, and Grandfather of *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both born of the Nymph *Endeis*, the Daughter of *Chariclo* and *Sciron* : it is not therefore likely that the greatest and
most

most virtuous Persons in *Greece*; would have contracted Alliance with a Robber, by taking from him, and giving him what Men hold most sacred; and of highest Value. The same Historians add, that *Theseus* did not kill *Sciron* in his first Voyage to *Athens*; but a long Time after, when he took *Eleusis*, which was then in the Possession of the *Megarians*, and banished from thence *Diocles*; who was the Governor thereof.

In passing thro' *Eleusis*, he had a Wrestling Match with *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, and worsted him. From thence arriving at *Hermione*, he put to Death the Giant *Damastes*, who was called *Proustes*, that is, who stretches by force, by obliging him to equal the Dimensions of his Bed, as he had done to his Guests! And *Theseus* followed this Rule in Imitation of *Hercules*, who punished those who attacked him with the same kind of Death, which they had prepared for him. Thus it was he sacrificed *Busiris*, strangled *Anteus* in wrestling with him, slew *Cygnus* in a single Combat, beat out *Temerus's* Brains, whence came the Proverb, *the Temerian Evil*; for 'tis probable that *Temerus* broke the Heads of Passengers, by dashing his own against theirs. *Theseus* went on punishing in like manner the Infesters of Society, and, with Justice, exercised upon them the same Punishment which they had unjustly inflicted upon others.

Theseus having arrived upon the Banks of the *Cephisus*, found there the Family of the *Pytalides*, who were come to purify him with all the customary Ceremonies. After having staid some Days in that Place, he entered *Athens* on the eighth of the Month *Hecatombeon*, which answers to the Month of *June*, and he found that City in strange Confusion; *Egeus*, his Father, giving himself up to the Management of *Medea*, who promised, by her Drugs, to procure him Children. After having staid there some Days, he made himself known, at the Time that *Medea* was going to poison him, as we learn from *Plutarch*; but this appears not conform to Truth: For either *Theseus* had been at the Conquest of the Golden Fleece before he went to *Athens*, as several

ral Authors will have it, and in that Case, he was certainly known to *Medea*, with whom he had performed that long Voyage; or the Conquest of the *Argonauts* had not yet happened, and then *Medea* could not be at *Athens* when *Theseus* arrived there, since it was *Jason* brought her from *Colchis*; thus I cannot understand how the Thing could happen as *Plutarch* relates it. This Author did not always give himself the Trouble to examine the Facts he delivers; and being but a Transcriber of what he had read, he has not always remembered in one Place what he had said in another. And indeed, if *Theseus* found *Medea* at *Athens* for the first Time, at his coming thither from *Trezen*, how could he have been in *Colchis*? That Author, however, adopts the Opinion of those who asserted that he had made that Voyage, and he seems to me to have copied *Ovid* rather than good Historians. I reckon it is better to say that *Theseus*, returning from some of his Voyages after a long Absence, got Information that his Father had married *Medea*; and that she, dreading his Return, formed a Faction against him, and perhaps having even attempted to poison him, to secure the Crown to the Child whereof she was pregnant, *Theseus* got her banished from the Court.

The *Pallantidæ*, upon *Theseus*'s being acknowledged, could not contain their Resentment, and having divided themselves into two Bodies, would have given no small Trouble to that Prince, had it not been for the Treachery of *Leos*, one of their Leaders, who having declared the whole Plot, *Theseus* made so good Use of his Information, as to defeat the one Party, and put the other to flight, confirming, by that Victory, his Father's tottering Power: after this, he went to *Trezen*, to receive Expiation.

Some time after, having undertaken a Voyage to *Crete*, he delivered his Country, as has been said, from the Tribute which it payed to *Minos* the second; but upon his Return, he found that his Father was dead. Then it was he laboured to put in Execution a Scheme he had formed long before, to reduce into one Body
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of a City all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, who till then had been dispersed in several Villages. He met with considerable Opposition, especially from the Rich, and he reduced them only by giving them the Promise of a popular Form of Government, wherein he reserved to himself only the Power of making War, and of seeing to the Execution of the Laws. As in every City there was a Court where the Assemblies were held, and public Affairs decided, without having recourse to the Sovereign, except on Occasions of the utmost Importance, which was a considerable Limitation of his Authority; he began with the demolishing of these, suppressed the Magistrates who administered Justice therein, built for himself an Edifice to serve for that Purpose, gave the Name of *Athens* to the new City, and united all the People by a Sacrifice and common Festival called the *Panathenaia*, which he substituted to the *Athenians* in place of that which every City celebrated in particular. To this Feast he joined another, which by its Name *Metœicia*, or the *Removal*, perpetuated the Memory of the Change he had introduced.

After having executed so critical an Undertaking, *Theseus* went to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know in what manner he was to govern this new People; and the Answer given him was, that he ought by all means to beware of ruling in an arbitrary Manner. Upon his return to *Athens*, he preferred the popular to monarchic Government, reserving to himself however the Power of seeing to the Observance of the Laws; and his whole Thoughts were employed in the right Regulation of the rising Republic, whereof he was always the Head. This Form of Government, then absolutely new in *Greece*, invited a great many People to *Athens*; and to hinder that promiscuous Rendezvous of People from introducing thither Disorder and Confusion, he divided the whole into three Bodies. The first was composed of the Nobles, the second of the Artisans, and the third of the Labourers, and to each he granted Privileges, whereof they had the peaceable Possession. We know how far the second of these Bodies carried afterwards

afterwards their Improvements, especially in the Works of Sculpture and Painting.

Pausanias observes, that it was for having thus persuaded all the People of *Attica* to unite in one City, henceforth to make but one People, that he introduced the Worship of the Goddess *Pitbo*, or *Persuasion*, and that of *Venus*, because this Goddess was to be the common Bond of all the People. *Theseus* not satisfied that Peace should reign only in the City, if it did not extend also to the neighbouring People, in order to remove the Grounds of Quarrel which might have arisen about the Extent of their Territory, he regulated the Limits thereof, and with the unanimous Consent of the *Ionians* and *Peloponnesians* set up a Pillar, on which was engraved this Inscription: *What lies to the East is Ionia; what lies to the West, belongs to the Peloponnesus.*

As Religion always was the Bond which most strongly unites People, otherwise separated by different Interests, he renewed in Honour of *Neptune* the *Isthmic Games*, which had been long disused, since they were first instituted by *Sisyphus* King of *Corinth*, on Occasion of *Melicerta's* Deification; and as probably they were only celebrated by Night, resembling rather a Funeral Pageant, than a Festival, he order'd them henceforth to be solemnized by Day, and that with a Magnificence becoming the God of the Sea. As *Hercules* and he had cleared *Greece* of that vast Number of Robbers who infested it, and who without Mercy put those to the Sword whom Devotion drew to those Games, they were now frequented with Safety, and the Concourse of People that flock'd thither from all Quarters, made the Celebration of them very solemn. Nor is it only *Plutarch*, supported by the Testimony of Historians more ancient than he, that relates this Fact; the Chronicle of *Paros* gives a Detail of the different Celebrations of these Games, which gives this Narration all the Weight it requires; this Chronicle, as is known, being the most authentic Voucher we have. All these Changes fell out, according to *Eusebius*, during the first Year of

Theseus's

Theseus's Reign, or according to other Historians, in the two first.

Thus far I may flatter myself that I have sufficiently followed the Order of Chronology in the Recital of *Theseus's* Actions; in the Sequel it will be easy for the Reader to range the Facts according to the *Æras* which I have established for the Events in which he was concerned: For there was not one in that Age so celebrated for Heroes, wherein he did not act a Part. All Antiquity attests, that he was at the War of the *Centaur*s with *Hercules* his near Relation, and *Pirithous* his faithful Friend; and to mention it by the by, their Friendship had commenced upon an Occasion which was like to have set them at Variance for ever. *Pirithous* struck with the glorious Account of *Theseus's* high Exploits, resolved to measure Swords with him, and sought an Opportunity to pick a Quarrel with him; but when these two Heroes met, they were struck with a secret Admiration of each other, their Heart discovered itself without any Disguise, they embraced one another instead of fighting, and swore to maintain an eternal Friendship.

Theseus, according to the most probable Opinion, joined also in the Conquest of the Golden Fleece. 'Tis beyond Doubt that he was likewise at the Hunting of *Calydon*, and at the War which followed it; to this all the Ancients are agreed. Tho' he had not been engaged in the Quarrel of the two hostile Brothers, 'tis certain however, that he obliged *Creon* to give Burial to the *Argives* who had died in the first War of *Thebes*; in a Word, there was no Expedition, no War in all those Times wherein he did not bear a considerable Part; not to insist on the Bull of *Marathon*, which laid waste all the Plains of *Tetrapolis*, and was taken by him alive, and offered in Sacrifice to *Apollo* at *Delphi* (a); so that it became a current Proverb, *Nothing without Theseus*,
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(a) *Pausanias*, who relates the same Fact, says he sacrificed it to *Minerva*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, who agrees with *Plutarch*, adds, that it was *Egeus* his Father performed the Sacrifice; but these small Variations, instead of weakening the Credibility of the Fact, rather confirm it.

Non sine Theseo. A new, and at the same Time an uncontested Argument that the Events of that fabulous Age, whereof we have seen the History, were not at so great a Distance from one another, as is commonly believed, and that they may be reduced, without Danger of deviating from the Truth, to the *Æras* I have fixed.

The Expedition of this Heroe against the *Amazons* is also reckoned by the Ancients in the Number of his Actions. For that end, we are told, he went to the Banks of the *Thermodon*, and after having given them Battle returned to *Greece*. 'Tis further said, that those Heroines came afterwards and invaded *Attica*, attacking *Theseus* in the very Centre of his own Dominions; but he routed them, and took *Antiope* Prisoner, by whom he had the unfortunate *Hippolitus*. But we must not dissemble that several Authors take both the Voyage and War for a mere Fiction (*a*). In the mean Time, were I to support the Truth thereof, I might quote several ancient Historians, cited by *Plutarch*, who would favour me; and what is still stronger, a great Number of Monuments scattered up and down in different Places of *Attica*, to attest that these Heroines came thither to make War.

Be that as it will, to come to something more certain, all Antiquity agrees that this Heroe, already signalized by a thousand glorious Actions, having heard of the Beauty of young *Helena* the Daughter of *Tyndarus* resolved to carry her off, tho' she was then but ten Years of Age, or only seven, according to some Ancients; and he himself was then fifty at least. Thus having taken with him his dear *Pirithous*, the faithful Companion of his Travels, he went to *Sparta* and carried her off. They drew Lots for her, says *Plutarch* (1), and she having fallen to *Theseus*, he bound himself to go with his Friend to carry off the Wife of *Aidoneus*. According to their Agreement, he left *Helena* at

(a) See what has been said on this Subject in the History of *Hercules*.

(1) In *Theseo*.

at *Aphidnes* in the Hands of his Mother *Etbra*, and then went to *Epirus* with *Pirithous*, to carry off *Proserpine* the Wife of *Aidoneus*. This second Enterprize did not succeed so well with him as the first; *Pirithous* was slain therein, or devoured by the Dogs of that Prince; and *Theseus* detained Prisoner (a) was released by *Hercules*, who having demanded him of *Aidoneus*, as the greatest Obligation he could lay upon him, he gave him up to him frankly, as has been said in the History of that Heroe.

It was this Voyage, to mention it transiently, that furnished the Poets with a Handle to say, for Reasons already assigned elsewhere, that this Heroe had descended to the infernal Regions, on which a Poem was founded, intitled, *The Descent of Theseus into Hell*. Our Heroe set at Liberty from his Imprisonment went home to his own Dominions, where his Party weakened every Day. His first Care was to testify his Gratitude to his Deliverer, for which Purpose he consecrated to him the Parks and the Lands he had got from the *Athenians*, and which were from that Time no more called *Theseia*, but *Heracleia*. *Philocorus*, in *Plutarch* informs us, that he reserved to himself only four Fields and Parks.

I said *Helen* is reckoned to have been but ten Years of Age when *Theseus* carried her off; it must be owned, however, that ancient Authors affirm she was older; that *Theseus*, before he set out for *Epirus*, left her pregnant with his Mother, and that she was delivered of a Daughter. As *Pausanias* is the only one of the Ancients that has related this Fact with all its Circumstances, I shall transcribe his Account of it (1): “ Not
“ far from a Temple of *Neptune*, says that Author,
“ there is another, dedicated to *Lucina*, and consecrat-
“ ed by *Helen*, when she was brought to *Lacedemon*,
“ after the Departure of *Pirithous* and *Theseus* for
“ *Thesprotia*, and after that *Castor* and *Pollux* had taken
“ the City *Aphidnes*; for it is alledged that she was
“ then

(a) See the History of *Pluto*, and that of *Hercules*.

(1) In *Corinth*.

“ then pregnant by *Theseus*, and that being delivered
 “ at *Argos*, she built that Temple in Honour of *Lu-*
 “ *cina*. We are told further, that she was delivered
 “ of a Daughter, whose Education was committed to
 “ *Clytemnestra*, who was then *Agamemnon*’s Wife, and
 “ that afterwards *Helen* herself was married to *Mene-*
 “ *laus*. And indeed, *Sesichorus* of *Himera*, and after
 “ him *Euphorion* of *Chalcis*, and *Alexander* of *Pleuron*,
 “ &c. are therein agreed with the *Argives*, and have
 “ all three attested in their Poems, that *Helen* had a
 “ Daughter by *Theseus*, named *Iphigenia*.”

This is that Princess, whose Character the famous *Racine*, who gives her the Name of *Eryphile*, has so finely drawn in his Tragedy of *Iphigenia*, and whom he makes to have been carried off from *Lesbos*, where she lived, by *Achilles*, when before the Departure of the *Greeks*, he had made himself Master of that City.

During the Absence of *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux* having taken up Arms, made themselves Masters of *Apbidnes*, and released *Helen* their Sister, whom they brought back to *Sparta* with *Etbra*, who thereby became the Slave of *Helen*, who carried her to *Troy*, where she was afterwards ravished by *Paris*. *Pausanias* (1) explaining a fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, adds, that *Etbra* was therein represented with her Head shaved, as a Mark of her Slavery, and *Demophoon* her Grandson in the Posture of a Man in Distress, anxious to have her set at Liberty. The same Author says, the Painter must needs have read the Poet *Lescheus*, who in his Works writes, that *Demophoon* seeing in the *Grecian* Camp *Etbra*, with the other Slaves, after the taking of *Troy*, demanded her of *Agamemnon*, but that he gave her not up till *Helen* had given her Consent to it. *Plutarch* is therefore in the wrong to refute this Circumstance of the History whereof the Tragic Poets make mention, and *Eliau* too; so that *Pausanias*, we see, is not the only one who speaks of it.

The same *Plutarch* also refutes the History of *Muni-*
tes, or *Municbus*, who was, we are told, the Son of
Demo-

(1) In *Phoc.*

Demophoon and *Laodice*, *Priam's* Daughter. Another Circumstance is, that *Ethra*, who was *Helen's* Slave, took Care of that Child, whose Birth, and the Amours of his Father and Mother, were a secret Adventure. The same Author, citing a Verse from the third Book of the *Iliad*, wherein *Homer*, speaking of *Helen's* Slaves, names *Ethra* the Daughter of *Pitheus*, says several Authors consider that Verse as spurious. The History of the Captivity of *Theseus's* Mother is however very well confirmed by the Authors I have cited: And I know not what *M. Dacier* means in his Note upon that Verse in *Homer*, where he says, “For they reckon (that is, they who hold this Verse to be spurious) “it “is not probable that *Homer* would have given the Appellation of *Helen's* Waiting-Maid to *Ethra*, who “was her Mother-in-Law, and who had reigned at “*Athens*.” He seems to suppose that *Theseus* had married that Princess, and that she was consequently *Ethra's* Daughter-in-law. 'Tis certain, however, that *Helen* was then very young, and a Child, as the same *Plutarch* tells us; and that *Theseus*, after having carried her off, concealed her at *Aphidnes*, and saw her no more, the *Tyndaridæ* having set her at Liberty, while he was confined in *Aidoneus's* Prison. Again, Where did he find that *Ethra* had reigned at *Athens* with her Son?

Plutarch says it was one named *Academos* that pointed out to the *Tyndaridæ* the Place where their Sister was: But he is mistaken, and it is better to adhere to *Herodotus* (1), who affirms that *Aphidnes* was taken by the Treachery of *Titacus*. From thence the *Tyndaridæ* went to *Athens*, where they were very well received by the *Pallantidæ*. We are further told, that they even expell'd from that City the Children of *Theseus*, and strengthened the Party of the *Pallantidæ*, who gave them, upon that Occasion, the Name of *Anaces*. *Elian* attributes all this to *Mnestheus*, the Successor of *Theseus*. The Passage in that Author is to this Effect: *Mnestheus, the Son of Pertheus, shewed not himself ungrateful to*
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(1) L. 3.

the Tyndaridæ: For, in regard that they expelled Theseus's Children, led Captive his Mother Ethra, and restored to him the Kingdom of Athens, he was the first who called them Anaces, or Anactes; because, in Fact, they had taken great Care of the Athenians, and of their City. This Word, in the Greek Language, comes from Anassein, to take Care; hence Kings were called Anactes, because they have, or ought to have, the Care of their People.

The rest of *Theseus's* Life was nothing but one continued Series of Misfortunes. I shall not resume what I have said in the History of *Minos* the second, of the Adventures that befel him in his Expedition to *Crete*; but I shall observe here, that *Phedra* was, in part, the Cause of all those Disasters. It is well known that she being in Love with *Hippolitus*, whom *Theseus* had by the Amazon *Antiope*, but finding him insensible, accused him to her Husband, when he was returned from *Epirus*, for having attempted to debauch her; that he, without examining so odious an Affair to the Bottom, devoted him to *Neptune*, who put him to a miserable Death.

On the other Hand, the *Pallantide*, taking Advantage of his Absence, had redoubled their Cabals, and gained over several of those who still adhered to him at his setting out; insomuch, that when he would have continued to govern as before, he only raised Seditions and Disorders thereby in the City; for they who hated him at his Departure, joined Insolence and Contempt to Hatred; and the People was now so corrupted and debauched, that instead of being pliable, and giving voluntary Obedience, as they had done formerly, they would needs be flatter'd and caressed. He tried to reduce them by Force; but finding this only inflamed the Disease, and that there were now no Means of re-establishing his Affairs, he sent secretly his Children into *Eubœa*, to *Elphenor* the Son of *Chalcedon*; and as for himself, he repaired to the Village of *Gaiette*, poured out Imprecations upon the *Athenians*, in a Place which is called at this Day, *the Place of Maledictions*, and embarked

barked for the Island of *Scyros*, where he thought to have found Friends, and where he had some Estate by his Father's Side. *Lycomedes* was then King of that Island. *Theseus*, upon his Arrival at his Court, begg'd of him only to restore him his Lands, that he might be able there to pass the Remainder of his Days. Others will have it, that he applied to him for Assistance against the *Athenians*. *Lycomedes*, either jealous of a Person of such high Character, or being gained over by *Mnestheus*, led him up to the highest Mountain, as with an Intention to shew him the Island, and then threw him down headlong from a Rock. There are Historians however, who write that he fell of himself, having unhappily stumbled as he was walking one Evening after Supper, as his manner was. There was no immediate Examination made into the Manner of his Death. *Mnestheus* reigned at *Athens* in Peace, while the Sons of *Theseus* in the Quality of private Persons, accompanied *Elphenor* to the War of *Troy*; but after the Death of *Mnestheus*, they returned to *Athens*, and re-ascended the Throne. The *Æra* of this Heroe's Death ought to be placed, if we may believe the *Parian* Marbles, in the thirteenth Year of *Mnestheus's* Reign. Now that Prince had already reigned two Years, when *Theseus* died in the Island of *Scyros*. 'Tis very probable, as able Chronologists alledge, that his Father *Egeus* had admitted him to share the Crown in his Lifetime; if this was not the Case, we will find difficulty to adjust the Chronology of those Times. *Theseus* must have been pretty far advanced in Years, being born about seventy Years before the Siege of *Troy*, and fourscore before the Destruction of that City. *Hercules* older than he, was dead about twenty or twenty-five Years before. Thus it was only in his Youth, and after his Departure from *Trezene*, that *Theseus* accompanied that Heroe in most of his Expeditions.

Theseus had three Wives; *Antiope* the Queen of the *Amazons*, by whom he had *Hippolitus*: of him we shall speak in the History of *Phedra*; *Ariadne*, by whom, according to some Authors he had *Oenopion* and *Staphylus*;

philus ; and *Pheдра*, by whom he had *Demophoon*, who ascended the Throne after the Death of *Mnestheus*, which happened while he was returning from the *Trojan War*.

Theseus had signalized himself by too many illustrious Achievements not to be ranked after his Death among the Heroes or Demi-Gods. He had even shewed some Piety to the Gods notwithstanding all the Irregularities of his Life, since upon his Return from one of his Expeditions, he went to the Temple of *Delphos*, there to consecrate to *Apollo* a Part of his Hair, in imitation of *Bacchus* who had cut his into a round Figure, leaving none of it but from the Crown of his Head to his Ears. *Hector* imitated both of them afterwards ; and as that Tonsure of *Bacchus* had been called *Bacchic*, and that of *Theseus*, *Theseid*, so that of *Hector* was termed *Hectorid*.

Not only did *Theseus* receive the Honours that were paid to Heroes, but he was also advanced to the Rank of the Gods ; a Temple was built in his Honour, which became afterwards very famous, and whereof the Ruins are to be seen at this Day, or at least the Place where it stood. The Sacrifices were offered to him on the eighth Day of each Month, especially of *October*, which was the Day of his return from *Crete*. This Sacrifice was called *Ogdolion*, the Sacrifice of the eighth Day.

Pausanias speaks of the fine Paintings that were to be seen in that Temple, and which represented the Battle between the *Athenians* and the *Amazons*, that of the *Centaur*s and the *Lapithæ*, &c. The same Author makes also mention of the heroic Monument which the same *Theseus* had at *Athens*, near the Hill for Horses, and which he had in common with *Pirithous*, *Oedipus* and *Adrastus*.

Plutarch agrees to the Truth of *Theseus's* having Honours paid him, but at the same time he says it was not till several Ages after his Death that the *Athenians* honoured him as a God, on the Occasion which he relates. At the Battle of *Marathon*, says he, he was thought to appear in Armour, fighting against the Barbarians ;

barians; and after the Wars with the *Medes*, in the Year of *Phedon's* Archonship, the *Athenians* having consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, the Prophets enjoined them to collect the Bones of *Theseus*, to bury them in the most honourable Place among themselves, and to keep them with a great deal of Care. But if it was difficult to find the Place where he was interred, it was still more so to transport his Bones, by reason of the savage Fierceness of the People who were in Possession of them, an intractable Race, who had no Commerce with their Neighbours. At length however, *Cimon* having made himself Master of their Island, was resolved at any rate to find out his Tomb. While search was making on all sides, he happily saw an Eagle pecking at a rising Ground, and trying to open it with its Pounces. Forthwith struck as with a divine Inspiration, he ordered to rake into that Place, and there was found the Coffin of a very large Man, with the Head of a Pike and a Sword. All these *Cimon* put into his Ship, and carried them to *Athens*. The *Athenians* overjoyed, received these Relicks of Arms with Processions and Sacrifices, as if it had been *Theseus* himself returned to Life, and buried them in the middle of the City, near the Place where their Exercises are at this Day performed. That Spot of Ground very soon became a Sanctuary for Slaves, and for all those who dreaded the Violence of their Prosecutors. As *Theseus* in his Life-time had been the Protector of the Unfortunate, and had always favourably received the Prayers of those who implored his Aid against Oppressors, the World consecrated him to the same Dignity after his Death.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Castor and Pollux.

AS *Castor* and *Pollux* were two of the principal *Argonauts*, who distinguished themselves in the Expedition to *Colchis*, no less by their Piety to the Gods, than by their Courage and Valour, I ought to give my Readers the History of their Life. There is something

thing singular in the Fable of their Birth; we are told that *Leda* (1) the Wife of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*, was beloved by *Jupiter*; that he having found her upon the Banks of the *Eurotas*, a River in *Laconia*, had *Venus* transformed into an Eagle, and he himself assumed the Figure of a Swan, who being pursued by the Eagle, flew for shelter into the Arms of *Leda* who was with Child, and at the End of nine Months she brought forth two Eggs, whereof the one produced *Pollux* and *Helen*, and the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*: The two first were reckoned the Children of *Jupiter*, and the other two claimed *Tyndarus* for their Father. Tho' this Tradition is the most general, *Apollodorus* however (2) relates the Story otherwise, and says *Jupiter* being in love with *Nemesis*, transformed himself into a Swan, and metamorphosed his Mistress into a Duck, adding it was she that gave *Leda* the Egg which she had hatched, and that consequently she was the real Mother of the Twin-Brothers. Some Authors, in order to explain this Fable, say it has no other Foundation but the Beauty of *Helen*, and especially the Length and Whiteness of her Neck, resembling that of a Swan (a). Others alledge that this Princess acted some Scene of Gallantry upon the Banks of the *Eurotas*, where perhaps there were a great many Swans, and that to save her Honour, it was given out that *Jupiter* himself had been enamour'd of her, and transformed himself into a Swan; and we may say whenever the Fable gives a Foundation to such Glosses, they are the true Key to it.

However, I reject not the Conjecture of those who will have it that *Leda* had introduced her Gallant into the highest Apartment of her Palace; which was usually of an oval Figure, and called among the *Lacedemonians* *ωὄν*, which gave rise to the Fiction of the Egg (3). Be that as it will, *Castor* and *Pollux* signalized themselves by so many illustrious Actions, that they

(1) Euripid. Ovid. Epist. of Helen to Paris. (2) Book 3.

(a) See *Mezeriac* upon the Epistle of *Helen* to *Paris*.

(3) Celsus Cael. Poet. Astron.

they had a just Claim to be reputed Sons of *Jupiter*, which is the Import of *Dioscūri*, the Name given them, and which they bore ever afterwards. Some will have it that *Glaucus*, when he appear'd in the *Propontis* to the *Argonauts*, was the first who gave them this Appellation (1). It was in the Expedition to *Colchis* especially that these two Heroes distinguished themselves, and rendered themselves worthy of the Name they bore. In the Storm that was like to have over-set the Ship *Argo*, they made a Vow with *Orpheus*, to get themselves initiated into the Mysteries of *Samothece*, and to repair to that Island to return Thanks to the Gods who were worship'd there, for their Preservation from the Dangers to which they and their Companions in the Expedition had been exposed. They even carried away in *Colchis* a Statue of *Mars*, named *Theritas*, whether this was the Name given in that Country to the God of War, or that of his Muse; and they transported it into *Greece*, where it was preserved for several Ages (2).

Pollux slew the famous *Amychus* who challenged all the World at the Gauntlet-Fight; this Victory and that which he gained afterwards at the Olympic Games, which *Hercules* celebrated in *Elis*, made him be reckon'd the Heroe and Patron of Wrestlers; while his Brother *Castor* distinguished himself in the Race, and in the Art of breaking Horses: *Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis nobilem*, as *Horace* says (3) after *Homer* (a), who calls him a Breaker of Horses.

These two Heroes; after the Expedition to *Colchis*, signalized themselves by Sea, and cleared the *Archipelago* of the Pirates who infested it; which served not a little, after their Death, to make them pass for two Divinities friendly to Sailors; but the Adventure, whether true or fabulous, which befel them during the Voyage of the *Argonauts*; contributed more than any thing else to this Fable. We are told that during the

L 3

Storm

(1) Philostrat. in the Picture of *Glaucus*. (2) Pausan. in Lacon.

(3) Carm. l. 1.

(a) Fliny, L. 2, cap. 23. and elsewhere.

Storm now mentioned, two Fires were seen to play around the Heads of the *Tyndaridæ*, and very soon after the Storm ceased. These Fires, which often appear by Sea in Time of a Storm, were afterwards reckoned the Fires of *Castor* and *Pollux*. When two of them were seen at a Time, it was a prognostic of fair Weather; when only one of them appeared, it was an infallible Sign of an approaching Storm, and then they invoked the Aid of those two Heroes (1). The same Notion still prevails as to the Presage of these Fires; and all the Effect that Religion has produced, is to change their Names, they being now called St. *Elme's* and St. *Nicholas's* Fires.

The Zeal which these two Princes had expressed for being initiated into the Mysteries that were celebrated in *Samothrace*, contributed not a little to heighten their Reputation. The Gods in honour of whom those Mysteries were instituted, were the *Cabiri*, whom I have spoke of in the first Volume, and there was nothing in those Ages of Darkness more sacred and revered than these Mysteries; People had a violent Desire to participate of them, because it was thought a Means to procure the Favour of those Gods, especially during Navigation, as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks.

The *Athenians* charmed with the Moderation of these two Princes (2), who after they had taken the City *Aphidnes*, to avenge the Wrong done to their Sister, had only punished those who had been concerned in the Rape, gave them the Name of *Anaëtes*, which imports *Kings*, and in honour of them, instituted a Festival under the same Name.

Moderation and Piety, especially when supported by no stronger Motives than those which Paganism supplied, can hardly stand out against violent Passions. *Lynceus* and *Idas* being about to marry *Phæbe* and *Hilaria*, the Daughters of *Leucippus*, invited to the Feast *Castor* and *Pollux*, the near Relations of the two young Virgins, their Father being *Tyndarus's* Brother; but they themselves falling in love with them, ravished them,
married

(1) Loc. cit. (2) Plut. in Theseo.

married them, and had two Children by them, whom *Pausanias* (1) names *Anascis* and *Menasinus*, who afterwards had Statues at *Corinth*, in the Temple built in Honour of their Fathers (a).

The two Spouses stung to the Quick with this outrageous Insult, having met with their Rivals some time after, fought with them, and *Castor* slew *Lynceus*; but *Idas* avenged his Death by killing the Murderer of his Brother. *Pollux* again avenged *Castor* and slew *Idas*, or as some Authors will have it, he was struck dead by *Jupiter* himself with a Thunder-bolt.

With respect to this Event, as well as others, there occurs some Variation among the Ancients; and the manner in which *Apollodorus* relates this Adventure, bears not such an odious Aspect towards the *Tyndaridæ*, tho' it makes them not quite inexcusable, since it associates them in an Act of Injustice. They were joined with *Idas* and *Lynceus* in carrying off some Flocks; but the latter having refused to make a Division of the Booty, *Castor* and *Pollux* resolved to take Satisfaction for this Injury, and having raised Troops, entered into *Messenia*, carried off the Cattle of *Idas* and *Lynceus*, and laid an Ambuscade for them; but the latter having descry'd *Castor* hiding himself near an Oak-tree, shewed him to *Idas*, who put him to Death.

In whatever Manner the Fact happened, 'tis certain, 1. That *Castor* and *Pollux* had no other Wives but their two Cousins, nor other Children but those I have named: 2. That *Castor* was slain in the Scuffle now mentioned, as also *Idas* and *Lynceus*; and the Race of *Aphareus* being extinct by their Death, the Crown of the *Messenians* was transferred into *Nestor's* Family.

As *Pollux* was reputed immortal, being the Son of *Jupiter*, we are told he supplicated his Father to put him to Death, or to share his Immortality with his Brother. *Jupiter* heard his Prayer, so that when

L 4

Castor

(1) In *Corinth*.

(a) The two Wives whom we have named had likewise a Temple in *Laconia*, according to the same *Pausanias*; and the Priestesses who did the Service of the Temple, as also the Goddesses themselves, were called *Leucippides*.

Castor recovered Life, *Pollux* lost it, and when *Pollux* returned into the World, *Castor* re-entered the Kingdom of the Dead. This, by the way, is that alternative Life and Death of which the Poets have said so much after *Homer* (1) and *Pindar*, and which *Virgil* has so well expressed (a); the Foundation of which Fiction is, that the two Princes I am speaking of being dead, and advanced to the Rank of Gods, they formed in the Heavens the Sign of the Twins; and because one of the two Stars of which it is composed sets when the other rises, hence the Fable now mentioned took its Birth.

The *Romans* perpetuated the Memory of this Fiction in a pretty singular Manner, by sending every Year on the Day of the Feast of the *Tyndaridæ* near their Temple, a Man with a Cap like theirs, mounted upon Horseback, and leading another Horse in his Hand on which no Body rode, intimating thereby that only one of the two Brothers appeared at a Time.

But this much is certain, that both of them had been buried near *Scias*, a Town in *Laconia*; and by a strange Incongruity, whereof Man is but too capable, their Temple was shewn near the very Place where their Tomb stood, as if it had been possible for one to partake of Divinity, when he could not triumph over Death. Their Deification, according to *Pausanias* and the other Ancients, was only put off for forty Years. At first they were considered as Heroes; but afterwards they were reckoned in the Number of the Gods of *Greece*, and got the Surname of *Ambulii* and *Aphefii* (b). The Author now mentioned, speaks of the Temple they had at *Sparta*, and of another at *Athens*, wherein
divine

(1) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(a) *Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,*

Itque reditque viam toties.

Æneid. l. 6.

(b) These two Epithets are only applicable to the great Gods of the *Pagans*, and they had been given to *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. The first signified *Prolongation*, and it was a prevailing Opinion that those Gods to whom it belonged prolonged Life. The second, which imports, *Starting*, *Emissio*, was peculiar to the *Tyndaridæ*, who were thought to preside over the Barriers, whence they who run the Races at the public Games set out. *Paus. in Lac.*

divine Honours were paid to them. The first of these two Cities was the Place of their Nativity, and they had done signal Service to the Second, by saving it from being pillaged. The same Author likewise makes mention of another Temple which was at *Corinth*, and of Statues raised to them in the little Island of *Sphanos*, whereof, according to the Poet *Alcman*, they were Natives.

The *Romans*, who afterwards adopted their Worship, held them always in high Veneration, and erected a Temple to them on occasion of the Aid they believed themselves to have received from them near the Lake *Rhegillum*. As they also adopted the *Greek* Fables, their Authors make mention of several Apparitions of these two Divinities. *Cicero* (1) makes one of his Speakers say, they were believed to have foretold to *Vanitus*, the Victory he gained over the *Persians*; but as he was not very credulous, he gives no great Credit to that Revelation, since he says *Homer*, who lived not long after these Heroes (2), informs us, that they were interred at *Lacedemon* or near by; whence he justly concludes, that they were not capable to come and predict future Events. *Justin* seriously relates, how in a Battle between the *Locrians* and the *Crotoniates*, two young Men appeared mounted on white Steeds, who were taken for *Castor* and *Pollux*. But the Adventure of two *Messenians*, which *Pausanias* speaks of (3), shews us what we are to think of those Sorts of Apparitions. These two young Men handsome and well made, were called *Panormus* and *Gonipus*, and belonged to a Place named *Andania*. They chose the Time when the *Lacedemonians* were celebrating the Feast of the *Dioscuri*, clad themselves in white Tunics with purple Cassocks, covered their Heads with Caps like the *Locrians*, and mounted the finest Horses they could find. In this Equipage, and armed with Lances, they entered *Laconia*, and repaired to the Place where the *Lacedemonians* were assembled for Sacrifice. Forthwith they were taken for the Gods themselves, whose

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 2. (2) Pausan. in Lacon. (3) Ibid.

whose Feast they were celebrating, and while the *Lacedemonians* were prostrating themselves before them, the two *Messenians* rush'd in upon them, cut off several of them, and then made their Escape. This sacrilegious Action, for the *Messenians* also worship'd the *Dioscuri*, was reckoned afterwards the Cause of the Calamities that overwhelmed *Messenia*; and they were not wanting to attribute them to the Hatred of the incensed *Tyndaridæ*. Accordingly, when *Epaminondas* had a Mind to repair *Messene*, one of the principal Objects of his Care was to appease the Wrath of those Gods by Sacrifices. He had seen in a Dream (1), says *Pausanias*, a venerable old Man, who, in order to excite him to repair that City, assured him that their Wrath, which hitherto had led them to distress the *Messenians*, was at length ceased, and they now satisfied.

A Passage in *Homer*, wherein that Poet says, *Helen* asked of the *Grecian* Deputies who were come to *Troy*, News of *Castor* and *Pollux* her Brothers, supposes that she knew not then of their being dead, and at the same Time that they had died since she came to that City. Now according to the same Poet, she had been then twenty Years in that City; it was therefore during that Interval her Brothers had died. It was not certainly after the Siege was begun, otherwise they had undoubtedly joined their Brothers-in-Law *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, in revenging the Injury done to their Sister *Helen*. Consequently it must have been during the Preparations for the War that they died; and this lets us know the time of their Death precisely enough, tho' we cannot determine the Year wherein it happened.

But to proceed, these two Heroes were usually represented on Medals and other Monuments, under the Figure of two young Men, with a Bonnet, on the Top of which is a Star, as may be seen in one of these Medals of the Family *Sulpitia*, quoted by *Oyzel* (2); but more commonly by Statues, where they were either
on

(1) *Pausan.* in *Messen.* (2) *Fab.* 41.

on Horseback, or have their Horses by them (1); in like manner every time they are said to have appeared to Men, it is always on Horseback.

They who take the Art of Riding to be later than the Siege of *Troy*, where indeed they fought in Chariots, endeavour to evade the Arguments brought from those Representations; but these are the very Arguments which demonstrate that this Art is more ancient than they take it to be. I have no Design to enter into that Question which is foreign to my Subject, and which is treated thoroughly in *The Memoirs of the Academy of the Belles Lettres* (2); but were it no more but the Example of the *Centaurs*, who were in reality Horsemen of *Thessaly*, and who lived before the Siege of *Troy*, and what *Homer* says in speaking of the Horses of *Rhesus*, which *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* carried off, and rode away upon them without any Saddle, putting them forward with their Bows for want of Whips, this alone would be sufficient to prove riding to have been in use in *Greece* before that *Æra*. Besides, is it to be thought that the Shepherds when they found their Flocks straying, would not be directed by Nature herself, to mount their Horses to gather them again together? Is not this Way of breaking those Animals both easier and more natural, than to harness and yoke them for drawing Chariots? An Usage which was only instituted for Convenience and Show. I said in *Greece*; for as to the eastern Countries, riding was known there from the earliest Periods of Time. *Moses*, in the Song he composed after the Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*, very plainly distinguishes (3) the *Egyptian* Horsemen who were drowned, from those who rode in Chariots; and as he says in one Place, *Currus Pharaonis - - projecit in mare*; so he adds in another, *equum & ascensorem ejus*, &c.

Such were the famous *Dioscuri* and the Gods *Anaëtes* of the *Greeks*, who, as we have seen, have nothing in common

(1) Pausan. in Lacon. Attic. Corinth. &c. (2) Tom. VII. &c.

(3) Exod. c. 15. v. 1. & 4.

common with those of the Orientals whom we have fully discoursed of in the first Volume.

C H A P. X.

The History of Orpheus.

SOME Authors relying upon a Passage in *Cicero* (1), alledge that *Orpheus* never had an Existence; and that all the Accounts of this celebrated Man delivered in Antiquity are but mere Fictions, grounded upon the various Etymologies that may be given of his Name. True it is that Author; or rather *Cotta*, one of his Speakers, asserts that this was *Aristotle's* Sentiment: *Orpheum Poetam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse*; but besides its being very difficult to discover from *Cicero's* Books on the Nature of the Gods, what his real Opinions are, 'tis usual for him to put such Words in the Mouths of his Speakers; rather to deliver the several Opinions that were in vogue in his Time, than to adopt any one of them himself; besides, would his bare Authority, granting him even to be of *Cotta's* Opinion, counter-balance that of all Antiquity, which admitted not only one but several *Orpheus's*; and that upon the single Foundation of a Passage in *Aristotle*, which is even not extant now in his Works, and who might be singular in his Opinion of that great Man?

In Fact, *Aristophanes*, in his Comedy of the Frogs (2); *Euripides* (3), *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Onomacritus*, *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Ovid*, *Valerius Flaccus*, and several others among the Poets; *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Apollodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Hyginus*, &c. among the Philosophers, Historians, and Mythologists, make no doubt but that there was an *Orpheus*. In a Word, we would be obliged to quote all the Ancients, who have spoke of him as a Man who had a real Existence, were we to trace his traditional History. Besides, his Name occurs in all the Lists of those who have spoke of the

(1) De Nat. Deor. l. 3. (2) Ver. 1064. (3) In his Hippolitus.

the *Argonauts*; and we have as little Reason to doubt of his Existence, as of any of the other Warriors who are named in those Catalogues.

'Tis true, many Fables have been uttered in relation to him; but these Fables are easy to be understood and explained: And what famous Man is there in that Age of Heroes, who has not had the same Fate? After so many Authors, whose formal Testimonies I might have quoted, were it not for fear of being tedious, what shall we think of some Etymologies, which those who understand the Oriental Languages lay so great Stress upon? Because the *Phenician* Word *Ariph* signifies *Knowing*, shall we say with *Vossius* (1), that this Word gave Rise to the fictitious Name and Existence of some Man of profound Knowledge, whom they called *Orpheus*? Or with *Turnerus*, that the *Hebrew* Word *Rapha*, which imports *to cure*, made the pretended *Orpheus* pass for a great Physician? This is what will not be very easy to be believed; and I would, at least, rather say with *M. le Clerc* (2), without denying the Existence of that famous Man, that by confounding two *Greek* Words, he came to be taken for an expert-Singer, instead of a Conjurer who professed Necromancy, as shall be said afterwards; and 'tis true in Fact, that the Hymns which are ascribed to him, resemble Pieces of Conjuratation more than real Songs.

Having thus established the Existence of *Orpheus*, two Points remain to be discussed. First, I am to deliver the History of his Life, according to the most generally received Traditions; and in the second Place, explain the Fables that are interwove into it. But I would give the Reader previous Notice, that he will find great Lights into both from the learned Notes of *M. Burette* upon *Plutarch's* Treatise of Musick (3), and in the Dissertation of *Christian Escherbach*, intitled, *Epigenes de Poesi & Philosophia Orphica*.

Orpheus is one of the most famous, as it is one of the most ancient Names in the Poetry and Musick of the
Greeks.

(1) De Nat. Poet. c. 3. sect. 3. (2) Bibl. univers. Tom. 15. p. 99.

(3) Mem. d' l' Acad. des Belles-Lettres, T. x. p. 262, &c.

Greeks. He was in flourishing Reputation at the Time of the *Argonautic Expedition*, that is, before the *Trojan War*. Some reckon to the Number of Five of them, of whom they tell us some Particularities; and 'tis highly probable that it fared with *Orpheus* as with *Hercules*, that many Actions were ascribed to one, which possibly belonged to several.

Orpheus was the Son of *Æagrus*, King of *Thrace* (1), and of the Muse *Calliope*, the Father of *Museus*, and Disciple of *Linus*; it was only to add a greater Lustre to his Birth and Talents, particularly as to Musick and Poetry, that he was said afterwards to be the Son of *Apollo*. As he applied himself a great deal to Matters of Religion, and undertook several Voyages to improve himself in that Science, he very soon united in his own Person the Dignity of Pontif with that of King; and this is what makes *Horace* give him the Title (2) of *Minister and Interpreter of the Gods*. As to Musick, he especially applied himself to the Harp, and brought that Instrument to Perfection; accordingly, those who came after him made it their Business to imitate him, whereas he had no Model to copy after (3), since before him we hear only of *Airs* set to the Flute. It was to demonstrate how much he excelled in playing on that Instrument, that he was said to have received it from *Apollo* or *Mercury*, and to have even added two Strings to the seven which it had before. To him is also attributed the Invention of *Hexameter Verse*. The Connection between Poetry and the most sublime Sciences of that Time made *Orpheus* not only a Philosopher, but also a great Divine. He had some Sentiments, however, that were peculiar to himself. He abstained, for Instance, from eating of Flesh, and had an Abhorrence to Eggs, considered as Food; from a Persuasion that the Egg was elder than the Chick, and the Principle of all Beings. A Sentiment relating to the *Cosmogony* he had borrowed from the *Egyptians*, and which I have sufficiently explained in the first Volume.

As

{1} Diodor. l. 4. {2} Art. Poet. {3} Plut. in Orpheo.

As to Theology, he had his first Instructions therein from his Father *Æagrus*, who taught him the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, as they were then practised in *Thrace*. He became afterwards the Disciple of the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida* in *Crete*, and from his Intercourse with them he got new Insight into the Ceremonies of Religion. But nothing contributed more to improve him in that kind, than his Expedition to *Egypt*. There it was, that having got himself initiated into the Mysteries of *Isis* or *Ceres*, and of *Osiris* or *Bacchus*, he acquired Insight into the Rites of Initiation, Expiation, Funerals, and other Points of religious Worship, far superior to what he had gained till then. *Diodorus Siculus*, who speaks of that Voyage, and says he learned by it the Fable of the infernal Regions, the *Orgies*, and other Mysteries, that were adopted by the *Greeks*, adds, that it was inserted in the Annals of the *Egyptian* Priests; where mention was also made of other *Greeks* who had travelled into the same Country, such as *Museus*, *Melampus*, &c. He says, there were Marks to be shewn that all of them had passed some Time in that Country, such as their Picture, or some Place that bore their Name; which is an uncontestable Proof of the Expedition I have now mentioned.

Orpheus, at his Return to *Greece*, communicated to that Country the Knowledge he had acquired in *Egypt*, accommodating himself to the Notions of the People of the Country, and he made himself regarded among them, by persuading them that he understood the Secret of expiating Crimes, of purifying Criminals, of curing the Sick, and of appeasing the incensed Gods. Upon the Model of the Funeral Rites of the *Egyptians*, he contrived a Hell, the Idea whereof diffused itself over all *Greece*. He instituted the Mysteries and Worship of *Hecate Chthonia*, or the *Terrestrial*, among the *Eginetæ*, and that of *Ceres* at *Sparta*, and made so many other Alterations in the System of the Religion of the *Greeks*, that he may be reckoned one of their greatest Divines, and one of their first Reformers. Nor was it only in Matters of Religion he made those Alterations,

terations, he made also considerable ones in the Manners of that Age, as shall be said in explaining one of the Fables that is wrought into his History. In fine, he distinguished himself so much both by his Talents, and by the Blessings he procured to Society, that he became one of the most illustrious Men of his Time.

His Wife being dead, he went into a Place in *Thesprotia* called *Aornos*, where an ancient Oracle delivered Responses by calling up the Dead. There he was again bless'd with a Sight of his dear *Eurydice*, and believing he had actually recovered her, flatter'd himself that she was to follow him; but looking back, and seeing her no more, he was so afflicted, that he killed himself through Despair.

Some Authors will have it that he was Thunder-struck, as a Punishment for having revealed the most secret Mysteries to the Profane. According to another Tradition, the Women in *Thrace*, vexed that their Husbands abandoned them to go after him, laid Ambuscades for him; and in spite of Fear which withheld them for some time, they at length put him to Death. *Plutarch* (1) asserts, that the *Thracians* even in his Time, stigmatized their Wives to revenge that Death. Others again make him to have fallen by Women, tho' not in *Thrace* but *Macedonia*, near the City of *Dion* (2), where his Sepulchre, was to be seen, which consisted in a Marble Urn set upon a Pillar. We are told however, that this Monument was at *Libethra*, the Place of *Orpheus's* Birth, whence it was transferred to *Dion* by the *Macedonians*, after the Ruin of *Libethra* buried under Water in a sudden Inundation, occasioned by a dreadful Storm. *Pausanius* who gives a full Account of this Event (3), says the *Libethrians* having sent to consult the Oracle of *Bacchus* which was in *Thrace*, to know what was to be the Fate of their City, the Answer was, that so soon as the Sun shone upon *Orpheus's* Bones, *Sus* should destroy their City. As that Word signifies a *Hog* or *Boar*, the *Libethrians*

continued

(1) De Ser. Nup. Viad.

(2) See Paus. in Beot. c. 30.

(3) Ibid. p. 770.

continued undisturbed, not being able to imagine that such an Animal should be the Cause of so great a Calamity to them. One Day about the Hour of Noon, a Shepherd having fallen asleep near *Orpheus's* Tomb, fell a singing in his Sleep; but in so soft and moving a Strain, that those who heard him run up to the Sound, and were followed by such Crowds of People; that having pressed hard upon one another, they overthrew the Pillar on which was the Urn that contained *Orpheus's* Bones, which broke in falling. The Night after, a great Storm occasioned an overflowing of the *Sus*, a Torrent which rolled down from Mount *Olympus*, so that the City *Libethra* was buried under the Water, and the Oracle, whose Sense had not been understood, was fulfilled.

To conclude, *Plato* in his Banquet, makes one of his Speakers pleasantly say, that *Orpheus* was punished by the Gods for having feigned Grief at *Eurydice's* Death which he did not feel, and that instead of having killed himself in good earnest, as *Alcestes*, and thereby deserving to revisit the Light of Day, the same Gods had permitted him to enjoy but for a Moment the Sight of his Wife, or rather of her Phantom, and then to be torn in Pieces, even by Women.

As for the Poems of *Orpheus*, which we have already mentioned, they were very short and not numerous; according to *Pausanias* (1). The *Lycomides*, an *Athenian* Family, had them all by Heart, and sung them at the Celebration of their Mysteries. In respect of Elegance, continues the same Author, these Hymns are inferior to those of *Homer*; but Religion having adopted the former, gives them the Preference to the other in Point of Honour. Further, we have none of the Works of that ancient Poet now extant, those which go under his Name, such as the *Argonautics*; the Poem upon the Stones, and divers Fragments which *Henry Stephen* has collected into a Book intitled, *Poesis Philosophica*, are either the Works of *Onomacritus*; who was contemporary with *Pisistratus*; or of some other un-

known Author. But I advise those who would be thoroughly acquainted with the Works attributed to *Orpheus*, to consult the learned *Fabritius* (1).

2. To come now to the Explanation of the Fables that are interwove into this Life, I shall begin with that which we have in *Pausanias* (2), who seems to reason justly upon this Subject. “ Among the Fables, “ says he, which the *Greeks* set forth as Truths, we “ may reckon this ; that *Orpheus* was the Son of *Callicope* ; I mean the Muse *Calliope*, and not *Pierus*’s Daughter ; that by the Sweetness of his Song he “ drew the Beasts after him ; that he even descended “ alive into the infernal Regions, and that having “ charmed *Pluto*, and the Divinities of those subterraneous Mansions, he brought back his Wife from “ thence. These are so many Fictions, thro’ which “ I can find out that *Orpheus* was a great Poet, much “ superior to all those who had been before him, who “ gained high esteem by teaching Men the Ceremonies of Religion, and by persuading them that he “ found out the Art of expiating Crimes, of purifying those who had committed them, of curing the “ Sick, and of appeasing the Wrath of the Gods.” &c.

It was, to mention it by the way, the Journey to *Theſprotia* that gave rise to *Orpheus*’s pretended Journey to Hell. He is even said to have described this Journey under that Idea in his Poem of the *Argonauts*, which is not the one we have now extant under that Title. The Poets who followed him have given loose Reins to their Imagination on this Head. *Virgil*, among others (3), says that *Orpheus* having descended into *Pluto*’s Kingdom, charmed the Ghosts so much, that forgetting their Tortures, they danced to the Sound of his Harp ; that *Ixion* ceased from turning his Wheel, and that the cruel Vulture left *Tityus* some Intervals of Ease ; that *Pluto* himself charmed, was unable to withhold from him his Wife *Eurydice* ; but that having granted her to him only on Condition that he

(1) Bib. Græc. v. 1. (2) In Beot. (3) Georg. l. 4.

he would not look upon her till she had got out of Hell, he lost thro' his own Curiosity a Blessing which had cost him so dear.

Further, this whole Fiction is founded upon this; that Magic was highly in vogue in those Times, especially in *Egypt*. One of the most common Ceremonies in that detestable Art, was the calling up the Souls of the Dead (1); and so far was it from being reckoned Criminal, that it was practised even by the Ministers of sacred Things, in Temples destined for that Purpose.

But if this Explanation of the Fable of *Eurydice* does not satisfy some Readers, we may say with *Tzetzes* (2), that *Orpheus* cured his Wife of the Bite of a Serpent; but that she having died soon after, perhaps by her own Fault, hence it was said that he had brought her up from the infernal Regions, but that she had fallen back thither again. *Orpheus*, if we may believe the same Author, had learned from the *Egyptians*, among several other Secrets, that of charming Serpents, and of curing their Stings. The Inhabitants of *Colchis* an *Egyptian* Colony which *Sesostris* had left there, had brought thither this Secret: Accordingly we have seen that *Medea* with some Herbs charmed the Dragon which kept the *Golden Fleece*. As that Princess, according to the *Argonautic* Authors, passed into *Italy* with *Jason*, *Servius* says (3), she communicated that Secret to the *Marsi*, who inhabited on the Banks of the *Fucine Lake*. In fine, several other People knew the same Art; but a longer Digression would be foreign to my present Purpose.

The Fable importing that *Orpheus* drew after him Animals moved with the melodious Accents of his Voice and Lyre, and that he tamed the fiercest Tygers and Lions; is to be understood as a lively and ingenious Allegory, denoting the Perfection to which he had carried Poetry and Music; or if we understand it with *Horace*, it informs us that *Orpheus* civilized the

M 2

savage

(1) See the Article of Evocations, V. I. B. 4. (2) *Chil.* 1. of his sacred History. (3) In *Lib.* 7. *Æn.* 5. v. 750.

savage Manners of the *Greeks* of his Time, who used to destroy one another like wild Beasts; having reclaimed them from a savage and rustic Life, to the Sweets of Union and Society; and having at last induced them to substitute in place of Acorns, or at least of wild Fruits, a more convenient and wholesome Food (a).

This is the Sense in which I take the Words of that Poet, *Cædibus & fædo victu*. The *Abbé Fraguier* in a Dissertation upon the *Orphic Life*, understands these Expressions in a stricter Sense, alledging that the *Thracians* were real Cannibals who ate up one another, and that *Orpheus* not only abolished this Custom among that People; but to draw them off from it still more, entirely prohibited them from the Use of Meat, and whatever had Life; and that 'tis in this Sense we are to understand *the Orphic Life*. That manner of living, to mention it by the way, was afterwards embraced by several noted Personages; and it would seem that *Theseus* in *Euripides* (1) upbraids *Hippolitus* with it, as if that young Man had been initiated into the Mysteries of *Orpheus*, and practised the *Orphic Life* in all its Rigour; for to this Effect he speaks to him: *Here then is the Man who has Intercourse with the Gods, as a Person of eminent Virtue; here is that Example of Temperance, and blameless Conduct. Think not to impose upon me any longer by this vain Shew and Parade; deceive me now if you can by your Affectation, in eating nothing that has Life, submit to your Orpheus's Rules, counterfeit yourself inspired, &c.* But may we not suppose that *Euripides*, being to represent *Hippolitus* as a young Man of austere Virtue, gives him the Character of those of his Time, who after *Pythagoras's* Example, were initiated into the *Orphic Life*, whereof the Poet now named has given us a more distinct Idea than any other of the Ancients, since we see from the Passage now quoted, that

(a) *Sylvestres homines sacer interpretæque Deorum,*

Cædibus & victu fædo deterruit Orpheus:

Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rapidosque leones.

Art. Poet.

(1) *Hippolit. v. 948.*

that it consisted chiefly in three Things, in Intercourse with the Gods, in the Study of Religion, and in Abstinence from all animal Food.

The Fiction which we have in *Pausanias* of those *Thracians*, who alledged the Nightingales that had their Nests near *Orpheus's* Tomb sung with more Force and Melody than any other, is a Consequence of that which I have been now explaining, and proves at the same Time that all, not excepting the Populace, were persuaded that this celebrated Person, had carried Music and Singing as far as they could go.

What *Ovid* says, that while the Head of *Orpheus*, which the *Bacchanals*, who tore him in Pieces, had thrown into the *Hebrus*, was hurried along by the Streams, his Mouth uttered a kind of mournful and plaintive Notes, proves only that a Genius of that Poet's Turn, when it has once got hold of the Marvellous, knows not when to drop it, and so commonly carries it to the Height of Extravagance ; but what he adds in the same Place, that when that Head stopp'd near the Island of *Lesbos*, a Serpent which was going to bite it, was transformed into a Stone, sets forth to us the Adventure of some malignant envious Person, who, for having offered to defame *Orpheus*, was reckoned by all a Man of no Taste, without any just Sentiment, and incapable of being moved by Beauty, in a Word, Insensible like a Stone or Rock. In fine, this Head was highly revered by the *Lesbians*, who consulted it as an Oracle.

The Fable which imports that the *Helicon* dived under Ground, that it might not furnish Water to the *Bacchanals*, who after having torn *Orpheus* in Pieces, came thither to purify themselves, is founded upon the Nature of that River, which after running for the Space of seventy-five Furlongs, sinks under Ground and rises up again in another Place, under the Name of *Baphyra* ; and serves at the same Time to prove, that the Crime of those Enthusiasts was detested by all Nature.

Lastly, That other Fable which intimates that *Venus* incensed against *Calliope*, *Orpheus's* Mother, for having

adjudged to *Proserpine* the Possession of *Adonis*, had made the *Thracian* Women fall so desperately in love with him, that each pulling him to her Side, they had tore him in Pieces (1), is one of those Episodes which Wits think of use to embellish Narrations, which might well bear to be without them.

Again, no Body is ignorant of the Story which *Lucian* tells of *Orpheus's* Lyre, which had been deposited in the Temple of *Apollo*. One *Neanthus*, says he, the Son of *Pythacus* the Tyrant, bought it of the Priests, imagining that if he did but touch the Strings, he would draw after him the Trees and Rocks; but his Project succeeded so ill that the Dogs of the Suburbs, where he was playing, tore him in Pieces.

The Time when *Orpheus* lived is well enough known from that of the *Argonauts* his Contemporaries, and from the Date which I have settled of the Expedition to *Colchis*, in which he joined. To conclude, it is probable that *Orpheus* quitted *Thrace*, and came and settled in *Greece*; at least, he was represented, in a fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, as we are told by *Pausanias* (2), cloathed all over after the *Grecian* Manner, without any thing of the *Thracian* Garb appearing about him.

C H A P. XI.

The History of Calais and Zethes.

AS *Calais* and *Zethes* distinguished themselves in the Expedition of the *Argonauts*, I thought their History required a separate Article. They were the Sons of *Boreas* King of *Thrace*. That Prince had carried off *Orithia* the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, the sixth King of *Athens*; and as he was frequently taken for the Wind that bears his Name, hence his Sons had Wings given them, and were said to be the Sons of *Boreas* the Wind; which makes *M. le Clerc* (3) imagine, that by these two Princes whose Names import, *That breathes strong, and that breathes soft*, nothing else was meant

(1) Hygin. Cal. Astron. Poet. c. 7. (2) In Phoc. (3) Biblio. Univers. T. 6.

meant but the northerly Winds, that cleared *Bitlynia* of the Locusts, as has been said in the History of the *Argonauts*. *Plato* too takes the Rape of *Oritbia* to be a mere Fiction, which has no other Foundation, but that the Wind had made her fall into a River upon whose Banks she was playing with her Companions; but the Opinion of both these Authors is confuted by all Antiquity, which considers the Marriage of *Boreas* with *Oritbia* as an historical Fact. *Pausanias* (1) says, this Marriage was even very advantageous to *Erechtheus*; his Son-in-law *Boreas* having equipped a Fleet to defend him against his Enemies who infested the Coasts of *Attica*. In like manner, his two Sons were reckoned two real Princes, who embarked with the *Argonauts*, and were of great Use to their Brother-in-law *Phineus*. It is likewise well known, that after their return from *Colchis*, and during the Celebration of *Pelias's* funeral Games, *Hercules* quarrelled with them, and put them both to Death, for having joined *Typhis*, the Pilote of the Ship *Argo*, who was of Opinion that *Hercules* should be left in *Troas*, when he deserted the Ship to go in quest of *Hylas*. The azure Locks given them by the Poets, denoted the Air whence the Winds blow, and at the same Time carried an Allusion to the Name of their Father: Unless we choose rather to adopt the Conjecture of *Tzetzes*, who will have it, that the long and fine Hair of these two Princes, that waved upon their Shoulders in the Wind, producing to the Sight the same Effect as a Pair of Wings, had given rise to the Fable. Further, we may suppose that the Fiction of the Wings given to the Sons of *Boreas*, was owing to the loose Dress which Luxury had introduced among the *Thessalians*, called by the Ancients in Derision, *Wings*, which by its Wideness and Lightness, and especially its variegated Colours, deserved so well that Name. Perhaps the Heroes we are now speaking of, affected to wear that Sort of Dress, contrary to the Fashion of their Coun-

(1) In Attic.

try; and this is probably what made them be said to have Wings.

But I begin to be sensible that I have dwelt too long upon the History of the *Argonauts*; 'tis therefore time to proceed to the other Events of the fabulous Age.



B O O K IV.

*The History of the Hunting of Calydon,
and of the two Wars of Thebes.*

C H A P. I.

*The History of the Hunting of Calydon, and of
the War to which it gave Occasion.*

IF ever the Rule which I laid down at the Beginning of this *Mythology*, namely, that we ought to take the Fables as much as possible from the ancient Poets, where they are more simple, and more detached from Fiction; if ever that Rule, I say, ought to take Place, it is chiefly in the History I am going to relate: As to which, after setting forth what *Homer* says of it, I shall subjoin the Circumstances superadded to it by the Poets who came after him. After the following Manner does *Phenix* discourse to *Achilles* of this Event, of which he himself might have been an Eye-witness in his youthful Days:

*Where Calydon on rocky Mountains stands,
Once fought th' Ætolian and Curetian Bands;
To guard it, those, to conquer, these advance;
And mutual Deaths were dealt with mutual Chance.*

The

*The silver Cynthia bade Contention rise,
In Vengeance of neglected Sacrifice;
On Oeneus' Fields she sent a monstrous Boar,
That level'd Harvests, and whole Forests tore:
This Beast, (when many a Chief his Tusks had slain)
Great Meleager stretch'd along the Plain.
Then, for his Spoils, a new Debate arose,
The neighbour Nations thence commencing Foes.
Strong as they were, the bold Curetes fail'd,
While Meleager's thund'ring Arm prevail'd;
'Till Rage at length inflam'd his lofty Breast,
(For Rage invades the wisest and the best.)*

*Curs'd by Althæa, to his Wrath he yields,
And in his Wife's Embrace forgets the Fields.
" (She from Marpessa sprung, divinely fair,
" And matchless Idas, more than Man in War;
" The God of Day ador'd the Mother's Charms;
" Against the God the Father bent his Arms:
" Th' afflicted Pair, their Sorrows to proclaim,
" From Cleopatra chang'd his Daughter's Name,
" And call'd Alcyone; a Name to show
" The Father's Grief, the mourning Mother's Woe."
To her the Chief retir'd from stern Debate,
But found no Peace from fierce Althæa's Hate:
Althæa's Hate th' unhappy Warrior drew,
Whose luckless Hand his royal Uncle slew;
She beat the Ground, and call'd the Pow'rs beneath
On her own Son to wreak her Brother's Death:
Hell heard her Curses from the Realms profound,
And the red Fiends that walk the nightly Round.
In vain Ætolia her Deliv'rer waits,
War shakes her Walls, and thunders at her Gates.
She sent Ambassadors, a chosen Band,
Priests of the Gods, and Elders of the Land;
Besought the Chief to save the sinking State:
Their Prayers were urgent, and their Proffers great:
(Full fifty Acres of the richest Ground,
Half Pasture green, and half with Vineyards crown'd.)
His suppliant Father, aged Oeneus, came;
His Sisters follow'd; ev'n the vengeful Dame,*

Althæa

Althæa sues ; His Friends before him fall :
He stands relentless, and rejects 'em all.
Mean while the Victor's Shouts ascend the Skies ;
The Walls are scal'd ; the rolling Flames arise ;
At length his Wife (a Form divine) appears,
With piercing Cries, and supplicating Tears ;
She paints the Horrors of a conquer'd Town,
The Heroes slain, the Palaces o'erthrown,
The Matrons ravish'd, the whole Race enslav'd :
The Warriour beard, he vanquish'd, and he sav'd,
Th' Ætolians, long disdain'd, now took their Turn,
And left the Chief their broken Faith to mourn.

POPE'S *Iliad*, B. IX. v. 653, &c.

Thus *Homer* relates this Story in a Manner very probable, having nothing in it supernatural but the Intervention of *Diana*, which may easily be detached from it, having been added only to denote the enormous Size of the Boar, the other Circumstances being abundantly credible, there being of those Animals sometimes to be met with in Forests monstrously large, that make vast Havock and Desolation, so that it requires a great many People to give chase to them. *Homer* accordingly tells us, there was a little Army convened for that of *Calydon* ; but as this Poet names not the Chiefs who commanded it, I shall give them from *Apollodorus* (1) ; *Meleager* the Son of *Oeneus*, *Dryas* the Son of *Mars*, both of them *Calydonians* ; *Idas* and *Lynceus* the Sons of *Aphareus*, *Messenians* ; *Castor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Leda*, *Lacedemonians* ; *Theseus* the Son of *Egeus*, an *Athenian* ; *Admetus* the Son of *Pheres*, from a City in *Thessaly* named *Phera* ; *Anceus* and *Cepheus* the Sons of *Lycurgus*, from *Arcadia* ; *Jason* the Son of *Eson*, from *Iolcos* ; *Iphicles* the Son of *Amphitryo*, a *Theban* ; *Pirithous* the Son of *Ixion*, a *Larissean* ; *Peleus* the Son of *Eacus*, from *Phthia* ; *Telamon* the Son of the same *Eacus*, from *Salamis* ; *Eurytion* the Son of *Aëtor*, from *Phthia* ; *Atalanta* the Daughter of *Schæneus*, from *Arcadia* : *Amphiaræus* the

(1) Lib. i.

the Son of *Oileus*, from *Argos*; with them were also the Sons of *Thestius*.

Pausanias (1) speaking of a Picture of the *Tegeates*, where this Chace was represented, adds to those whom *Apollodorus* names, *Iolaus* the faithful Companion of *Hercules's* Labours; the Brothers of *Althea*, *Protheus*, and *Cometes*, and *Hippolobus* the Son of *Cercion*.

Ovid again, who has described this Story at full length, adds to all these *Toxus* and *Plexippus* the Sons of *Thestius*, whom *Apollodorus* had not named; the brave *Leucippus*, *Adrastus*, *Ceneus* who was transformed from a Girl to a Boy; *Phenix* the Son of *Amyntor*; *Menetius* the Father of *Patroclus*; *Phileus*, *Echion*, *Lelex*, *Panopeus*, *Hyleus*, the stern *Hippasus*; *Nestor*, who was then in the Flower of his Youth; the four Sons of *Hippocoon*; *Laertes* the Father of *Ulysses*; and the crafty *Amphicides* (a).

The Poets who came after *Homer*, embellished this Story with several Circumstances that were unknown to him, and among others, with that of the fatal Brand, which was the Cause of *Meleager's* Death, in the Manner as *Ovid* relates it. After that *Meleager*, says he, had put to Death his two Uncles by the Mother's Side, *Plexippus* and *Toxus*, who disputed with *Atalanta* the Boar's Skin which had been given her; *Althea* who was gone to thank the Gods for the Victory her Son had gained, met the two Corpses of her Brothers which they were carrying to *Calydon*. At this sad Spectacle she lays aside her ceremonial Habit, puts on Mourning, and makes the whole City resound with her Shrieks and Lamentations. When she learned afterwards, that her Son was the Murderer of his two Uncles, she refrained from Tears and entered into a secret Resolution to revenge their Death. When she was delivered of *Meleager*, the *Parcæ* had put into the Fire a Brand to which that Prince's Destiny was annexed,

(1) In *Arcad*.

(a) *Apollonius*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Diodorus*, &c. likewise describe after the same Poet, this War of the *Curetes* against the *Calydonians*.

annexed (a), and beginning then to spin his Days, foretold that they would last as long as that Piece of Wood. The same Poet adds, that they having gone forth after that Oracle, *Althea* pluck'd out of the Fire the fatal Brand, and laid it up, that by keeping it carefully she might preserve the Life of her Son; but the Grief with which she was seized for the Death of her two Brothers, made her forget her Love to *Meleager*, so that she threw the Brand into the Fire, which as it burnt away, made that Prince languish and pine away in agonizing Pain, and expire so soon as the Brand was consumed.

This Fiction, as we see, was unknown to *Homer*, who says indeed, that *Althea* devoted her Son to the Furies; but he is so far from making this Imprecation to have been the Cause of his Death, that it was pronounced upon him some Time before his Wife appeased his Wrath; and induced him to relieve the Town.

If we may believe *Pausanias*, *Phrynicus*, the Son of *Polyphradmon*, a Tragic Poet, the Disciple of *Thespis*, the Inventor of Tragedy among the *Greeks*, was the first who vented this Fable in his Play, intitled *Pleuron*. *Meleager*, said he in that Tragedy, these are *Pausanias's* Words, could not avoid Death. His cruel Mother set Fire to the fatal Brand, and in the same Fire her Son felt himself consume. Here then, according to *Pausanias*, is the first Time that this Circumstance of *Meleager's* History appeared in a Play exhibited to the Public; but it is very probable that it was known before that Time, since that Poet only hints at it as a public Tradition. And indeed, had it been of *Phrynicus's* own Invention, he would have insisted longer upon it: Accordingly, this Reflexion has not escaped *Pausanias*, who, after quoting the Passage in the Tragedy of that Poet, subjoins these Words: “It must, however, be acknowledged, *Phrynicus* insists not on this Event as every Poet is wont to do upon a Notion of his own Invention, which he wants to make
“credible;

(a) *Apollodorus*, L. 1. says it was on the seventh Day after *Meleager's* Birth, that the *Parcæ* gave *Althea* that fatal Brand.

“credible; but he barely mentions the Fact, as a
“Thing well known thro’ all *Greece*.”

Althea, the Mother of *Meleager*, was of *Pleurone*, a City adjoining to *Calydon*, and very powerful, wherein dwelt the *Curetes*. Her two Brothers, *Plexippus* and *Toxeus*, had their Residence there, and joined with the Troops of the *Curetes*, their Subjects, to make War upon their Nephew.

As to the Transformation of *Meleager*’s Sisters into Birds, called from their Name *Meleagrides*, a Fiction unknown to the same Poet, we may suppose it had no other Foundation, but that some of these Virgins were so deeply affected with their Brothers mournful Fate, as to die for Grief; as also did *Althea*, who being wounded with Remorse, hanged herself in Despair. *Oeneus*, after the Death of his Wife, married *Peribæa*, the Daughter of *Hipponous*, who had sent her to him to be chastised for having suffered herself to be debauch’d by a Priest of *Mars*; tho’ she gave out that it was the God himself had fallen in Love with her.

Oeneus, of the Family of the *Eolidæ*, was the Son of *Partbaon* and *Euryte*. He had by *Althea* several Children, *Thireus*, *Clymenus*, *Meleager*, *Toxeus*, whom he put to Death; and two Daughters, *Gorgè* who married *Andremon*, who succeeded his Father-in-law, and *Dejanira* who was married to *Hercules*. By *Peribæa* his second Wife, he had *Tydeus*, the Father of *Diomedes*, so celebrated in the *Iliad*. He was dethroned in the Manner that *Pausanias* relates, but found Means to get himself restored to the Crown; at length, being over-burdened with old Age, he left the Administration of his Dominions to his Son-in-law *Andremon*, and set out with his Grand-son *Diomedes*; but he perished in the Way by an Ambuscade laid for him by his Nephews. His Body was transported to *Argolis*, and interred in a small City, which from that Time bore the Name of *Oenea*.

We must not here omit what some Authors alledge, that under the Idea of the Boar was concealed one of those famous Robbers, who had made himself formidable

dable in that Time, and against whom they were obliged to draw together a kind of Army. If we may believe *Strabo*, this Robber was the Son of the famous *Phaya*, whom *Theseus* cut off. We are farther told, that *Meleager* slew him with his own Hand, and gave his Spoils to his Mistress *Atalanta*, and the rest. But this is a vain Refinement; this History turns upon a real Boar, whose Skin was even a long Time preserved in *Greece*. *Augustus*, to punish the *Arcadians* for having espoused *Anthony's* Party, carried off from *Tegea* the Statue of *Minerva Alea*, with the Tusks of the *Calydonian* Boar brought thither by *Atalanta*, an *Arcadian* by Birth, to whom the Head of that Animal had been given; and at *Rome* was to be seen one of its Teeth, for the other was broken off, which, according to *Pausanias*, was half an Ell in Length. The same Author adds that the Skin of this Animal was still preserved in his Time in the Temple of the same *Minerva Alea*; but that it was very much damnified by Time, and strip'd of its Bristles.

Cleopatra, the Wife of *Meleager*, was the Daughter of *Idas*, the Brother of *Lynceus* and *Marpesa*; by her he had a Daughter named *Polydora*, who married *Protesilaus*, the first who sprung from the *Grecian* Ships upon the Coast of *Troy*, tho' the Oracle had foretold the Death of him who should first land upon that Shore. *Polydora* died for Grief for her Husband's Death, as also *Cleopatra*, who was unable to survive *Meleager*.

Atalanta acts too fine a Part in this History, not to have her Story related in particular. This Princess, as has been said, was a Native of *Arcadia*, and the Daughter of *Schæneus*. Some Authors confound her with another *Atalanta* the Daughter of *Menalion*, who was so swift at running, that it was impossible even for the most vigorous Men to overtake her. Others again distinguish them; what *Ovid* says of her is to this Effect. *Atalanta*, says he, had resolved to preserve her Virginity; but her exquisite Beauty gained her Admirers from all Parts. To be free from the Importunity of so many Lovers, she proposed a Running Match

Match with them, on Condition that they should run without Arms, while she should be armed with a Javelin, with which she should pierce those to Death whom she could overtake, but that which ever of them arrived at the Goal before her should be her Husband. Several accepted the Terms; but as she run faster than they, many of her Suitors had already lost their Lives, when *Hippomenes*, the Son of *Macareus*, having received from *Venus*, whom he invoked, three golden Apples which she had gathered in the Garden of the *Hesperides*, or according to others, in the Island of *Cyprus*, made Use of a Stratagem whereby he gained the Victory. As the Lover, according to Agreement, was to run first, he artfully drop'd the three Apples at some Distance from one another, and as *Atalanta* was amusing herself in gathering them, he arrived first at the Mark, and married this Princess; but having afterwards with her profaned a Temple of *Cybele*, or a Grove which was consecrated to her, he was transformed into a Lion, and *Atalanta* into a Lionness.

As the Ancients are seldom or never agreed about those Histories so remote from their Time, *Apollodorus* has followed a Tradition concerning *Atalanta*, quite different from that now given. Her Father, says he, being desirous to have Male Children, and not Daughters, so soon as his Wife was delivered of her, exposed her in a desert Place, that she might perish. A She-boar that passed by, having found the Child, gave her Suck, and continued to nurse her, till some Hunters finding her, took pity upon her, and having carried her with them, took Care of her Education. As she had been brought up by People who delighted in hunting, she contracted a great Relish for that Exercise, and so soon as she was able to endure the Fatigues of it, she gave herself up to it entirely, running through the Fields; declining every Match, she turned her whole Thoughts on proper Precautions, how to lead a Life of Celibacy; however, the Life she led exposed her to many Hazards, and she was one Day vigorously pursued by two Centaurs, that is, by two Horsemen, who offered

Violence

Violence to her, but she had the Valour and Success to kill them with her Arrows. She was at the famous hunting of the *Calydonian Boar*; and at the Games and Combats instituted in Honour of *Pelias*, where she wrestled with *Peleus*, and gained the Prize; after this she found out her Parents; and her Father urging her to marry, she consented to marry him who should outstrip her at running, as has been said. *Hesiod*, and some others, pursues *Apollodorus*, said she was not the Daughter of *Jesus*, but of *Schæneus*, *Euripides* gives her *Melelus* for her Father, and asserts that she married *Hippomenes*, and not *Menalion*, as some of the Ancients were of Opinion, alledging even that she had by him a Son named *Parthenopeus*, who made War upon the *Thebans*. Be that as it will, *Apollodorus* seems to contradict himself, since in the First Book he says, *Atalanta*, who assisted at the Hunting of *Calydon*, was the Daughter of *Schæneus*; and in the Third, that she who is now in question, was the Daughter of *Jesus* and *Clymene*; which is often the Case with Compilers, who do not accurately revise their Works.

Elian has a long Dissertation upon *Atalanta*, upon her Parents, the Manner in which she was exposed, and upon some of the principal Actions of her Life; but as that Discourse seems to be a kind of Declamation, which teaches us nothing new, I presume that what I have now quoted from *Apollodorus* will make it needless for me to transcribe the Passage.

We have, in the Supplement to *Montfaucon's Antiquities*, a fine *Roman Groupe*, wherein is to be seen *Atalanta* and *Hippomenes*, each of them holding an Apple in their Hand, and two Monuments representing, the one *Meleager* with the Boar's Head, the other the same Heroe with his Mother *Althæa* putting into the Fire the fatal Brand, whereon depended the Preservation of his Life.

Tho' we cannot precisely fix the Date of the Event now related, yet we may determine it exactly enough with regard to its Distance from the Siege of *Troy*; and as that City was taken, as has been proved in the
Æra

Æra of the *Argonauts*, about Thirty Four or Thirty Five Years before their Expedition, I think I may fix the Date of the Hunting and War of *Calydon* to the Twenty Eighth or Thirtieth Year before the *Trojan* War; and indeed there is all Probability that this Hunting did not fall out till after *Hercules's* Death, which happened Four or Five Years after the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, at which that Heroe, *Oeneus's* Son-in-Law, must needs have been present with *Iolaus* and *Theseus*, who never left him in his Expeditions. But as *Hercules* after his Marriage with *Dejanira*, returned with her into his own Dominions; and as it was during that Expedition, that *Nessus* gave *Dejanira* the fatal Tunic to which *Hercules* owed his Death, having not long before fallen in love with *Iole*, there is the highest Probability that he returned no more to *Calydon*; and no Ancient has actually said that he was at that Hunting.

The same Reason proves it to be posterior to the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, in which Time *Hercules* was alive. *Ovid*, in the long Description he gives of this celebrated Hunting-match, insinuates in more Places than one, that it did not happen till after the Expedition to *Colchis*; and *Pausanias* decides the Matter effectually, by saying that *Anceus* after having distinguished himself among the *Argonauts*, was slain by the *Calydonian* Boar, as he was pursuing it with too much Ardour.

Nor ought it in my Opinion to be set at a great Distance from that Conquest, since the same Heroes were at both.

Tho' the Story I am going to relate has no Connection with what has been now said, yet since it happened in the same City *Calydon*, of which I shall have no Occasion to say any thing further, I shall give it a Place here. *Corefus*, the Priest of *Bacchus*, having fallen in love with *Callirhoë*, a Princess of the Blood Royal, tried all Means to gain her Affection, but the more ardent his Addresses were to her, the more did she shew her dislike of him. *Corefus* find-

ing that all his Endeavours served only to exasperate his Mistress, had recourse to the Divinity whom he served. *Bacchus* heard the Prayers of his Priest, and visited the *Calydonians* with a Distemper which deprived them of their Senses ; it was a kind of Drunkenness which led them to fight together, without knowing one another. In a little Time *Calydon* was like to have become a Desert, when a Deputation was sent to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*, to learn the Means of being delivered from so fatal a Calamity. The Oracle answered that there was no other way to appease incensed *Bacchus* but by sacrificing *Callirhoé*, or some one who was willing to be devoted to death in her stead. That Princess was already near the Altar, dressed like a Victim that was to save the People of *Calydon*, when *Coreus* ready to plunge the Poniard into her Breast, performed a generous Action that surprized all the World, and sacrificed himself to the public Safety. *Callirhoé*, struck with the Generosity of her Lover, killed herself near the Fountain of *Calydon*, which from that time bore her Name.

C H A P. II.

The History of the two Wars of Thebes, of Oedipus, of the Sphinx, &c.

EIGHT or ten Years after the Conquest of the *Argonauts*, an Event happened in *Greece*, which the Poets have very much celebrated. *Eschiles*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* have made it the Subject of several Tragedies, and *Statius*, of an Epic Poem (a). I mean the two Wars of *Thebes*, and the Story of the hostile Brothers, *Etheocles* and *Polynices* ; Wars which prove according to the Ancients, that the Wrath of the Gods
against

(a) The Tragedy of *Eschiles* upon this Subject, has for its Title *The Seven before Thebes* ; that is, the seven Chiefs who follow'd *Adrastus*. *Sophocles* has made three Tragedies upon the same Subject, *Oedipus King*, *Oedipus Colonus*, and *Antigone* ; and *Euripides* his *Suppliants*, where he brings in the Circumstance of the Ladies supplicating the *Archeians* to allow Burial to their Husbands slain at the Siege of *Thebes*.

against *Cadmus*, unhappy in his Family, continued to pursue him even in his last Descendants; but in order fully to explain the Adventures thereof, we must trace the Story to its Source. After the Plague had consumed the whole House of *Amphion*, and *Zethus* deploring the Death of his Son, slain by his Mother, had sunk under his Affliction, the *Thebans* re-instated in the Throne (1) *Laius* who had been expelled from it, and this Restoration was followed with so many Misfortunes, that ancient History furnishes us with few Examples parallel to the Calamities that afflicted the City of *Thebes*.

Diodorus Siculus (2), *Apollodorus* (3), *Statius* (4), *Eusebius*, and several others, tell us that *Laius* having married *Jocasta* the Daughter of *Creon* King of *Thebes*, learned from the Oracle, that he should be put to Death by the Child that was to be born of that Marriage, which obliged him to live with the Queen in great Reserve; but on a Day of Rioting and Debauch, having gone into the Queen, she proved with Child. When she was delivered, *Laius* whose Thoughts turned much upon the Prediction, and gave him great Disturbance, ordered a trusty Servant to go and expose the Child in a desert Place. He instead of abandoning the Infant to the Mercy of the wild Beasts, hung him by the Feet to a Tree, whence he got the Name of *Oedipus* (5). *Phorbas*, the Overseer of the Flocks of *Polybas* King of *Corinth*, having found him in that distressed Condition, carried him to his Master, who bestowed great Care upon his Education, and adopted him. This young Prince now grown up, being informed of his Adventure, resolved to go and consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, to discover who were his Parents; and the Answer was, that he must beware of returning into his own Country, because it was fated that he should there kill his Father, and marry his Mother; which obliged him to undergo voluntary Exile from *Corinth*, which he took to be the Place in-

N 2 tended

(1) Pausan. in Beot. c. 5. (2) L. 4. (3) L. 3. (4) Theb. 1. 3. (5) The Word imports one who has swollen Feet.

tended by the Oracle: But as he was passing thro' *Phocis*, he met with *Laius* in a narrow Defile of Mount *Cyberon*, who having ordered him aloud to leave him the Passage clear, they came to Blows, and *Oedipus* slew his Father, and thus fulfilled a Part of the Prediction of the Oracle.

At that Time the *Sphinx* annoyed the *Thebans*, not so much by the puzzling Riddles she set forth to them, as by the Havock and Desolation she made in the Country. The Fable says, she was a Monster sprung from *Echidna* and *Typhon*, which *Juno*, incensed against the *Thebans*, sent against them. She had, 'tis said, the Head and Hands of a Woman, the Body of a Dog, the Tail of a Dragon, the Claws of a Lion, and Wings like a Fowl (a). *Sphinx* usually repaired to Mount *Phiceon*, whence she fell upon Passengers, and proposed to them difficult Riddles, tearing in Pieces those who were not able to explain them. Her usual Riddle was that of an Animal which has four Feet in the Morning, two at Noon, and three in the Evening; and it was fated that she should lose her Life, so soon as any one resolved her Riddle. Already had several Persons been the Victims of this pitiless Monster, and *Thebes* was plunged in deep Distress, when *Creon*, who had re-ascended the Throne after *Laius's* Death, being concerned to deliver his Kingdom from her Ravages, gave public Notice, that whoever explained the Riddle should have *Jocasta* in Marriage, and be made Heir to his Crown. *Oedipus* presented himself, and was so happy as to explain it, understanding that Animal to be Man, who in his Infancy, which is the Morning of Life, creeps about on Hands and Feet; at Noon, that is in the Strength of his Age, he walks on two Legs; and in the Evening, that is in old Age, makes use of a Crutch as a third Leg. *Sphinx* was so enraged with Spight at his Success, that she dashed out her Brains against a Rock.

'Tis

(a) *Sphinx velutris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.*

Auson.

'Tis easy to see that some Piece of History is comprehended under these dark Fictions.

'Tis commonly reckoned with *Pausanias* (1), that a natural Daughter of *Laius*, named *Sphinx*, gave rise to the Fable. That Princess, not content with the Treatment she met with from her Father, had set herself on the Head of a Troop of *Banditti*, who committed a thousand Abuses in the Confines of *Thebes*, whence she came to be reckoned a Monster. First she had given her for her Parents, *Echidna*, or the *Chimera*, and *Typhon*; these were always the Father and Mother of whatever was monstrous. The Lions Claws which she was said to have, denoted her Cruelty; her Body shaped like a Dog, the Abuses whereof a young Woman so abandoned is capable of; her Wings, the Agility and Address with which she escaped the Pursuits of the *Thebans*; and her Riddles, the Snares she laid for Passengers to decoy them into the Rocks and Thickets of Mount *Phiceon* (a), where she resided, and from which it was impossible for them to extricate themselves, for want of knowing the Outlets, with which she was perfectly well acquainted.

The learned *Bochart* (2) derives the Name of *Sphinx*, from a *Phenician* Word *Phicea*, in *Greek* $\Phi\iota\chi$, which signifies, *Subtle*, *Crafty*, *Quick-sighted*; and the Reason he says of giving her this Name was, because she was Cunning and Crafty, puzzling by her intricate Riddles, the most penetrating Minds; an Explanation which amounts to the same with mine, and has also a very probable Etymology in its support (b). *M. le Clerc* derives the Name from *Sphicha*, which signifies either *Perplexed*, or *Man-slayer*; which suits very well with the Riddles she set forth, or with the Man-slaughter she committed. The *Phenicians* who wrote this Piece of ancient History, and who had built the Town of *Thebes*, were wont to propose Riddles, with Prizes to those

N 3

(1) In Beot.

(a) Mount *Phiceon* is in *Beotia* near *Anthedon*.

(2) Chan. l. 1. c. 16. page 470.

(b) *Quia mulier fuit acutissima quæ per Gryphos & Ænigmata solertissimorum sui ævi ingenia exercebat.* Boch. loc. cit.

those who resolved them, and sometimes punishing those who could not hit upon an Explanation. The History of *Samson*, and that of *Solomon*, with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, furnish us with Examples of that ancient Custom, which according to *Herodotus* (1), and *Plutarch* (2), was also observed in *Egypt* and other Countries. Thus, without receding from the Fable of the *Greeks*, we may understand the Riddles of the *Sphinx* literally; or interpret them in an allegorical Manner, of the Woods and Thickets of the Mountain where this Princess had her Retreat (a).

Be that as it will, *Oedipus* with some *Theban* Troops which *Creon* had given him, having taken an Opportunity to surprize this Woman and her Companions, cut her off in the Place of her Retreat, which is meant by his having found out a Key to her Riddle. *Jocasta* being the Prize of the Person who succeeded in this Enterprize, *Oedipus* married her, and had two Sons by her, *Etbeocles* and *Polynices*, and two Daughters *Antigone* and *Ismena*. But having afterwards discovered the Secret of his Birth, and consequently his Parricide and Incest, he plucked out his Eyes, and having abdicated the Crown, retired to *Athens*, and *Jocasta* killed herself thro' Anguish and Vexation. *Sophocles*, who has composed a Tragedy upon this Retreat of *Oedipus*, says that unfortunate Prince, guided by his Daughter *Antigone*, stop'd near a Town of *Attica* named *Colonte*, in a Wood consecrated to the *Eumenides*, and that some *Athenians* who found him there, affrighted at the Sight of a Man who had planted himself in a Place, where no profane Person was permitted to set his Foot, and still more so, when they came to know he was a Man pursued by divine Wrath, in one Word *Oedipus*,
were

(1) L. 2. (2) Banquet of the seven WISEMEN.

(a) The *Sphinx* of the *Greeks* did not resemble those that are in *Egypt*, especially that which still subsists, and is of a colossal Figure. The *Sphinx* of the last was represented with the Head covered, and without Wings. That of *Thebes* has the Head bare, and the Hair in order, and is painted with Wings. The Inhabitants of *Chios* took this Monster for a Symbol, and it is to be seen upon their Medals.

were going to have expelled him, when *Antigone* interceded for her Father and herself, upon which they led him to *Athens*, where *Theseus* gave him a favourable Reception, and there he spent the Remainder of his Days.

Such is the History of this unfortunate Prince, according to the tragic Poets, especially *Sophocles*, who building upon the Tradition I have delivered, has given his Tragedies that moving Pathetic, and infused into them more of Terror and Compassion, with the other Emotions of the Theatre, than if he had exactly followed the History. For in Fact, 'tis literally true that *Oedipus* married his Mother; but according to *Homer*, and *Pausanias* who cites ancient Authors, it appears that he had not the four Children whom *Sophocles* gives him. *Ulysses* in the Narrative he delivers at the Court of *Alcinous*, of his Descent into the infernal Regions (1), after having said he had seen there the fair *Epicasfe*, for that is the Name which *Homer* gives to *Oedipus*'s Mother, whom *Sophocles* and others call *Jocasta*; from thence he takes occasion to recount briefly the Misfortunes of that Princess, who by a cruel Fatality saw herself the Mother of her own Husband, and the Wife of her own Son; but, continues he, the Gods very soon defaced the Remembrance of that Crime:

*But soon the Gods cut short her guilty Days,
Not suffering the foul Incest to go on.*

Epicasfe, sunk under her Anguish of Soul, went up to an upper Apartment in the Palace, there tied the fatal Noose which was the Instrument of her Death, and hurried herself into the infernal Regions. For not to enter here into the Examination of the meaning of the Word *ἐναπύσσω*, which has given some Trouble to the Critics, and has been the Subject of two Dissertations, the one by the *Abbé Gédoyen*, the other by M. *Boirvin* the Younger, Copies whereof may be seen in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres* (2); 'tis certain

N 4

from

(1) *Odyss.* l. 8. (2) *Tom.* v. p. 146.

from the Authority of *Homer* and *Pausanias*, and the two Academics who explain the Word in question, agree to it, that the incestuous *Oedipus* and *Jocasta* had no Issue, and that this Princess who was ignorant of the Matter at first, hanged herself in the Bitterness of her Soul.

And indeed how could the Gods be said to have abolished the Memory of that Crime, or how would they have made it known to the World, for the Word *Anapusta* is capable of both these Significations, if *Jocasta* had continued to live with *Oedipus* her Son and Husband, so long as to have four Children by him? *Homer* is not explicite on this Head; but *Pausanias*, (1) who had examined and traced the Opinion of the *Greek* Poet, who lived nearer that Age, and consequently deserves more Credit than the tragic Poets, positively asserts, that after the Death of *Jocasta*, *Oedipus* married *Euriganea*, the Daughter of *Periphas*, and had by her the four Children now named. He cites to this Purpose the Poem intitled *Oedipedia*, or the Adventures of *Oedipus*; and adds for Confirmation of this Opinion, that in the fine Picture which *Onatas* had drawn for the *Plateans*, *Euriganea* appears overwhelmed with Grief, because the Painter had caught the Moment of Time, when that distressed Mother was expecting the Issue of the Combat in which her two Sons were going to engage. *Pausanias* is not the only one of the Ancients who was of this Opinion, and long before him, *Apollodorus* had said that *Oedipus* had these four Children by the same *Euriganea*.

Such is the true History of *Oedipus*, but we cannot therefore blame the tragic Poets for having given it a new Dress; had they not done so, we should have been deprived of the finest Passages in their Works. Thus, had *Sophocles* been scrupulously attached to the Truth of History, we should have been deprived of a Tragedy, which in the Opinion of the Ancients, is the finest and most moving that ever appeared upon the Stage, and at the same Time of those fine Lines so much
praised

(1) In Attic, c. 28.

praised by *Longinus* *, and thus excellently translated by *Boileau*.

*Hymen, funeste Hymen, tu m'as donné la vie ;
Mais dans ces mêmes flancs ou je fus enfermé,
Tu fais rentrer le sang dont tu m'avois formé :
Et par là tu produis & de fils, & des peres,
Des freres, des maris, des femmes, & des meres ;
Et tout ce que du sort la maligne fureur,
Fit jamais voir au jour & de honte & d'horreur.*

O *Hymen* ! *Hymen* accursed ! But for thee *Oedipus* had never been ! A Wretch that lives to propagate, from those Loins whence he himself had sprung, a motley Race of Fathers, Brothers, Husbands, Sons, Mothers, Daughters, and whatever foul unnatural Productions have appeared in the World !

Nor, if the History had been exactly kept to, should we have had the Tragedy of the same Poet, which has for its Title *Oedipus Colonos* ; since, according to the most ancient Tradition, that Prince having wedded *Euriganea*, reigned at *Thebes* the rest of his Days, and went not to *Athens*, which makes *Pausanias* say, when speaking in his *Attics* of a Place named *The Goat-Hill*, it was there that *Oedipus* came to deplore his Misfortunes : This, he remarks, is what they say who will not rely upon *Homer* ; whence we may conclude that according to *Homer's* Sentiment, that Prince did not leave *Thebes*, but reigned there with *Euriganea* after *Jocasta's* Death, and that there he died and was buried. 'Tis true his Tomb was shewn at *Athens*, within the Bounds of the *Arcopagus* ; but as *Pausanias* very judiciously remarks (1), his Bones must have been transported thither afterwards from *Thebes*. For, says he,
what

* - - - - - ὦ γάμοι, γάμοι,
'Ερύσαθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ φυτεύσαντες, παλιν
'Ανείτε ταῦτόν σπέρμα, κάσπεδείξατε
Πατέρας, ἀδελφοὺς, παῖδας, αἶμ' ἐμφύλιον
Νύμφας, Γυναικας, μήτέρας τέ, γ' ὅποσα
'Αισχίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔργα γίνεται.
(1) In Attic.

what Sophocles has imagined about Oedipus's Death, appears to me to deserve but little Credit, when compared with what we read in Homer, who makes Menistheus to have gone to Thebes, to dispute the Prize in the funeral Games, that were celebrated at that Prince's Tomb. Now in these Matters, 'tis unquestionable that the Authority of *Homer*, who lived nearer the Age when this Story happened, and was perfectly acquainted with the Antiquities of *Greece*, ought to outweigh that of all others, especially of the tragic Poets, who had far greater Concern to excite the proper Emotions of Passion, than to adjust their Narrations to the most authentic Traditions.

After the Death, or if you will, the Retreat of *Oedipus*, his two Sons *Etheocles* and *Polynices* agreed to reign by turns. *Diodorus Siculus* adds (1), that these two young Princes, when grown up, confined their Father in his Palace (a), after which making themselves Masters of the Kingdom, they agreed together to reign each a Year by turns: A Contract which was the Source of their Hatred, and of the War which, according to *Pausanias* (2), was one of the most considerable that ever had been among the *Greeks*, during the heroic Age: “ For that of the *Eleusinians*, says that Author, “ against the other People of *Attica*, even that of “ the *Thebans* against the *Minyans*, was almost as soon “ ended as begun. The Armies had not far to go “ before they came up with one another, the Quarrel “ was left to the Decision of a Battle, and to Hostilities

(1) L. 4.

(a) *Euripides* has followed this Tradition in his *Phenician Women*, since he says that *Oedipus* was still at *Thebes* confined within his Palace, and that it was not till after the Death of the two hostile Brothers, that *Creon* who had resigned the Crown to *Etheocles*, reascended the Throne, and forced *Oedipus* to quit *Thebes*, whence he repaired to the Town of *Colonus* in *Attica*. The same Poet supposes also in the same Play, that *Jocasta*, whom the other Ancients make to have hanged herself upon the Knowledge of her Incest, did not kill herself till she heard of the Death of her Sons. So true it is, that the tragic Poets especially, vary a great deal as to these ancient Pieces of History, which they adapted to the Theatre.

(2) In *Beotia*

“ lities very soon succeeded either Peace or a
“ Truce.

“ But the Army of the *Argives* came from the Ex-
“ tremity of the *Peloponnesus* into the Heart of *Beotia*,
“ and *Adrastus* drew his auxiliary Troops from *Arca-*
“ *dia* and *Messenia*, while the *Thebans* were necessitated
“ to draw theirs from *Phocis* and *Minyas*, whence the
“ *Phleggyans* came to their Assistance.”

The two Brothers being therefore agreed to reign after one another, *Etheocles* who was the eldest ascended the Throne first; but his Year being expired, he would not give Place to his Brother. *Polynices* (1) in Wrath retired to *Argos* to King *Adrastus*'s Court (a). At that time *Tydeus* the Son of *Oeneus*, having slain at *Calydon*, *Alcathous* and *Lycopus* his Uncles, fled also for refuge from *Ætolia* to *Argos*. *Adrastus* gave them both a kind Reception, and in Obedience to an Oracle, he gave them his Daughters in Marriage: To *Polynices* he gave *Argia*, and to *Tydeus*, *Deipyle*. These two Youths had acquired a vast Reputation; and having been in high Favour with the King, we are told that *Adrastus*, as a Mark of his Esteem for them, promised to restore them each to his own Country, and to re-establish them in all their Privileges.

With this View he sent *Tydeus* upon an Embassy to *Etheocles* to treat with him about his Brother's Return. We are told, that *Tydeus* having fallen into an Ambuscade of fifty Men, which *Etheocles*, apprized of the End of his Embassy, had laid for him in the Way, slew them all and returned to *Argos*. *Adrastus* no sooner heard of this Piece of Treachery, than he prepared himself for a military Expedition, and drew over to his side *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon*, and *Parthenopeus*. In the mean Time *Adrastus*, *Polynices*, and *Tydeus* having shared the Command of the Army with the other Princes now named, marched against *Thebes*, followed

(1) *Iliad* l. 4.

(a) *Pausanias* says, *Polynices* quitted *Thebes* even in his Father's Life-time, for fear of incurring the Malediction with which his Father had threatened him and his Brother, and that he returned not thither till he was informed by *Etheocles* that *Oedipus* was dead.

followed by numerous Troops, and by several other Captains, while *Polynices* on his side endeavoured to persuade the Soothsayer *Amphiaraus* to join with him; but whether he foresaw by his Art the Misfortune that was to befall him, or for some other Reason, he refused to engage in that Quarrel, while *Eriphyle*, his Wife and *Adrastus's* Sister, bribed by a Necklace of great Price given her by that Prince, wrought so effectually as to prevail upon him to go (a).

The seven principal Leaders in this Expedition were therefore *Adrastus*, *Polynices* and *Tydeus* his two Sons-in-law; *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, *Hippomedon* and *Parthenopeus*, who shared among them the Command of the Troops that had been levied in their Dominions.

While they were in the Way, there befel them an Adventure which gave rise to the Institution of the *Nemean Games*; the Occasion whereof was this. The *Argonauts*, as I have said elsewhere, going to the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, were obliged to put in at *Lemnos*; and *Jason* before he went to Sea again, left there *Hypsiphile* pregnant of a Son, whom she brought forth some time after. Hardly was that Princess well delivered, when the *Lemnian Ladies* heard by report, that King *Thoas* was still alive, and reigning in the Island of *Chios*, where *Hypsiphile* had him conveyed to be in safety, by which she became so odious to those Women, that dreading their Fury, she fled to the Sea-coast, and was there taken and carried off by Pirates.

Lycargus, to whom they sold her, made her Nurse to his Son *Archemorus*. As that Prince's Dominions lay in the Way by which *Adrastus's* Army passed, the *Greeks* found in a Wood that illustrious Nurse, with the young Prince whom she was suckling. They were extremely pinched with Thirst, and almost all the Springs being dried up by the Heat of the Season, they prayed her to give them some Relief; she did so, and led them to a Fountain which was not far from thence. Her Zeal to serve them was so great, that she left the
young

(a) See below the History of that celebrated Soothsayer.

young *Archemorus* upon the Grass, that she might be able to walk the faster. She saw the *Greeks* drink, and gave them a brief Account of her History. After she was done with it, and had received the Thanks of the Leaders of the Army, she returned to the Place where she had left the young Prince; but a Serpent had stung him to death, and he was just at the Point of expiring; she even heard his last Groans as she was coming up. The *Greeks* surprized and afflicted with this fatal Adventure, slew the Serpent, gave the Child pompous funeral Obsequies, and according to the Usage of those Times, instituted Games in his Honour. It was even resolved that they should assemble every three Years, or every five Years upon the same Occasion. These Games were called *Nemean*, from the Name of *Lycurgus's* Kingdom, or rather from the Fountain near which this Adventure happened. The Prize of the Conquerors was a Crown of Parsley.

After having discharged these funeral Rites, the Army continued its March, and arrived before *Thebes*, but this first Expedition was unfortunate to the *Argives*. The two hostile Brothers slew one another in a single Combat. *Capaneus* having mounted the Rampart, was overthrown, and died in the Fall, or according to others, was struck dead with Thunder while he was blaspheming the Gods (1); the Earth having opened swallowed up *Amphiaraus*, and all the rest perished in this Expedition, except *Adrastus*. A great Number of Soldiers left their Lives there; *Adrastus* was forced to return to *Argos* without giving them Burial, the *Thebans* not having allowed them to carry away their Bodies. In the mean Time, as no body durst bury them, because *Creon* who had ascended the Throne after *Eteocles's* Death, and during *Ladamas's* Minority, had made an Edict against their being buried; the *Athenians*, who were distinguished from other People by their Justice, discharged this Duty to all of them, and *Theseus*, to whom *Adrastus* had applied for Assistance, forced the King of *Thebes* to consent to it; an Event which

(1) See the History of these Heroes below.

which is the Subject of a fine Tragedy in *Euripides*. Thus ended the Expedition of the seven Leaders before *Thebes*.

To give Light to this History, wherein I have followed the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pausanias*, I shall add, that the first of these Authors makes no mention of a Battle that was fought upon the Banks of the River *Ismenus*, where the *Thebans* gave Ground upon the first Onset, and retired into their City, where they were immediately besieged; but as they knew better to defend a City, than to fight in the open Field, they made a Sally so opportunely upon the Enemy (1), that they pushed them into their Lines, cut them in pieces, and gained over them so compleat a Victory, that *Adrastus* was the only one who escaped them, as has been said, his Horse *Arion* having saved him. But this Victory cost them dear, and they lost so many Men, that it came afterwards to be a Proverb; for it was usual to call an Advantage gained over an Enemy with the Loss of much Blood, a *Theban Victory*.

Ten Years after this unfortunate Expedition, the Sons of these Captains undertook to avenge the Death of their Fathers; and it is this second War that is known by the Name of the War of the *Epigoni*, that is, of the Descendants or Sons of the former. These young Princes, marching under the Ensigns of *Thersander*, or, according to others, of *Alcmaeon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, came once more to attack the *Thebans*; wherein it was not the *Argives* alone, the *Messenians* and *Arcadians*, as in the former Expedition, that took Arms, the *Corinthians* and *Megareans* would needs also join in it. As for the *Thebans*, they had engaged all their Neighbours in their Quarrel, and were powerfully assisted by them. The two Armies having very soon met, began the Attack upon the Banks of the *Glissas*. The Fight was very obstinate on either Side; but at last the *Thebans* having lost the Day, some of them fled with *Laodamas* their General, the rest threw themselves into *Thebes*, where they were very soon taken by Storm.

This

(1) Pausan. loc. cit.

This whole War, says Pausanias, was wrote in Verse, and Callinus, who quotes some of those Verses, makes no Difficulty to ascribe them to Homer, wherein he has been followed by several Authors of great Weight. For my Part, I own, that, next to the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, I have not seen a finer Poem. It is remarkable that as in the first War all the Leaders of the *Argives* died, except *Adrastus*, in the Second no Person of Distinction fell on their Side, but *Egialeus* his Son. Such were the two first *Theban Wars*, which cost *Greece* so much Blood.

We must not forget to observe that in the First, *Tiresias* had foretold the *Thebans*, that if *Menæti*us, the Son of *Creon*, would sacrifice his Life for the Salvation of his Country, all the Enemy's Generals would be slain. I shall not say whether this was done with an Intention to get rid of that young Prince, or if it proceeded from a barbarous Principle of Superstition, as if the Gods had been pleased with those who sacrificed themselves to the Preservation of their Country; however it was, the Prediction gained Credit, and *Menæti*us killed himself: And as this animated the Courage and Hope of the *Thebans*, they made such a vigorous Defence, as to render all the Efforts of their Enemies ineffectual, and cut them almost all in pieces.

It was also in the first of these Wars, that the two hostile Brothers, to save the Blood of their Subjects, fought a Duel, and slew one another. Their Dissension had run so high in their Life-time, and their Hatred was so irreconcilable, that it is said to have lasted even after their Death; and it was given out, that the very Flames of the Funeral Piles, on which their Bodies were burnt, were observed to part asunder; an Effect which, tho' natural, was attributed to the mutual Enmity between those two Princes. The same Thing was also said to have happened in the Sacrifices that were offered to them: For however barbarous and cruel these two Brothers had been, they were not deemed unworthy to have Heroic Honours paid to them.

Pausa-

Pausanias (1) tells us, that the Place where these two Princes slew one another, was near the Tomb of *Menetius* and *Tydeus*; and that as a Monument of that fatal Combat, a Pillar was set up there, and a Marble Buckler fastened to it. He adds; *I never joined in the Sacrifices that are performed there, but two Things I learned from Persons of Credit; the first, that the Thebans sacrifice to several other Heroes, but particularly to these; the other, that while they are burning the Victims offered in Sacrifice to these hostile Brothers, the Fire and Smoke visibly part asunder.*

The Learned know that *Callimachus* is the first who advanced this pretended Miracle, and in this he has been followed by his Successors, especially by *Ovid* (a).

After the Death of *Etheocles*, his Son *Ladamas* succeeded him, under the Tutorage of *Creon*, and it was upon his Majority, that the *Epigoni* attempted the second Expedition. After the Loss of the Battle which we have been speaking of, he retired into *Illyricum* (2) with those who were willing to follow him. It was in the same Country that *Cadmus*, his Ancestor, being forced to quit *Beotia*, as has been said in his History, fixed his Residence, and where probably he had settled some Correspondence with the *Thebans*. During these Transactions, the *Argives*, Masters of *Thebes*, set upon the Throne *Thersander*, the Son of *Polynices*. This is the same *Thersander* who was slain by *Thelephus* in *Mysia*, when he was going to *Troy* with the other *Greeks*. As he had highly distinguished himself in this Fight, he had a Monument erected to him in the City *Elea*, towards the Banks of the *Caicus*; and even in the Time of *Pausanias*, there was still to be seen, in the public Place of that City, a Tomb of Stone, exposed to the open Air, to which the Inhabitants came every Year

to

(1) In *Beot.*

(a) *Ipsa sibi discors, tanquam mandetur ab illis,
Scinditur in partes atra favilla duas.*

*Hoc, memini, quondam fieri non posse loquebar,
Et me Battia des iudice falsus erat.*

Trist. 1. 5. Eleg. 6.

(2) *Pausan* loc. cit.

to do Honour to his Memory. After the Death of *Thersander*, the Greeks equipped another Fleet, and chose *Peneleus* for their Admiral, because the Son of *Thersander* was not then of Age to take the Command; but *Peneleus* again was slain by *Euripylus* the Son of *Telephus*, and then the *Thebans* owned for their King *Tisamenes* the Son of *Thersander* and *Demonassa*, who was the Daughter of *Amphiaraus*. The Furies who continually haunted the Race of *Oedipus* and *Laius*, spared *Tisamenes*, but his Son *Antefion* was so persecuted by them, as to be forced to remove into the Country of the *Dorians*, by the Advice of the Oracle; and the *Thebans*, tired with obeying Princes so unfortunate, changed the Form of their Government.

We may remark, before we go farther, that *Eschiles* enumerates only Seven Leaders in the first Expedition, which is the Occasion of the Title of his Tragedy of *the Seven before Thebes*, tho' they were a great many more in Number; for, as *Pausanias* observes (1) the most considerable of the *Argives*, *Messenians*, and *Arcadians*, were willing to share the Glory of that Enterprize.

C H A P. III.

The particular History of those Chiefs.

TH O' we have spoken of those Warriors in general, yet I think it proper to give a more particular Account of the chief of them, beginning with *Amphiaraus*.

The History of AMPHIARAUS.

Amphiaraus was a celebrated Soothsayer of that Time, and a Man very considerable by Birth. His Father was *Oicles*, descended in a right Line from *Melampus*; but to support the Reputation he had acquired, of having Insight into Futurity, he was given out to be the Son of *Apollo* and *Hypermnestra*. *Adrastus*, the King of *Argos*, to whose Court he had retired, gave

VOL. IV.

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him

(1) In Corinth. c. 20.

him in Marriage his Daughter *Eriphyle*, who was the Cause of his Death, and of all the Misfortunes that befel his Family afterwards. Whether this famous Soothsayer had foreseen by the Principles of his Art, as *Homer*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, and *Statius* will have it, that he was to perish at the War of *Thebes*, or rather, being afraid to engage in so hazardous an Expedition, he did all that lay in his Power to prevent his going thither, and having departed from the Court of *Adrastus*, hid himself so carefully, that it would have been impossible to discover him, but for the Treachery of his Wife, who informed *Adrastus*, her Brother, of the Place of his Retreat. That Princess preferred the Preservation of her Country to the Life of her Husband; or rather, she was bribed by a Necklace of great Value, which *Adrastus*, or, according to others, *Polynices*, gave her, to induce her to reveal to him the Secret. Thus *Amphiaraus* was necessitated to go to the War with the rest; but before he set out, he ordered *Alcmeon* his Son to slay *Eriphyle* so soon as he heard the News of his Death. In Fact, he lost his Life there, as he had foreseen; having fallen into a deep Pit in his Return from that Expedition, while he was amusing himself in considering the Flight of some Birds, to draw Omens from them (1); which makes *Pausanias* say (2), that the Earth had opened and swallowed him up with his Chariot.

Pindar (3) ascribes this Death to a supernatural Cause, when he says that *Jupiter*, with a Thunderbolt, plunged him headlong, and his Chariot, into the Bowels of the Earth; which happened, according to *Strabo*, in *Attica*, near *Oropus*, in a Place named *Harmia*, or *the Chariot*: And in Proof of this, that learned Author relies upon the Authority of *Homer* (4). *Alcmeon*, being apprized of his Father's Death, executed the cruel Order he had received from him, and slew his Mother. Being forced to go to the Court of *Phegeus* to be expiated from his Crime, according to the Manner

(1) *Strabo*, l. 9.(2) In *Corinth*, c. 33.(3) *Nem.*(4) *Iliad* l. 2.

Manner of that Age, and at the same Time to be delivered from the Furies that persecuted him, that is, from the Stings of his own Conscience, which allowed him no Repose, that Prince received him kindly, and gave him his Daughter *Alphesibea* in Marriage, to whom *Alcmeon* gave a Present of *Eriphyle's* Necklace; but having afterwards divorced her, *Callirhoé* (a) the Daughter of *Achelous*, at whose Court he had Occasion to be, he went and asked back the Necklace from his Brother-in-law, to whom *Alphesibea* had given it. They, to revenge the Affront, which he had offered to their Sister, laid wait for him in the Way, and assassinated him. The Children whom he had by *Callirhoé* (b) revenged his Death, so soon as they were grown up to Manhood, and this is what gave rise to the Fable of the Goddess *Hebe's* having added to the Number of their Years, to put them speedily into a Condition to execute that Vengeance, as we read in *Ovid* (1). Thus perished the whole Family of the famous *Amphiaraus*.

This fatal Necklace, which we have been speaking of, and the Gold which the *Argive* Ladies had given to *Eriphyle*, to induce her to Discover her Husband, was the Source of all these Misfortunes, according to *Horace*.

*Concidit Auguris Argivi Domus
Ob Lucrum demersa Excidio* (c).

Achelous, considering all the Disasters had been occasioned by that Necklace, deposited it in the Temple of *Delphos*, where it was preserved, until the Tyrants carried it away with the other Riches that were kept there. *Amphiaraus* had acquired a great Reputation, *Eschiles*, in his Tragedy of the *seven before Thebes*, gives a fine Character of him, and at the same Time deplores the Misfortune of the Good, who are often

O 2 engaged

(a) Others give her the Name of *Arfinoé*.

(b) They were called *Amphitres* and *Acarnan*, and settled afterwards in *Armenia*.

(1) Met. l. 9.

(c) *Homer*, in the Second Book of the *Odyssey*, says something of this Necklace, on Occasion of *Eriphyle's* Ghost that appeared to *Ulysses*.

engaged with the Wicked, such as, in his Opinion, most of those were, who joined in that War. *Amphiaraus* left four Children, two Sons and two Daughters; the two Sons were *Alcmeon* and *Amphilochus*, who probably was then very young, since *Pausanias*, in his Description of the Chest of the *Cypselides* (1), whereon was represented the Palace of *Amphiaraus*, and the History of his Family, says an old Woman, was there seen holding in her Arms the young *Amphilochus*. The two Daughters were called *Eurydice* and *Demonassa*. The Poet *Asius*, as we read in the same Author, gives him a third Daughter named *Alcmena*, as was the Mother of *Hercules*.

Amphiaraus, after his Death, was ranked among the Demi-Gods, and honoured accordingly; if we may believe *Pausanias*, he was even acknowledged and honoured as a God (2), and the *Oropians*, a People of *Attica*, built a Temple to him, which became famous afterwards by the Oracles that he delivered there. The Author, now quoted, speaks also of another Temple which this new God had at *Argos*, near which was the Tomb of *Eriphyle* his Wife, and the Chapel of *Baton*, his Relation and Charioteer, who perished with him when he was swallowed up in the Earth. Tho' *Philestratus*, in the Picture of *Amphiaraus*, represents him conducting his Chariot himself, 'tis certain, from *Pausanias* and others, that *Baton* served him for Charioteer on that Occasion. He had also another Temple in *Attica* (3), near which was a Fountain, which bore his Name, and whose Water was used neither for Sacrifices nor Lustrations, not so much as to wash Hands; but those who believed themselves cured of some Disease, by the Assistance of that God, were obliged to throw into it some Piece of Gold or Silver; and what made that Fountain the Object of Veneration, was, that *Amphiaraus*, after his Deification, was believed to have there rose up from under the Earth. We have already said in the History of Oracles (4), that those who repaired

(1) In Eliac.
(4) Vol. I. B. IV.

(2) In Beot.

(3) Pausan. in Attic.

paired to the Temple he had among the *Oropians*, after having offered up a Sheep, stretched the Skin of it upon the Ground, and slept upon it, expecting that the God would inform them in a Dream of what they wanted to know. On Occasion whereof *Plutarch* tells us (1) that in the Time of *Xerxes*, a Man was sent to Consult this Oracle in Relation to *Mardonius*; who having fallen asleep in the Sanctuary, felt something pushing him back with Violence; and when he would not depart, he was struck in the Head with a Stone; which corresponds with the tragical End of that Poet, whom the Tutor to the *Lacedemonian* King, who commanded the *Grecian* Army, slew with a Blow of a Stone. We are told of so many Prodigies wrought in the Temple, which the *Thebans* had raised to him, that the impious *Celsus* durst compare that Impostor to *Jesus Christ*; which *Origen* refutes unanswerably (2), by detecting the Cheats of the Priests, and the other Sources of those pretended Miracles (a).

Jophon of *Gnossus*, one of those who explained the Antiquities of *Greece* to *Pausanias* (3), would needs persuade him that there were many of *Amphiaraus's* Prophecies written in *Hexameter* Verse; and among others a Response he had given to the *Argives*, when they went to besiege *Thebes*. “ For my Part, says
 “ this Author, I give no Credit to them: whatever
 “ pleases the People, and has an Air of the marvelous,
 “ easily finds Belief with them, and 'tis with
 “ Difficulty they will allow themselves to be unde-
 “ ceived; but except the Oracles of *Apollo* which are
 “ attested by all Antiquity, I don't believe there ever
 “ were any other. All those who took upon them to
 “ foretel future Events, were Interpreters of Dreams,
 “ or People who had some Skill of the Flight of Birds,
 “ or of the Entrails of Victims. 'Tis therefore very
 “ probable that *Amphiaraus* excelled in the Interpreta-
 O 3 “ tion

(1) Cessation of Oracles. (2) Contra Celsum. l. 3.

(a) Virgil, *Æn.* l. 7. informs us, that the Oracle of *Faunus* was also consulted by Dreams.

(3) In Attic.

“ tion of Dreams; and what persuades me of it, is,
 “ that now when he is worshipped as a God, he de-
 “ livers his Responses only by Dreams. Those who
 “ come to consult him, begin with Self-purification;
 “ then they sacrifice not only to *Amphiaraus*, but to
 “ the other Divinities under whose Name his Altar is
 “ consecrated.”

As according to *Pausanias*, *Amphiaraus* had also his Tomb at *Sparta*, which the Sons of *Tyndarus* had raised to him, as to their Cousin German, 'tis probable, that he participated also of the Honours paid to those Heroes. Nor is it without Reason that *Pausanias* says *Castor* and *Pollux* were his Cousin Germans; for *Amphiaraus* was the Son of *Oicles* and *Hypermnestra* the Daughter of *Thestius*. Thus *Amphiaraus* and the *Tyndaridæ* were the Sons of two Sisters, and consequently Cousin Germans.

The History of ADRASTUS.

Adrastus King of *Argos*, and Son of *Talaus* and *Lysianassa* the Daughter of *Polybus* King of *Sicyon*, was a Prince of great Valour, who acquired a high Reputation in the War of *Thebes*, which he undertook to support the Rights of *Polynices* his Son-in-law. He was, as has been said, the only one of the Chiefs who returned from thence, and he governed with great Equity and Justice the Kingdom of *Argos*, and that of *Sicyon*, which *Polybus* had bequeathed to him. He was of so sweet a Disposition and gentle Demeanour, that he won the Hearts of all his Subjects. He suffered from none but *Amphiaraus*, his Brother-in-law, who had obliged him to leave *Argos*; but he revenged himself on him afterwards, as has been said.

This Prince had several Children, *Cyanipe*, *Egialea* whom he gave in Marriage to *Diomedes*, *Argia* and *Deipheile* who married *Polynices* and *Tydeus* by a very odd kind of Adventure. Having gone to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, he learned that his two Daughters were to be married, the one to a Boar, the other to a
 Lion;

Lion; and some Time after, the two Princes now named having arrived at his Court, the one covered with a Lion's Skin, as being a *Theban*, and valuing himself upon wearing the Equipage of *Hercules*; the other the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, wearing the Skin of a Boar, in Memory of that which *Meleager* his Brother had slain; *Adrastus* made no Doubt but that this was the true Sense of the Oracle, and gave them his two Daughters. After a long and happy Reign, he died of Grief, for the Loss of his Son *Egialeus*, slain before *Thebes*, and was honoured as a Heroe, especially at *Sicyon*, where he had a Temple and Altars. There was even established in Honour of him a solemn Feast, which lasted till the Time of *Clisthenes*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*, who abolished it in Hatred of the *Argives* (1). Thus is the Story told by *Herodotus*: *Clisthenes*, Prince of *Sicyon* the Enemy of the *Argives*, having resolved to demolish the Tomb of that Prince, the Priestesses whom he went to consult endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He did not appear openly to oppose the Oracle; but he accomplished his Purpose by this Expedient; he sent to *Thebes* to demand the Body of *Menalippus* the sworn Enemy of *Adrastus*; and having interred him in the Tomb of the Kings of *Sicyon*, built a Temple to him, to which he transferred the Worship and Ceremonies that were celebrated in Honour of *Adrastus* (2), who, he thought, would in Time be forgotten for *Menalippus*.

So many Fables have been uttered about the famous Horse of *Adrastus*, named *Arion*, that I must needs say a Word or two of him in this Place. *Servius* and *Probus* will have it, that he was the same with that which *Neptune* had produced with a Blow of his Trident, near *Athens*: *Pausanias* asserts (3), that he was the Son of that God, and *Ceres*, or of the Wind *Zephyr*, and a Harpy, as may be seen in *Quintus Calaber*: We are told farther, that the *Nereids* fed him, and that he sometimes was employed in drawing the Chariot of *Neptune*, who gave him afterwards to *Copreus* King of

O 4

Aliartum.

(1) *Herodot.* L. 5.

(2) *Idem* L. 4.

(3) L. 8.

Aliartum, as we learn from the Scholiast upon *Homer* (1). He again made a Present of him to *Hercules*, who made Use of him against *Cygnus* the Son of *Mars*, and gave him to *Adrastus*. This Horse is said to have had the Feet of his Right Side like those of a Man, and also to have had the Use of Speech (2). All this, when strip'd of *Hyperboles*, means no more, than that *Adrastus* had a very fine Horse, which had been in the Possession of several Masters. No Doubt, what made them give him *Neptune* for his Father, was because that God was reputed the first who broke Horses; and those who make him the Son of *Zephrus*, had a Regard to his Swiftneſs, or rather to the fabulous Opinion which *Virgil* ſpeaks of in his *Georgics*, namely, that Mares are impregnated by turning towards the Wind; and I preſume we are in like Manner to explain what *Homer* ſays (3) of *Erichthonius's* Horses, of thoſe of *Achilles*, and others, that were believed to be of divine Extraction.

The History of ANTIGONE.

Creon, the Brother of *Jocasta*, having ſeized the Crown of *Thebes*, after the Death of the two irreconcilable Brothers, had given expreſs Orders not to bury either the Body or the Aſhes of *Polynices* (4); but *Antigone*, his Siſter, went out of the City by Night, and performed to him that laſt Duty. The King was informed next Day, that ſome body had diſobeyed his Orders, and to find out who it was, he ordered the Body to be again dug up, and his Guards to watch it. The next Night the Princeſs was taken by Surprize, as ſhe was coming to bewail her Brother's Miſfortune, and was brought before the King, who commanded her to be buried alive; but ſhe prevented ſo terrible a Death by ſtrangling herſelf. Prince *Hemon*, her Lover, killed himſelf in Deſpair (5), and *Eurydice*, her Mother, not being able to ſurvive ſo many Cataſtrophes of Woe, likewise proved her own Executioner. This Event

(1) Upon the fourth *Iliad*.

(2) *Propert.* L. 2. *Eleg.* laſt.

(3) *Iliad* L. 2.

(4) *Sophoc.* *Trag.* of *Antig.* *Philost.* &c.

(5) He was the Son of *Creon*.

Event is the Subject of a fine Tragedy of *Sophocles*, which made such a deep Impression upon the *Athenians*, at the first Representation of it, that they rewarded the Author with the Government of *Samos*.

This is not the only Heroic Action which the War of *Thebes* furnishes us with. When *Theseus* conferred magnificent Funeral Obsequies upon those who had died before that City, the Body of *Capaneus* was not allowed to be buried with the rest, because he had been Thunder-struck, and was considered as a Monster of Impiety, who by his Blasphemies had drawn down upon himself the Wrath of Heaven (a), and a Funeral Pile was made for him by itself. His Wife *Evadne*, the Daughter of *Yphis*, having dressed herself in her finest Cloaths, went up to a Rock, at the Foot of which they were burning the Body of her Husband, and from thence threw herself into the midst of the Pile, to mingle her Ashes with those of a Spouse who had always been dear to her (1): I shall give his History in a few Words.

The History of CAPANEUS.

Capaneus, one of the seven Leaders of the Army of the *Argives*, was brave and courageous, but of a fierce and impetuous Valour. He was the first that scaled the Walls of *Thebes*; but his Attempt succeeded ill, he was overthrown with Stones, and died upon the Rampart. 'Tis probable, that in his Life-time he had shewed little Respect to the Gods, which perhaps gave Occasion to say that he had been Thunder-struck, as a Punishment for his Impiety. *Statius* paints him furious and outrageous, and puts into his Mouth a Thousand Blasphemies and Extravagancies: He is the *Achilles* of the *Thebaid*; bating only that this Poet, who designed to draw his Character after that of *Homer*, had
neither

(a) *Pliny*, L. 2. c. 54. positively says it was forbid to burn the Bodies of those who had been Thunder-struck, and that they were only allowed Burial: *Cremari fas non est; condi terra Religio tradidit.*

(1) *Euripid.* in *Sup.* *Philoct.* upon *Evadne*.

neither so fine nor so just an Imagination as the *Greek*. Besides, this Author departs both from *Eschiles* and *Euripides*, who have given no such Character of *Capaneus*; which verifies what I have already said more than once, that the first Poets come nearer Historical Truth, than those who were later. To this Effect, *Euripides* speaks of him in his *Suppliants*. “ He was,
 “ says that Poet (1), a rich Man, but without Pride;
 “ a Lover of Simplicity, a Stranger to that foolish
 “ Vanity which Plenty inspires; sober, moderate, and
 “ a Despiser of those whom he saw abandon themselves
 “ to Feasting and Gaiety; being persuaded that Vir-
 “ tue and high living are two Things incompatible:
 “ A Man of Honour, a faithful Friend, particularly
 “ towards the absent; candid, courteous, and com-
 “ plaisant; a strict Observer of his Word, even to-
 “ wards Slaves.”

As the same Poet goes on in this Passage to draw the Characters of the other Leaders in that Expedition, I cannot do better than continue to copy him. “ The
 “ next, continues he, is *Etheocles*, a young Heroe,
 “ not blest with many of the Gifts of Fortune, but
 “ crowned with Honour in *Argolis*; so disinterested
 “ in the Services he did his Country, that he could
 “ never be prevailed on to receive any Reward, even
 “ from his Friends, for Fear of corrupting his Inte-
 “ grity, be it ever so little, and of bringing himself
 “ under Obligations by Gifts. He bore a Hatred to
 “ all bad Members of Society, but never allowed him-
 “ self to hate the Society itself; and he distinguished
 “ between the Commonwealth, and those who ren-
 “ dered it odious by Male-Administration.

“ The third is *Hippomedon*, who from his earliest
 “ Years had the Strength of Mind to trample upon
 “ Effeminacy and Voluptuousness, giving himself up
 “ to the Employments of a Country Life; living
 “ hardily, and inuring his Body to the laborious Ex-
 “ ercises of Riding, Hunting, and the Bow, with a
 “ View to make himself a Warrior serviceable to his
 “ Country, Par.

(1) Act. iv.

“ *Parthenopeus*, the Son of *Atalanta*, is the fourth.
 “ Having his Education in *Argolis* tho’ an *Arcadian*,
 “ he had the Talent of pleasing the Citizens and the
 “ State by his gracious Behaviour, his Sweetness and
 “ Modesty ; averse to all wrangling, and whatever be-
 “ spoke an over-bearing Temper of Mind, a Thing
 “ so insupportable in a Citizen, especially in a Stranger.
 “ With Sword in Hand he defended our Interests more
 “ like an *Argive* than a Foreigner. Tho’ he was the
 “ Idol of the fair Sex, he was never known to depart
 “ from the Modesty of his Age, nor to stain his Vir-
 “ tue.

“ As to *Tydeus*, he deserves a high Encomium, which
 “ I shall give in a Word or two. He was a much bet-
 “ ter Warrior than an Orator. Being accomplished
 “ in all the Stratagems of War, tho’ inferior to his
 “ Brother *Meleager* in other Parts of Knowledge, he
 “ was nothing short of him in the Art of War, and
 “ the only Science he professed was that of Arms.
 “ Ambitious of Glory, full of Ardour and Courage ;
 “ who had a Contempt of Money, tho’ rich ; and tho’
 “ no eloquent Speaker, performed many glorious At-
 “ chievements that spoke for him. From these Sket-
 “ ches we will no longer be surprized that such Heroes
 “ fought before *Thebes* till they all died upon the
 “ Spot.”

The History of TIRESIAS.

Though *Tiresias* is not mentioned in this War, yet
 as he was a celebrated Soothsayer, and flourished at
Thebes, at the same Time with *Amphiaraus*, I thought
 proper to give his History a place here. *Tiresias* the
 Son of *Everus* and *Cariclo*, devoted himself, according
 to the Manner of those Times, to the Science of *Augu-*
ries, wherein he succeeded so well, that he acquired a
 high Character, and was reputed an able Soothsayer.
 The *Thebans* put so much Faith in all his Predictions,
 that he obliged them to repair, after the Loss of their
 City, to a Corner of *Beotia* ; but as expert as he was,
 he

he had not foreseen that this Retreat was to prove fatal to himself. He lost his Life by drinking the Water of the Fountain of *Tilphosa* (1). As this Diviner lived very long (a), and grew blind, he gave a Handle to two ridiculous Fables: The one, that he had lost the Use of his Sight, for having seen *Minerva* in the Bath, as *Pherecides* says; and this Author adds, that as a Compensation the Goddess conferred upon him the Gift of Prophecy; the other, that it was *Juno* had inflicted this Punishment upon him, because he had decided the Question against her in favour of *Jupiter*, whether the Man or the Woman had most Pleasure in Marriage, as we learn from *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, who also inform us, that *Jupiter* to make him amends for the Loss of his Eyes, made him the greatest Prophet of his Time.

Hesiod (2) relates how *Tiresias* changed his Sex, for having struck with his Rod upon Mount *Cyllene*, two Serpents as they were in Copulation; and he adds that he resumed his Sex at the end of seven Years, after having struck them a second Time; a Fable whereof I see no other Foundation, but that the famous *Theban* had wrote upon the Prerogatives of both Sexes. We may however adopt the Opinion of some Authors, that this pretended Change of Sex, was founded upon the Doctrine taught by this famous Soothsayer, who valued himself upon his great Skill in Astronomy, namely that the Stars not only were animated, which was a Notion pretty common in that Time, but also that they were of different Sexes.

We may observe that the Devil had taken upon him in that Time to imitate the Conduct of God; for as in the Age we are now upon, which answers to the Time of the first Judges and *Samuel*, there were many Prophets or Seers among the *Jews*, so we find several Soothsayers among the *Gentiles*; *Amphiaraus* at *Argos*, *Tiresias* at *Thebes*, and not long after the famous *Calchas*

(1) It is in *Beotia*.

(a) Some say he lived five Generations, and more.

(2) Theog.

chas and *Mopsus*, *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*, and *Cassandra* his Sister, and many others whose Names we have in *Clemens Alexandrinus* (1). 'Tis true the detestable Study of Magic which *Orpheus* had brought from *Egypt* was then in vogue, and as the Times were very superstitious, the Diviners and false Prophets were consulted upon every Occasion.

I said at the Beginning of this Chapter, that the first *Theban* War happened about ten Years after the Conquest of the *Argonauts*; and consequently twenty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*; thus that of the *Epigoni* will fall upon the fifteenth Year before the Destruction of that City, and but five Years before the Siege was undertaken. Every thing conspires to support this *Æra*; the same Heroes are at both these Wars; and some of their Sons; and *Thersander* the Son of *Polynices*, embarked a few Years after for *Troy*, and was slain in *Mysia*, as has been said. *Hercules*, who died not till some Years after the Expedition to *Colchis*, was dead before the first of these two Wars, and *Theseus* still alive, since he performed the last Duties to the *Argives* who lost their lives there. Now we know that the latter died not long before the Siege of *Troy*, and consequently very soon after these two Wars. *Achelus* King of *Etolia*, who had given his eldest Daughter in Marriage to *Hercules*, was still alive, and disposed of his Daughter *Eriphyle*, to *Alcmeon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*. In a Word, all the Synchronisms that can be deduced from the Heroes living in that Period of Time, being so many Proofs that the two Wars, whereof I have given the History, were prior to that of *Troy*, and posterior to that of the *Centaur*s, to the Expedition to *Colchis*, and to the Hunting of *Calydon*, prove at the same Time, that we must necessarily place them both in the Years I have now marked, and I know no solid Objection can be raised against these *Æras*. For once more, we have nothing else to guide us in the History of an Age so remote from the Ancients themselves who first make
mention

(1) Strom. l. 1.

mention of it, but the Method of Synchronisms and Generations. Now if we read all the Historians, Mythologists and Poets, we shall find in them these Synchronisms and Generations such as I have stated them.

Lastly, to finish the History of the heroic Ages, it remains that I speak of the Siege of *Troy*, of all the Springs of that Expedition, of its concomitant Effects, and of what was consequent upon it.



B O O K V.

The History of the Trojan War, and of those who joined in it.

WE come now to what is undoubtedly the most celebrated Event of the fabulous and heroic Age, and what we may also call the last, since from thence to the historical Age, nothing of Importance happened in *Greece*, but the Wars of *Hercules's* Descendants against *Eurystheus*, and at length their Entrance into the *Peloponnesus*. I added, the most celebrated, by reason of the Number and Quality of those who took part therein, as well on the side of the *Grecians* as of the *Trojans*. Thus this Event deserves to be considered in all the Length I shall give it, since the History thereof being fully laid open, throws a great Light upon the Obscurity of an Age so remote from us, and is of all others the most proper to make us acquainted with the State of *Greece* in that Period of Time, its different Kingdoms, its Strength, and the principal Families whereof it was composed.

As this famous Expedition of the *Greeks* against *Asia* always appeared considerable, several Ancients have spoke of it; and *Homer* alone would have rendered it
immortal.

immortal. He it is I put at the Head of those whose Authority I shall make use of in recounting the chief Adventures thereof. To that great and remarkable Poet I join *Virgil*, who in the second Book of his *Eneid*, has described the taking of that City, and is so very full and particular upon the Head, that it is plain he had consulted Works which are not now extant. In reading him we seem transported as it were to *Troy*, made so well acquainted with its very Streets and principal Palaces, that we could even go thro' it without losing our Way. We have also for our Guides *Quintus Calaber*, who tho' more modern than *Virgil*, and doubtless of less Authority, yet lets us know some Circumstances in relation to this War, which we should seek for elsewhere in vain. *Coluthus* and *Triphiodorus*, who have treated the same Subject, have also been of great Use to me, and I have not even neglected *Ditlys* of *Crete*, nor *Dares* the *Phrygian*; not that I think either of them was in the Time of that War, as their Works set forth; but the former is at least of Antiquity enough to have examined Originals that are now lost. *Titus Livius* and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* have not been useless to me, no more than the *Iliac Table*, an ancient Work whereof I shall give a more particular Account afterwards, as also some *Bas-Reliefs* and several Medals. To these Helps, I have joined those that may be drawn from the Description *Pausanias* gives of *Polygnotus's* Paintings, some whereof represented several Particularities of the taking of *Troy*. These are the Sources whence I have taken all that is to be the Subject of the two following Books; adding to them, according to the Scheme I laid down in this Mythology, an Explanation of the Fables that are interwove into the Thread of this History, which abounds with more of them than any other in all Antiquity.

The Original of this War.

As it is a History I write and not a Poem, I shall not imitate *Homer*, who begins his *Iliad* with the
Wrath

Wrath of *Achilles*; that is, with an Incident which happened not till the Beginning of the last Year of the Siege of *Troy*. We shall ascend up to the Source of this War, and trace it, *ab ovo*, according to *Horace's* Expression (1); examine what were the Causes thereof.

Virgil, who according to the usual Practice of the Poets, resolves all into the Intervention of the Gods, *per Deorum ambages*, says that *Juno*, provoked at the Judgment of *Paris*, and the Rape of the *Phrygian Ganymede*, took Revenge upon the *Trojans*, and that we are to look for no other Cause of the Destruction of their Capital but the Wrath of the Gods (a); the whole founded upon a fabulous Tradition which we must first relate, and then consider what may have given rise to it.

Jupiter enamoured of *Tbetis* the Sister of *Lycomedes* King of *Scyros*, having learned from *Prometheus*, that according to the Oracle of *Themis*, the Child to be born of that Princess was to be more powerful than his Father, resigned her to *Peleus* the Son of *Eacus*. To make the Ceremony of their Marriage the more solemn, all the Gods were invited to it, none being excepted but the Goddess *Discord*. She, highly disobliged at this Affront, found a Way to be signally revenged, by throwing a golden Apple into the midst of that august Assembly, with this Inscription, *For the most Beautiful*. We may easily judge there was none of the Goddesses, who did not lay claim to the Possession of a Present not so considerable for the Matter of it, as for being made the Prize of Merit. However, they were mostly so equitable as to resign their Pretensions to *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*. These three Goddesses forthwith demanded Judgment. The Affair was of a delicate Nature, and *Jupiter* himself not daring to decide the Controversy,

(1) Art. Poet.

(a) *Manet alia mente repositum*

Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuria forma. *Æn.* l. 1.

- - - - - *Verum inclementia Divum*

Has evertit opes, sternitque a culmine Trojam.

Æneid. lib. 2;

Controversy, thought fit to send them (1), under the Conduct of *Mercury*, to Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, to have the Decision of a Shepherd named *Paris*, in reputation for being a very competent, and at the same Time a very equitable Judge in those Matters. The Goddesses appeared before him in their gayest Dress; and we may reasonably conjecture that they neglected no Art that might set off and give a Heightening to their Charms.

In order to gain the good Will of their Judge, and engage him each in her own Favour; they made him the most flattering Promises. *Juno*, whose Power extended over all Thrones and Scepters, soothed him with the Prospect of immense Power and Riches, if he would adjudge the Prize to her. *Minerva* promised him Virtue, as the most substantial Good, and *Venus* assured him, that if he would decide in her Favour, she would make him Master of the finest Woman in the World.

Paris, put to a Nonplus, and being determined not to pronounce Sentence till he had fully examined into the Merits of the Cause, demanded of them a Condition at which the Modesty of *Juno* and *Minerva* were at first alarmed; but what may not that Sex be brought to, in order to display that conscious Excellence which their Hearts are so ardently set upon (2)? At length he pronounced in *Venus's* Favour. She was actually the greatest Beauty of the three; and probably the Promise she had made him, was more to his Taste than either Riches or Virtue.

After this Judgment, *Juno* and *Minerva* wreak'd all their Spite upon *Paris*, swearing that they would take Vengeance not only upon their Judge, but upon *Priam* his Father; and upon the *Trojan* Empire whose Ruin was determined; but he minded nothing but the Promise made him by *Venus*. Some time after having occasion to go into *Greece*, for Reasons that shall be

VOL. IV:

P

given

(1) Hygin. Ovid, Coluthus, &c.

(2) We may see this whole Narrative in *Coluthus*, *Of the Rape of Helen*, and in *Lucian*. The *Iliack* Table confirms what these Authors say, as also a Medal of *Morel*, representing the three Goddesses quite naked in the Presence of their Judge.

given afterwards, he staid some Time at *Sparta* during the Absence of *Menelaus*; whom the Affairs of his Brother *Agamemnon* had called to *Argos*, and having captivated the Heart of *Helen* the greatest Beauty of her Time, carried her off, and thereby kindled the War which I am going to describe.

Tho' this whole Narration appears a mere Fiction, it wants not however some Foundation. The learned *Meziriac* relates (1), upon the Authority of *Suidas*, *Cedrenus*, and several others of the Ancients, that at the Nuptials of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, which were celebrated with all possible Magnificence, the Princes and Princesses who were invited thither, assumed for that Day the Names of Gods and Goddesses; much in the same Way as at our Village-Festivals, especially at that of the Kings, the Country-People plume themselves with the Names of Princes and their Ministers; and this is the more probable, that the Feast given on occasion of that Marriage was called afterwards the Banquet of the Gods. *Peleus* affected to assume the Name of *Nereus*, because *Thetis* his Spouse bore that of one of the *Nereids*. A Forest on Mount *Pelion*, near *Chiron's* Cave was made choice of for the Place of the Entertainment (a). During the Feast there arose some Diffension among the Ladies about Beauty, which was the Source of no small Disorder. Several Princes took part in it, either in behalf of their Wives, or of their Mistresses.

This Contest not being likely to be easily decided, 'tis very probable that at last it was found necessary to refer it to one of the Princes who was at the Feast, and whose Judgment disobliged those against whom it was pronounced. Some Poet finding this an entertaining Subject, made a Poem upon it, wherein under the Idea of the Gods and Goddesses, whose Names the Guests had assumed, he gave a happy Description of this Adventure,

(1) Epistle of *Briseis* to *Achilles*.

(a) This Fact represented upon a Marble is quoted by *Pichius*; there several of the Gods are knowable by their Symbols, and *Chiron* who has the half of his Body out of the Cave.

venture, and invented several fabulous Circumstances proper to embellish it. The Reason why they have wrought into it the Judgment of *Paris* who was of *Phrygia*, while the Feast was celebrated in *Thessaly*, is, as we learn from *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, because *Paris* reduced, for Reasons to be given in his History, to keep Flocks upon Mount *Ida*, composed a Poem upon the Goddess *Venus*, wherein he preferred her Beauty to that of *Pallas* and *Juno*, which gave rise to the Fable. To which we may add that *Paris*, a Man of Genius and of great Equity, had often been chosen by the Shepherds of Mount *Ida* for the Umpire in their Quarrels; which contributed not a little to make him pass for the Judge of the three Goddesses. It will be said these are only Conjectures; but in Facts of this Nature, what direct Proofs can be given? And is it not allowable, by reducing ancient Fictions to human Probability, to understand them in the same Sense, as we would a Work composed by some Poet at this Day upon a similar Subject.

Eusebius explains this Fiction with some little Variation, by saying that while *Helen* disputed the Prize of Beauty with two other *Grecian* Ladies, *Paris* judged in her Favour; that she suffered herself to be carried off, and that this had given rise to the Fable of the Judgment of the three Goddesses. But what Proofs does he rely upon? This is what he has not told us. There is even more probability in what we are told by some Authors, that it is founded upon a Dream of *Paris*, wherein that Prince thought he saw the three Goddesses appealing to him for his Judgment of their Beauty; and he decided in favour of *Venus*, who promised him the finest Woman in *Asia*. Dreams were considered as Revelations; thus he wanted no more, according to the Remark of *Dares* the *Phrygian*, to determine him to accept the Command of the Fleet which his Father was going to send into *Greece* to demand *Hesione's* Estate, in hope of a Conquest more charming than that of his Aunt's Effects.

Be that as it will, Antiquity seems to have understood literally the Story of the Judgment of *Paris*, and we have in *Spon* (1) a fine Medal, struck under *Antoninus Pius*, on which are represented the three Goddesses now mentioned, on the Summit of a Mountain, with *Paris* led by *Mercury*: *Venus* only is seen naked; *Minerva* and *Juno* are still dressed.

Tho' I am no Partisan to allegorical Explications, there are some so ingenious that I cannot choose but take Notice of them. According to some Mythologists, this Fiction is nothing but an Emblem of the Mystery of the Creation, or, to conform myself to the usual Language of the Pagans upon this Subject, of the *Chaos*, and the Manner in which the World was formed out of it. The Gods assembled at the Marriage of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, who breathe nothing but Joy and Pleasure, represent the Efforts of fertile Nature, to produce the Earth out of *Chaos*. *Discord* thwarts her by a thousand Obstacles and Artifices which she alone can contrive, and this *Discord* is nothing but the jarring Confusion of the Elements, always counter-acting one another. *Paris* at length is entrusted with the fatal Apple, and he without Hesitation adjudges it to *Venus* who is the Goddess of Reconciliation, of Harmony, and lastly, of Generation; by her means all begin to be unravelled; all begin to breathe, and live. This, according to the Mythologists, is the true Reason why the Ancients reckoned Love the first and eldest of all the Gods.

C H A P. II.

The true Cause of the Rape of Helen.

THE Question is, setting aside all Fiction, to find out the true Cause of the Rape of *Helen*, whereof the *Trojan War*, and the total Overthrow of *Priam's* Kingdom were the fatal Consequences.

Here I shall not insist on the ancient Jealousy mentioned by *Hierodotus* between the *Greeks* and the *Asiatics*,

(1) Recherch. curieuses. Diff. 246

ticks, upon account of mutual Rapes for which no Satisfaction had been given. The latter had carried off *Io*, even in the Port of *Argos*; and the former, *Medea*; which inflamed *Paris*, says the Author now quoted, with a Desire to travel into *Greece*, there to carry off a Wife, presuming he would be as little called to an Account for it, as others had been for former Rapes. But between the House of *Priam*, and that of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* his Brother, there was a hereditary Hatred. *Tantalus* had formerly carried off or destroyed *Ganymede*; now this *Tantalus* the Father of *Pelops*, was *Agamemnon*'s great Grandfather, and *Ganymede* great Uncle to *Priam* (a): After the following Manner did that Affair happen. *Troas* King of *Troy*, having made several Conquests upon his Neighbours, sent his Son *Ganymede* accompany'd with some of his Friends (b) into *Lydia*, to offer Sacrifices in a Temple consecrated to *Jupiter*. *Tantalus* not knowing the King of *Troy*'s Intention, took these Persons for Spies, and having apprehended the young *Ganymede*, clap'd him up in Prison, where he grieved himself to Death for the Insult offered him, and *Tantalus* sent back to *Troy* the rest of his Retinue, after giving that Prince a magnificent Funeral (c). Others are of Opinion that he kept him at his Court, and as *Tantalus* was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Pluto* the Daughter of the *Ocean*, that he himself took the Surname of *Jupiter*, and made his Prisoner officiate as his Cup-bearer, which gave rise to the Fable of the Rape of that Prince by *Jupiter*; or rather this Rape of *Jupiter* transformed into an Eagle, denotes *Ganymede*'s untimely Death, and the Swiftneſs with which the short Course of his Life had passed away. As the King of *Lydia* had made him serve for his Cup-bearer, this perhaps is what gave the

P 3

Poets

(a) *Hyginus* is mistaken in making *Ganymede* the Son of *Erichthonius*.

(b) His Retinue consisted of fifty Persons.

(c) *Suidas*, *Cedrenus*, *Eusebius*, &c. *Herodian* says this young Prince was slain by his Brother in some remote Place, and that he afterwards decreed divine Honours to him, giving out that *Jupiter* had ravished him.

Poets a Handle to say that the Gods had placed him among the Stars, where he forms the Sign of *Aquarius* (a).

Whatever be in that, there arose upon this Occasion a long War between *Tros* and *Tantalus*, and after their Death *Ilus* the Son of *Tros*, continued it against *Pelops* the Son of *Tantalus*, and obliged him to quit the Kingdom, and return to *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, whose Daughter he married, and had by her a Son named *Aireus*; thus we may suppose that *Paris*, the great Grandson of *Ilus*, *Ganymede's* Brother, ravished *Helen* by a kind of Reprisals against *Menelaus*, the great Grandson of *Ganymede's* Ravisher.

There was besides an Antipathy between the *Phrygians* and *Greeks* of a later Date. *Hercules*, as has been said, had taken and sacked, about thirty-five Years before, the City *Troy*, and carried off *Hesione*, whom he had resigned to *Telamon*, and put *Laomedon* to death: And tho' he had left the Kingdom to *Priam*, the latter still remembered the Injury done to his Family: Thus we need not be surprized, if *Paris* in revenge sought to carry off a *Grecian* Woman; this sort of Revenge was very common in that Age. It is commonly believed that *Priam* sent that Prince to *Telamon's* Court, either to see his Aunt, or rather to take Possession of her Estate. *Paris* during this Expedition visited the principal Cities of *Greece*, and having staid some time at the Court of *Menelaus* King of *Sparta*, fell in love with *Helen*, the most beautiful Princess of that Time, and was beloved by her in his turn; and taking Advantage of the Husband's Absence (b), ravished her and carried her to *Troy*; or, according to *Herodotus*, being forced by contrary Wind to land in *Egypt*, *Proteus* detained *Helen*;

(a) *Hesiodus*, *Hyginus* tells us, says it is *Deucalion* forms the Sign of *Aquarius*, upon Account of the Deluge that happened under his Reign; or, according to *Eubulus*, it is *Cecrops* who, before the Use of Wine, imployed Water in Sacrifices. *Hygin. Poet. Astron.* c. 10.

(b) *Dionysius* of *Crete*, Lib. 10. says he went to *Crete* to share *Atreus's* Estate: *Dares* says *Paris* found *Helen* in the Island of *Cythera*.

Helen; but we shall give a full Account of this Adventure in the History of that Princess.

C H A P. III.

Of the War that ensued upon this Rape.

AS most of the Wars of that Time usually happened upon occasion of like Injuries, the *Greeks* prepared themselves in good Earnest to revenge the Insult offered to one of their Kings; but that they might not be too precipitant, but render the *Trojans* quite inexcusable, they were willing to try first the Way of Negotiation, and therefore sent Ambassadors to *Priam* (1), to prevail upon him to repair this Injury; the Embassy was fruitless, and *Priam* made no other Answer to the Deputies, but that they had no Reason to expect Redress, they who had made no Satisfaction for the Injury they had done to *Æetes*, for the Rape of *Medea* his Daughter, and still more lately for that of his own Sister *Hesione*. The *Greeks*, provoked at this Answer, were now bent on taking Revenge by force of Arms, and the War was heartily resolved upon. For that End a general Assembly of the States of *Greece* was held at *Argos*, or rather at *Mycene*, where reigned *Agamemnon* the Brother of *Menelaus*, and the most powerful Prince in *Greece* (a); or if we may believe one of the most learned Men of our Time (2), at *Larissa* the Court of *Peleus* the Father of *Achilles*, a Prince more powerful by Sea than the rest, and consequently more necessary upon this Occasion.

P 4

The

(1) Herodot. loc. cit.

(a) I put the Reader in mind once for all, that when in this History of *Greece* we speak of powerful Kings, Monarchies, &c. it is to be understood in comparison of their Neighbours; for in reality they were but very petty Princes, whose Dominions were of small Extent, and often confined to their Capital, and some other Towns and Villages at no great Distance. *Argolis* itself which formed those of *Agamemnon*, was a very small Country, and there are several Estates in *France*, more considerable by the Desmesnes that depend upon them, than this Kingdom was.

(2) Father Hardouin, *Apol. d' Homere*.

The War being thus resolved, almost all the Princes of *Greece* engaged themselves in it by Oath (a), and were heartily disposed to furnish each the Quota of Ships that was agreed to. The Armament was so considerable, that *Homer* makes the Number of Ships amount to 1070, others to 1200, and *Virgil* by a round Reckoning, to a thousand, *mille carinæ*; which is to be understood of Ships such as were used in that Time, flat bottoms, which with the Ship's Crew and Provisions, carried but few Soldiers. *Homer* has employed the second Book of the *Iliad*, in the exact Enumeration of the *Grecian* Princes who embarked for this War, and in the Catalogue of the Ships that each brought thither. *Agamemnon* who was unanimously declared the Generalissimo of the Army, was at the same Time King of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and several other Towns. He had fitted out so many Ships, that he lent a Part of them to the *Arcadians*, under the Conduct of *Agapenor*: *Menelaus* his Brother conducted the *Spartans*; *Nestor* the *Messenians*: *Polixenus* and *Amphimachus*, the *Eleans*: *Diomedes* the Son of *Tydeus*, *Steneleus* the Son of *Capaneus*, and *Euryalus*, were the Leaders of the *Argives*: *Mnestheus* commanded the *Athenians*: *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, the *Megarians* and Inhabitants of *Salamis*: *Schedius* and *Epistrophus*, the *Phocians*. *Thoas* with the *Etolians* *Megeles* with the *Dulichians*, *Ulysses* with the *Ithacians* and *Cephalonians*, had considerable Places in this Army: The *Beotians* had five Captains to command them, among whom was *Thersander*. The Inhabitants of *Iolchos* and *Pheres* had for their Leader *Eumelus* the Son of *Admetus* and *Alcestes*; those of *Ithime* and *Oecalia*, *Podalyrus* and *Machaon* the Sons of *Æsculapius*; the *Mineans* who dwelt at *Orchomenos*, were under the Conduct of *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmenus* his Brother. *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* conducted the *Locrians*; and *Elephenor*, the *Eubeans*. The *Thessalians* obeyed ten Generals, among whom *Achilles* with his *Mirmidons*, *Protesilaus* and *Philoctetes* were the most famous. *Idomeneus* and *Merion* the Sons of *Deucalion*,

(a) *Jurabant omnes in læsi verba mariti.*

Ovid.

Deucalion, and Grandsons of *Minos II.* commanded the *Cretans*. *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*, the Inhabitants of *Rhodes*; lastly, *Phidippus* and *Antipus*, those of *Cos*, and the other neighbouring Islands.

The Number of Soldiers under the Command of these Captains, according to *Thucydides*, amounted to 75000 or thereabouts. This fine Army being assembled in the Port of *Aulis*, wanted nothing but a fair Wind to carry them over the *Hellepont*; but the Wind was denied them for the Reason I am going to relate, *Calchas*, upon I know not what Foundation, had foretold, as we read in *Homer* (1), and *Ovid* (2), that they were to be ten Years before *Troy*; and in Confirmation of this Prediction, he gave it out to the Army that he had seen a Serpent climb a Tree, which after devouring ten little Birds that were in a Nest, had also destroyed the Mother; which Omen according to him, signified that they were not to be Masters of the City, till after a ten Years Siege; he added that the Serpent had been transformed into a Stone; a Fable invented by that high Priest to support a Prediction, perhaps dictated by some of the Princes of the Army, who dissatisfied with going to the War themselves, had a Mind to divert others from so hazardous an Enterprize.

Eschiles, in his Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, instead of the Prodigy now related, puts another in the Mouth of the old Men who open the Scene. Two Eagles, say they, sent by Jupiter, were seen to fall upon a pregnant Coney, and forthwith to devour the Mother and the young, *Calchas* upon seeing the King of the Birds, without Hesitation interpreted it of the Leaders of the Army, and pronounced the Oracle which begins thus: Priam's City shall fall under the Strokes that threaten it, &c.

But there fell out in the same Place, another Adventure of much greater Importance. An obstinate Calm detaining the Army too long in *Aulis*, *Calchas* gave the Greeks to know that *Diana* incensed against *Agamemnon* for having killed a Deer that was consecrated

(1) *Iliad*. l. 2. (2) *Met.* l. 12.

crated to her, withheld from them a favourable Wind, and that she could not be appeased but by the Blood of a Princess of his Family (1). *Agamemnon* after having hesitated a long Time, gave up his Daughter to the Solicitations of the confederate Princes. *Ulysses* offered to go and fetch her, under some specious Pretext, from the Embraces of her Mother. All things were disposed in order for the Sacrifice; but *Diana* appeased by this Act of Submission, substituted in the Place of *Iphigenia*, this was the Name of *Agamemnon's* Daughter, a Deer which was sacrificed to her, and she transported the Princess to *Tauris* there to serve her for a Priestess. Some ancient Mythologists tell us, that she was transformed into a Bear: *Nicander* will have it that she was turned into a Heifer, others into an old Woman; such Variety is to be found in these ancient Histories. *Homer* speaks not a Word of this Adventure; on the contrary, about the End of the Siege of *Troy*, he makes mention of *Iphianassa* the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, who is offered in Marriage to *Achilles* in order to appease his Wrath: Now no body doubts but this *Iphianassa* is the same with *Iphigenia*.

Several Authors, 'tis true, have considered the Fact now related as a mere Fiction, and could not conceive that a Father would be so barbarous as to sacrifice his own Daughter. Some of them are of Opinion that this Adventure carries an Allusion to the Story of *Jephthé*, which happened about that Time, whose Daughter, according to them, had the same Name which *Homer* gives to the Daughter of *Agamemnon* (2). Others again assert that *Iphigenia* was actually sacrificed to the Superstition of the Soldiers (a), and to the Policy of a Prince who was afraid of losing the Command of a fine Army. Lastly, as a Key to this Fable (b), another *Iphigenia* has been found in the Family of *Agamemnon*, whom *Helen* ravished

(1) Virg. l. 2. Ovid. Met. l. 12. (2) Huetius Demonst. Evang.

P. 4.

(a) This is not the first Time that Superstition was the Source of such Sacrifices.

(b) See *Racine* in his Preface to the Tragedy of *Iphigenia*, after *Euripides*.

ravished by *Theseus*, had brought forth, and who had been sent to *Clytemnestra* already married, who took Care of her, and would have her pass for her own Daughter. For my part, I am of Opinion, that *Agamemnon* threatened with the Wrath of *Diana*, resolved actually to sacrifice his Daughter (*a*); that *Ulysses* went and tore her from the Arms of her Mother; that Preparation was made for sacrificing her to *Diana* incensed; but that the Soldiers, having opposed it, as well as some of the Officers, *Calchas* apprehensive of an Insurrection, insinuated that *Diana* might be appeased by the Sacrifice of a Deer, and by the Consecration of *Iphigenia*, who was actually sent to *Tauris* to serve her in quality of Priestess (*b*). Were we to give credit to *Diety* of *Crete* (1), we might say that *Ulysses* set out from the Army without consulting *Agamemnon*; that he forged Letters from that Prince, informing *Clytemnestra* that *Achilles* would not quit *Aulis*, till he had first married *Iphigenia*; and that having secretly conveyed her into the Camp, he with *Calchas* was going to Sacrifice her to the Goddess, when terrified by some Prodigies, or rather by the Menaces of *Achilles* who discovered the Mystery, she was sent to *Tauris*, and a Deer was offered in Sacrifice, which had been driven by the Storm to shelter itself near the Altar of the Goddess.

Pausanias (2) explaining the fine Pictures of *Polygnotus*, which were in the Poet *Lescheus*, says, *Menelaus* was there represented with a Buckler, on which was painted the Serpent that appeared during the Sacrifice, which we have been speaking of. I have seen this Piece of History no where else, which the Painter had learned from *Lescheus*'s Poem upon the taking of *Troy*. The *Greeks* perhaps had propagated this Prodigy, and *Menelaus* adopted it, by making this Monster be engraved upon his Buckler.

To conclude, these Preparations, and the several Hindrances that intervened, took up ten Years before the

(*a*) See below the History of *Agamemnon*.

(*b*) See the History of *Agamemnon*.

(1) L. 1. (2) In Phocæ

the *Greeks* embarked, and consequently lasted as long as the Siege itself; accordingly, *Homer* makes *Helen* say, in the tenth Year of the Siege, that she had now been Twenty Years in that City.

C H A P. IV.

The History of the Siege of TROY.

THE *Greeks*, at length, having the Wind favourable, embarked, and arrived happily at the Promontory of *Sigæum*. As they had been long in making Preparation for this grand Expedition, the *Trojans* on their Side had full Leisure to put themselves in a Readiness for giving them a warm Reception. *Priam* had used all Means to procure Allies, and auxiliary Troops (1); and he succeeded so well, that all the neighbouring Princes had either come to him in Person, or sent him Supplies. *Lycaon* conducted thither the Inhabitants of *Zelea*, upon Mount *Ida*, *Adrastus* and *Amphius* those of *Adrastia*, *Apesa*, *Pytice* and *Teria*; Those of *Aribes*, of *Percote*, *Praxion* and *Abydos* were under the Command of *Afius* the Son of *Hirtacus*. *Hippothous* and *Pileus* were the Leaders of the *Pelasgians* of *Lcrissa*; *Achamas* and *Pirous* of the *Thracians* of the *Hellepont*. The *Ciconians* marched under the Conduct of *Euphemus*; the *Paphlagonians* under that of *Pylemenes*; the *Mysians* under that of *Chromis*. *Phorcis* and *Ascanius* led the *Pbrygians*. *Rhesus* conducted thither the *Thracians*, his Subjects, and *Memnon* the *Persians* and *Ethiopians*, whom *Teutamus* had put under his Command. The *Amazons* invited to the Defence of that City, came thither with their Queen at their Head; lastly, *Eneas* commanded the *Dardans* with *Archilochus* and *Atbamas* the Son of *Antenor*; not to insist on *Sarpedon* with his *Lycians*, or *Ebeus*, *Chorebus*, *Elpenor* and some others, who arrived not till towards the End of the Siege.

The *Trojans*, therefore, finding themselves in a Condition to receive their Enemies, exerted their utmost Efforts

(1) *Homer*, II. l. 2.

Efforts to prevent their landing, and there ensued a sharp Engagement, where the Leaders on both Sides highly distinguished themselves. *Protesilaus* seeing the *Greeks* averse to quit their Ships, because the Oracle had foretold, that the first who set his Foot a Shore was to be slain, sacrificed his Life to the Preservation of his Country; and *Cygnus*, on the Side of the *Trojans*, died there, after having performed such brave Actions, as gave Occasion to say, that *Neptune* had made him invulnerable (1). Besides, *Cygnus* was given out to be the Son of that God, because, probably, he was a powerful Prince by Sea. His Transformation into a Fowl, is a mere Fiction, invented to support the other Fable (a).

This first Battle was followed with a long Respite, as *Ulysses* says in his Harangue for the Armour of *Achilles* (2); both Sides laid down their Arms (b); the Besiegers minded nothing but the forming of their Camp, and securing themselves by good Entrenchments; and the Besieged, on the contrary, the defending of themselves. The great Care on both Sides, was to shun being surprized, and while the *Greeks* were careful to guard their Trenches, the *Trojans* were as assiduous in watching the Gates of their City (c).

The Besiegers even employed the first nine Years only in making themselves Masters of several neighbouring Towns that had taken up Arms in Defence of *Troy*; and this is what made the Siege last so long, as *Thucydides* remarks; the Troops being obliged to separate, in Order to find themselves Victuals, for which they had not made any Provision: Thus they who were in the Town, were capable to hold out against the Assailants; for had the City *Troy* been attacked by all

(1) Ovid. Met. l. 12.

(a) See what has been said of the different Persons that went by the Name of *Cygnus*, in the History of *Phaeton*, first Book, Volume second.

(2) Met. l. 12.

(b) *Hic labor, hæc requiem multorum pugna dierum, Attulit; & positæ pars utraque substitit armis.*

Ovid. ix.

(c) *Dumque Vigil Phrygios servat custodia muros, Et Vigil Argolicas servat Custodia fossas.*

Id. ix.

all the Forces which the *Greeks* had brought, doubtless it had not been able to stand out so long, according to the Author now quoted, who says the *Greeks* had taken so little Precaution for Provisions, and other Stores, that they were obliged to employ some of their Men to labour the Ground they were come to conquer.

Lyrnessus, the Country of *Briseis*, *Pedafus*, *Zelea*, *Adrastæa*, *Pythia*, *Percote*, *Arisbé*, *Abydos*, *Chryse*, and *Cille*, were the Conquests of *Achilles*; and *Strabo* remarks, that it was only the Tedioufness of the Siege made him attempt those Conquests. *Ajax*, on his Side, ravaged *Thrace*, and others subdued the Kingdom of *Cygnus*, and obliged the conquered People to supply the Army with Grain. These Captains carried the Plunder to the Camp, which was formed upon the Sea-shore, and there it was divided. The *Greeks*, to fortify themselves, had laid up their Ships, and entrenched themselves behind a good Wall. For 'tis proper to remark that this Camp continued always in the same Place, that is, near the Promontory of *Sigeum*, whence *Agamemnon*, and some other of the Leaders, never stirred. This was even a Ground of Reproach against him, from *Achilles*, when he tells the Deputies from *Agamemnon*, who presented him with the Gifts from that General, to appease him, that he had always been busy in carrying the Booty and Spoils of the Enemy into the Camp, while *Agamemnon* remained secure in his Tent, dividing the Spoil, whereof he was sure to reserve the best Part for himself. This was the general Rendezvous, whence they set out to make Excursions; for, during the first nine Years, the *Greeks* were much more solicitous to weaken the Allies of the *Trojans*, than to carry on the Siege vigorously. There happened, however, several particular Actions during that Interval, but nothing passed that was very signal or remarkable; *nec aperti*, says *Ovid*, *Copia martis*. Ambuscades were laid for one another; sometimes the Flocks carried off, as they were feeding in the Plain; some Peasants made Prisoners of War, as they were cultivating the Fields, and there

there fold in the adjacent Countries; and it was not 'till the tenth Year that the Siege began to be carried on with Vigour.

Decimo tantum pugnativimus Anno (1)

Tho' *Homer* begins his *Iliad* with the Events that happened during this tenth Year, that is, with the Wrath of *Achilles*, yet he has artfully introduced, either by Speeches, or other Allusions, a Part of what was transacted during the former nine Years; and 'tis easy to see, that tho' the City was not much straitened, since, for want of a Line of Circumvallation, the Side towards Mount *Ida*, was quite open, yet there was Action on both Sides, tho' with less Vigour than towards the End of the Siege. That Poet, in the third Book of the *Iliad*, represents *Helen* embroidering a rich Stuff, where, says he, she had drawn all the Battles that were fought for her under the Walls of *Ilium*. That Passage plainly refers to Battles antecedent to the Anger of *Achilles*, who did not retire to his Tent 'till the tenth Year. In the sixth Book, *Andromache* tells *Hector*, that *Ajax*, and the two Sons of *Atreus*, had attempted thrice to surprize the City, when it was weak, but without Success. "While I fought, says *Achilles*, speaking of the first Years of the Siege (2), fierce *Hector* never durst leave the Walls of the City; hardly did he dare to quit the *Scæan* Gate, and advance to the Oak Tree;" which both proves that *Achilles* was not always engaged in subduing the Allies of the *Trojans*, and that he had often fought before the Commencement of his Anger. *Eneas*, in like manner, tells *Lycaon* (3), who was for his making Head against *Achilles*; after his Reconciliation with *Agamemnon*: "Why will you force me to go against the Son of *Peleus*? I am not now to learn his Valour: I fought with him formerly, when he attacked our Flocks upon Mount *Ida*, when the Goddess *Minerva* gave him a signal Victory over the *Trojans*." The Poet makes

Achilles

(1) Id. *ibid*.

(2) Il. l. 9.

(3) Il. l. 20.

Achilles say (1), that he had once made *Lycaon*, the Son of *Priam* Prisoner, having surprized him in one of his Father's Orchards, where he was pruning a wild Fig-Tree, and that he had sent him Captive into the Island of *Lemnos*. *Hecuba* complains of the Cruelty of the same *Achilles*, who, on various Occasions, had made several other of her Sons Prisoners, and sent them to *Samos*, *Imbros*, and other Countries.

The Wall which surrounded the *Grecian* Camp, was probably not raised till about the last Year, and while *Achilles* was taken up in reducing the Allies of the *Trojans*, since he rallies *Agamemnon* upon that Account, telling him, that while he was in the Camp, there was no Occasion for seeking Shelter from the Attacks of the Enemy.

Ovid, in the Harangue which I have already quoted, represents *Ulysses* employing all the Care of an Intendant-General of the Army, going in quest of Provisions, conducting them to the Camp, giving Orders for raising the Trenches, and especially encouraging the Soldiers, disheartened with the Tedioufness of the Siege. After these Particulars, it would be needless to quote *Dares* of *Phrygia*, who has left us a Journal of all that happened during the ten Years of the Siege, mentioning the Sallies, the particular Battles, Truces, Embassies, Negotiations, and the Ambuscades that were laid on either Side; nor *Dicæys* of *Crete*, who, however, deserves more Credit than *Dares*, and is very full and particular upon this Subject, informing us what Means the *Greeks* had used to procure Provisions; and Arms to fortify their Trenches; their applying themselves, especially during the Winter, to several Games, that served to keep the Troops in Exercise, as well as divert their Anxiety.

It was also during this Siege, that *Palamedes*, whom *Ulysses* had not yet sacrificed to his Jealousy, invented the Game of Dice, which was of Use, both to amuse the Officer and the Soldier.

'Tis

(1) Il. . 211.

'Tis not strange that a City, whose Walls are said to have been built by the Gods, which, setting aside the marvellous, proves at least their Strength and Sufficiency, resisted so long such feeble Attacks, and Forces often dissipated. The Siege of *Veii*, and some others, are a Proof of the long Resistance a City may make, when ill attack'd, and which is not cut off by a good Circumvallation from all Succour. But to all these Reasons we must add, that Superstition, which had so great a Share in all the Enterprizes of those Times, was the principal Cause of the Length of the Siege, since it was believed that *Troy* could not be taken till after the Accomplishment of its Destiny.

C H A P. V.

The Fatalities annexed to Troy.

THAT the Opinion which made the Ruin of this City depend upon certain Fatalities, had no other Foundation but some obscure Oracles little understood, is out of the Question. 'Tis certain that this Tradition was universally disseminated thro' both Armies, and consequently must have animated the *Trojans*, and disheartened the *Greeks*, till they were at length accomplished. The Pains they took to find out *Philoctetes* at *Lemnos*, and *Pyrrhus* at *Scyros*; the Hazards they run, in order to carry off the *Palladium*, and to hinder the Horses of *Rhesus* from drinking of the River *Xanthus*, prove how zealously they were attached to those Fatalities. Let it not be said, that all these Things fell out in the Tenth Year; for this is a direct Confirmation that the *Greeks* thought it not possible to take the City till then; and that seeing then all the Destinies accomplished, they drew together their whole Troops, to push the Siege more vigorously.

The first of these Fatalities was, that the City could not be taken without the Descendants of *Eacus*. The Foundation whereof was, that *Apollo* and *Neptune* being employed in building the Walls of *Troy* (a), had

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applied

(a) See *Pindar's* Scholiast upon the Eighth Olympic.

applied to that Prince for his Assistance, that so the Work of a Mortal being joined with that of Gods, the City, which had otherwise been impregnable, might be capable of being one Day taken, if the Gods thought fit; this is what made the *Greeks*, who knew this Circumstance, employ the artful *Ulysses* to force *Achilles*, the Grandson of *Eacus*, from the Arms of *Deidamia*, the Daughter of *Lycomedes* King of *Scyros*, with whom his Mother had concealed him; and after his Death to send for his Son *Pyrrhus*, tho' he was then but very young; tho' perhaps it is true at bottom that *Calchas*, gained by the other Leaders of the Army, had contrived this Fatality to draw *Achilles* and his Troops to the Siege of *Troy*.

It was necessary, in the second Place, to have *Hercules's* Arrows, which were in the Hands of *Philoctetes*, whom the *Greeks* had basely abandoned in the Isle of *Lemnos*, upon Account of an Ulcer he had contracted from the Bite of a Serpent, when he was searching at *Cbrysa* for an Altar of *Apollo*, where *Hercules* had formerly sacrificed, and where the *Greeks*, according to the Oracle, were of necessity to sacrifice before the City could be taken; or by a Wound he had received from one of *Hercules's* Arrows, which he let fall upon his Foot; these Arrows, dyed in the Blood of the *Hydra*, which was a venomous Serpent, had been poisoned thereby. The Necessity they thought there was for these Arrows, obliged the *Greeks* to depute *Ulysses* to go in quest of *Philoctetes*, tho' he was mortally hated by him, for being one of those who advised to leave him in that Island. That sly Captain however succeeded in his Enterprize, and brought him to the Siege.

'Tis this Voyage of *Ulysses* and his Success in it, that makes the Subject of *Euripides's* Tragedy called *Philoctetes*, one of the finest in Antiquity, and which proves at the same Time that without either Episode or Love Story one may succeed in Tragedy; and that it is not commonly owing to the Barrenness of the Subject, for this of his is one of the most simple, that Authors have recourse to that Complication of Incidents, which spoils almost all theatrical Performances.

The

The third and most important Fatality was to carry off the *Palladium* (a), which the *Trojans* carefully kept in the Temple of *Minerva*. This *Palladium* was a Statue of that Goddess, three Cubits high, holding a Pike in the right Hand, a Distaff and a Spindle in the left. The Ancients speak of this Statue in so loose a Manner, that we know not well what to fix upon. Some say (b) *Jupiter* made it fall from Heaven near *Ilus's* Tent, when he was building the Citadel of *Ilium*. *Herodian* asserts that it fell at *Pessinus* a City of *Phrygia*; others will have it that *Electra* the Mother of *Danaus* gave it to that Prince. There are who alledge that it was the Astronomer *Asius* made a Present of it to *Tros*, as a Talisman whereon the Preservation of the City depended; or that *Dardanus* received it from *Chryse*, who was reputed the Daughter of *Pallas*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (1), who agrees in Opinion with those who make it a Present sent from Heaven, adds that *Eneas* seized upon it, carried it into *Italy* with his household Gods, and that the *Greeks* had got only a Copy of it, made after the Similitude of the Original.

Lastly, *Arnobius* (2), *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* (3), and *Julius Firmicus* (4), contend that the *Palladium* had been made of *Pelops's* Bones, and that by one of the Fatalities of *Troy*, it was necessary to have the Bones of that Heroe. *Apollodorus* (5) had said long before that this Statue of *Minerva* was a Piece of Clock-work that moved of itself.

Whatever be in these various Opinions, the *Greeks* looking upon this Statue as an Obstacle to the taking of *Troy*, so long as it was in that City, contrived how to carry it off. *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* having entered the Citadel by Night, either by Surprise, or by Means of

Q 2

secret

(a) *Omnis spes Danaum cæptique fiducia belli*

Palladis auxilio semper stetit. Virg. l. 2.

(b) See *Ryckius's* Hist. of the Colonies settled in *Italy*, pag. 464. & seq.

(1) *Antiq. Rom.* l. 2. (2) *Advers. Gent.* l. 4. (3) *Strom.* l. 6.

(4) *De error Prof. Rel.* c. 16. (5) *L.* 3.

secret Intelligence (a), stole away that valuable Pledge of the Security of the *Trojans*, and conveyed it into their Camp; but hardly were they arrived when the Goddess gave Testimonies of her Wrath. To which Purpose *Virgil* makes *Sinon* say (b):

*Scarce to the Camp the sacred Image came,
When from her Eyes she flash'd a living Flame;
A briny Sweat bedew'd her Limbs around,
And thrice she sprung indignant from the Ground;
Thrice was she seen with martial Rage to wield
Her pond'rous Spear, and shake her blazing Shield.*

Pitt's *Æn.* 2. 228.

Conon (1) will have it that *Diomedes* alone carried off the Statue, and that when he was arrived at the Foot of the *Trojan* Walls, he got upon *Ulysses's* Shoulders, and clambering up to the Top of the Rampart, left there *Ulysses*, who expected he would have lent him his Assistance to get up; and having entered the Citadel, was so happy as to find the *Palladium*, carried it off, and came back to *Ulysses*, who provoked at this Procedure, kept behind him, and drawing his Sword was going to run him through; when *Diomedes* struck with the glittering of the Sword, turned about, parry'd off the Thrust, and obliged *Ulysses* to go before him: Hence the Proverb so known to the *Greeks*, *Diomedes's Law*, which is applicable to those who are forced to any thing cross to their Inclination.

In

(a) Some Authors tell us, that *Helenus* the Son of *Priam*, incensed against his Brother *Deiphobus* for marrying *Helen*, with whom he was in love, after the Death of *Paris*, having gone out of the City, shew'd the *Greeks* the Place where the *Palladium* was kept; and that he had let them know it was the least of all the Statues that were about it; for several had been made like to it, but of different Sizes, to hinder its being known. See *Conon*, *Nar.* 34.

(b) *Vix positum Castris simulachrum, arfere coruscæ
Luminibus flammæ arreētis, salsusque per artus
Sudor iit: terque ipsa solo, mirabile dictu,
Emicuit, parmanque ferens, hastamque tremendam.*

Æn. 1. 6

(1) *Nar.* 14.

In the fourth, it was necessary to hinder the Horses of *Rhesus* King of *Thrace* from drinking of the *Xanthus* (a), or eating the Grass of the Plains of *Troy*. That Prince who came in the tenth Year to the Relief of the *Trojans*, not knowing this Fatality, arrived by Night and encamped near the City; but *Dolon*, whom *Heëtor* sent to him, having been taken by *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, to save himself from impending Death, informed them of *Rhesus's* Arrival, and of the Place where he was encamped. Thus those two Captains went and surprized that Prince, whom they found asleep, slew himself, and carried away his Horses. We may very reasonably suppose that *Ulysses* himself spread the Report of this Fatality, to determine the *Greeks* effectually to hinder *Rhesus* from relieving the City. *Homer*, who speaks of *Rhesus's* Death (1), says not one Word of this Fatality, and does not so much as insinuate that he was slain the first Night that he arrived near *Troy*; he only says that *Dolon* informed *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* of the Place where he was encamped, adding that he was but lately arrived (b).

Euripides, in his Tragedy of *Rhesus*, follows the common Opinion, and makes him to be assassinated by *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* the same Night that he arrived in the *Grecian* Camp. *Ovid*, in the Letter from *Penelope* to *Ulysses*, relates this Fact in a manner which fully expresses the Tenderneſs of that Princess for her Spouse. “ *Telemachus*, says she, has learned from *Nestor*, and I
“ from the dear Boy, the Story of *Dolon* and *Rhesus*
“ sacrificed by your Hands, and how the one fell a
“ Victim to Sleep, and the other to Surprize. Why,
“ *Ulysses*, have you then lost the Remembrance of your
Q 3 “ *Penelope*,

(a) *Ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam
Pabula gustassent Trojæ Xanthumque bibissent.*

Æn. l. i. v. 476.

(1) *Iliad. l. 10.*

(b) *Dicys, l. 2.* says that *Rhesus* having arrived too late to enter into the City, had pitched his Tent pretty near the *Grecian* Camp, and that *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, who were apprized of this, went thither by Night, and having found the Centinels asleep, slew that Prince, and carried off his Horses and Chariots.

“ *Penelope*, so far as to venture by Night into the
 “ *Tbracian* Camp, and expose yourself to so many Ene-
 “ mies, with no other Assistance but that of *Diomedes*?
 “ No sure; the Thoughts of your Spouse must un-
 “ doubtedly have made you take proper Measures for
 “ your Security. Yet how was I seized with Tremb-
 “ ling and Affrightment, from which I never recovered,
 “ till the Relation of this Adventure was closed with
 “ an Assurance of your Return into the *Grecian* Camp,
 “ where you arrived upon the Horses of him whose
 “ Life you had taken away.”

In the fifth Place, another thing necessary to the
 taking of the City, was to put to Death *Troilus* the
 Son of *Priam*, and to destroy the Tomb of *Laomedon*,
 which stood upon the *Scean* Gate. *Achilles* slew that
 young Prince; and the *Trojans* themselves demolished
Laomedon's Tomb, when they made a Breach in the
 Walls, in order to introduce the wooden Horse into the
 City.

Lastly, *Troy* could not be taken unless the *Greeks*
 had in their Army *Telephus* the Son of *Hercules* and
Augé; but it was no easy Matter to get him. He op-
 posed the Passage of the *Greeks*, as being in Alliance
 with the *Trojans*, and had married *Laodice*, or, accord-
 ing to *Dictys* of *Crete*, *Astioché*, *Priam's* Daughter. The
Greeks seeing him engaged with their Enemies, had
 even made War upon him, and given him Battle,
 wherein he was wounded by *Achilles*. His Wound
 proving incurable, the Oracle whom he had consulted,
 answered that he could not be cured but by the Hand
 that had inflicted the Wound. As there was no Pro-
 bability that his mortal Enemy would do him that
 Service, *Chytemnestra* advised him to carry off her Son
Orestes, to oblige *Agamemnon* to make *Achilles* consent
 to the curing of him; but that Heroe being inexorable,
Ulysses interpreted the Oracle to mean that the same
 Arrow which had done the Mischief, was to serve for
 the Remedy; thus having taken some Rust from the
 Head of the Arrow, and made up a Plaister of it, he
 sent

sent it to *Telephus*, who was very soon cured thereby, and came into the *Grecian* Army.

But now that I am upon this *Telephus*, his History as it is told by *Hyginus*, is very singular. *Augé* his Mother, to conceal her Intrigue with *Hercules*, had exposed him very soon after his Birth, and a Doe is said to have nursed him, because perhaps the Shepherds who found him, saw a Doe near him. That Princess, to shun the Anger of her Father who had discovered her Intrigue, repaired to the Court of *Teuthras* King of *Mysia*, who having no Children, adopted her for his Daughter. Some time after, *Idas* the Son of *Aphareus*, attempted to dethrone *Teuthras*; but *Telephus*, who was now grown up, and was come to the Court of *Mysia*, by command of the Oracle, in quest of his Parents, accepted of the Offer made him by *Teuthras* to give his Daughter *Augé* and his Crown to the Person who would save him from his Enemy; and putting himself at the Head of the *Mysians*, gave him Battle and slew him. *Teuthras*, to accomplish his Promise, celebrated the Marriage of that young Heroe with *Augé*; but as that Princess, from I know not what Foresight, was going to kill him on the Marriage-Night, the Gods sent a Dragon to separate them. Then *Augé* having implored *Hercules's* Assistance, *Telephus* discovered the Secret of his Birth, and carried back his Mother into her own Country. This whole Narration, doubtless, serves only to veil that Discovery, which hindered the Marriage from being consummated; and this is the true Key to the Fable.

Thus were executed all the Fatalities of *Troy*, and that City stood out till all its Destinies were fully accomplished. 'Tis proper however to remark that *Homer* makes no mention of these Fatalities, which we have in *Ovid*, *Lycophron*, and some other Ancients, and consequently we may presume that the History of them was not invented till after him. Had it been known in his Time, no doubt he would have taken Notice of it, either in the frequent Speeches of the Generals, or in the *Odyssey*, wherein he resumes several Particulari-

ties concerning the Siege, and the taking of that City.) He only says in one Place of the *Iliad*, that the Fate of *Troy* depended upon *Hector*, and that this City would defend itself so long as he was in Life; which being also known to the *Trojans*, obliged them, according to that Poet, to use their Endeavours to keep him from going out to attack the Enemy.

C H A P. VI.

Of the last Year of the Siege, and of the Destruction of the City.

TO proceed, it was not properly till the tenth Year of the Siege that they began to attack the City in earnest with all their united Forces. Those who had been detached the preceding Years to reduce the Allies of *Troy*, and oftener to carry off their Cattle and Grain, to supply the Camp with Provisions, were returned; but an Incident happened which was like to have ruined all, and retarded for some Time the taking of the City. It will easily be understood that I mean the Anger of *Achilles*, to which we owe the finest Poem that ever was composed.

In the Division of the Spoils which had been brought into the Camp, *Agamemnon* had for himself the fair *Chryseis*, otherwise called *Astione*. Her Father, who was High-Priest of *Apollo*, having come into the *Grecian* Camp to re-demand her; instead of the Justice he expected, was ill received there. In the mean Time the Plague began to waste the *Grecian* Army. *Calchas* was consulted that they might know from him the Means of putting a Stop to it; but he gave them no other Answer, but that *Apollo*, incensed for the Injury done to his Priest, had inflicted that Calamity upon them, which would never cease till they had appeased him, and returned *Chryseis* to her Father.

Whether this Answer was put into *Calchas's* Mouth by *Agamemnon's* Enemies, or was the pure Result of Equity, all the Leaders of the Army obtested that Prince to give up the Slave. *Achilles* raised his Voice higher

higher than the rest ; and *Agamemnon*, who either could not or would not longer resist the Solicitations of the whole Army, delivered up *Chryseis* to her Father, and gave him considerable Presents ; but to be avenged of *Achilles*, he sent at the same Time to his Tent and carried away *Briseis* ; which so provoked that young Prince, who was passionately in love with her, that he resolved to draw his Sword no more in the common Cause, but confined himself to his Tent for the Space of near a Year ; for this Quarrel, to which we owe the *Iliad* to *Homer*, happened at the Beginning of the tenth Year, or in the middle of the ninth.

During this Retreat of *Achilles*, *Hector* frequently set fire to the Enemy's Ships : *Eneas*, *Deiphobus*, *Memnon* and several others on the side of the *Trojans*, imitated the Valour of *Hector*. . . *Diomedes*, *Ajax*, *Menelaus*, *Agamemnon*, and Numbers of others on the side of the *Greeks*, distinguished themselves by their Valour. *Patroclus*, indignant at the Advantages which the *Trojans* had over the *Greeks* in the several Battles that were fought every Day, and finding *Achilles* still inexorable, demanded from him his Armour, which he granted him. The *Trojans* seeing his Arms, at first believed it to be *Achilles* himself, and turned their Backs ; but the brave *Hector* with undaunted Courage attacked him who thus offered himself, believing, like the rest, that it was *Achilles*, killed him, and carried his Spoils into *Troy*.

Then *Achilles*, forgetting his Resentment, sprung from his Tent like a young Lion, and carried Slaughter into the Army of the *Trojans*. In vain till then had several Attempts been made to appease him : Deputations, Presents, pathetic and moving Speeches, reiterated Promises to give him back his dear *Briseis* ; all these had availed nothing to mitigate him, he remained inflexible : The Death alone of his Friend *Patroclus* was capable to make him drop his Resentment, and obliged him to quit his Tent, where he had confined himself till then. No sooner does he appear, than the Face of Things is altered : The *Greeks* resume their
Courage,

Courage, the *Trojans* are repulsed and fly on all sides, and he spreads Havock, Death and Terror over all. At length, after signalizing himself by a thousand valiant Exploits, which his Panegyrist has rendered immortal, he kills *Hector*, the only Bulwark of *Troy*, and who had saved it so long from Destruction. 'Tis true, by a Barbarity which favours of the gross Manners of that Age, he fastened to his Chariot the dead Body of his Enemy, and basely dragg'd him several times round the Walls of the Town. He carried his Cruelty in celebrating the Funerals of his Friend so far, as to sacrifice to his Manes twelve young *Trojans* whom he had taken on different Occasions. However, his Cruelty being at length glutted, he delivered up *Hector's* Body to *Priam*, who came into his Tent in the Air of a Suppliant, and asked it of him, or rather redeemed it by rich Presents.

The *Iliac* Table, which I have mentioned, has preserved to us the Memory of all these Actions of the tenth Year. We see in N^o. 13. (a) the Priest *Chryses* by a solemn Sacrifice invoking *Apollo* against the *Greeks*. The Ravages of the Plague, and the Methods taken by the *Greeks* to put a Stop to it N^o. 14 and 15; and in the following Number is to be seen *Ulysses* giving back *Chryseis* to her Father. Here *Neptune* (1) is animating *Ajax* to the Battle: There (2) *Idomeneus*, after having slain *Othryoneus*, pursues *Asius*, who had fled. *Eneas* is represented killing *Aphareus* (3). *Ajax* is giving *Archilochus* the mortal Wound (4). *Apollo* on one of these Marbles is animating *Hector* to the Fight (5). In another Place, the same *Hector* is fighting at the *Grecian* Ships, and setting fire to them (6). *Patroclus* is there represented at the Time he puts on *Achilles's* Armour (7); *Merion* killing *Achamas* (8); *Hector* pursuing *Antemedon*, *Achilles's* Charioteer (9); as also the Battle between the *Greeks* and *Trojans* for the
Body

(a) These Numbers are conform to those which *Beger* has inserted in his Work, intitled *Bellum & excidium Trojanum*.

(1) No. 18. (2) No. 19. (3) No. 20. (4) No. 21.

(5) No. 22. (6) No. 24. (7) No. 25. (8) No. 26. (9) No. 27.

Body of *Patroclus* (1), which is at length carried off by the *Greeks* into their Camp (2), where great Mourning is solemnized (3). In N^o. 31, 32, and 33, we see *Tbetis* addressing *Vulcan* to make Armour for her Son *Achilles*, and that young Heroe putting it on, and returning to the Battle. In N^o. 34, is *Neptune* saving *Eneas* from a dangerous Combat; and in N^o. 35, *Achilles* killing *Iphition*, *Deumoleon*, and *Hippodamas*. In N^o. 36, is *Apollo* rescuing *Heetor* from impending Death. In N^o. 37, *Neptune* fortifying *Achilles* against the Swellings of the *Scamander*, whose Channel was choaked up with dead Bodies. In N^o. 38, the *Trojans* fly at seeing *Achilles* quit his Tent. The Death of *Heetor* is represented in N^o. 40. And the Insults offered to his dead Body, N^o. 41. The Funeral Games in Honour of *Patroclus* in N^o. 42. and 43. *Priam's* Visit to *Achilles*, in his Tent, in N^o. 44. *Achilles* slaying the Amazon *Penthesilea*, in N^o. 46. In the following one is *Iberfites*; in the 48th is represented *Achilles's* Combat with *Memnon*. In the 49. we see *Ajax* and *Ulysses* exerting themselves to revenge the Death of *Achilles* slain by *Paris*; and his Funerals are represented in N^o. 50.

At length, after so many Battles and various Adventures, which *Homer* fully relates, the *Greeks* made themselves Masters of the City, and put it to Fire and Sword. There are two Opinions about the Manner in which this famous City was taken. The first is, that it was betrayed to the Enemy by the Treachery of *Antenor* and *Eneas*. The latter, tho' *Priam's* Son-in-law, was neglected by him (4); and the former had received several Grounds of Discontent. This Opinion has many Presumptions to support it; but chiefly, that it would have been impossible for those two *Trojan* Captains to have quietly equipped two Ships, and set out for *Italy*, under the Eyes of the *Greeks*, who were Masters of the Country after taking the City, had it not been for some Intelligence they had with them. Accordingly *Dictys*
of

(1) N^o 28. (2) N^o 29. (3) N^o 30. (4) *Iliad* l. 13.

of *Crete* says (1) expressly, that Guards were set upon the Houses of these two Traitors, that they should not be pillaged, or that whatever belonged to them might be restored when the Spoils came to be divided. 'Tis even thought, that *Antenor* was left by the *Greeks* to command in the City, and that being abhorred by his Subjects as a Traitor, he was at last obliged to seek a Retreat in *Italy*. We are further told, that the Enemy entered *Troy* by the *Scaean* Gate, which was thrown open to them; and that there having been upon that Gate the Figure of a Horse, which was *Neptune's* Symbol, by whom the Walls were said to have been built; this gave Occasion to Fable, that the Enemy had entered the City by the Stratagem of a Wooden Horse; perhaps too this was called the Horse-Gate.

The second Opinion followed by *Homer* (2), *Virgil* (3), and at the same Time most generally received by the Ancients, especially by *Palephatus* and *Dictys* of *Crete* (4), is, that the *Greeks*, despairing to take *Troy*, made a wooden Horse so large, that it could not enter by the Gates, feigning that this was a Vow they offered, before their Return, to *Minerva*, whom they had offended by carrying off the *Palladium*. We are further told that the *Trojans* were credulous enough to introduce that fatal Machine into the City, and to place it in the Citadel, where was the Temple of the Goddess thought to be offended; and that the *Greeks*, who had concealed themselves, not in the Horse's Belly, as *Virgil* says in a poetical Manner, but in a neighbouring Cavern, taking Advantage of the Guards being asleep, who, from a Presumption that all was secure from the *Greeks*, had abandoned themselves to Riot and Debauchery, entered by the Breach; and their Companions having returned from *Tenedos*, where they likewise lay concealed, made themselves Masters of the City. According to the same Authors, *Sinon*, who let himself be taken Prisoner as a Defserter, gave the *Greeks* the Signal to return.

What-

(1) L. 5. (2) *Odyss.* l. 4. (3) *En.* l. 2. (4) *De Bello Trojana.*

-Whatever Embellishments *Virgil* has given to this Episode, the Substance thereof is very probable; and *Dicys* of *Crete* tells the Story much in the same Way as that famous Poet. *Palephatus* adds, that the Cave into which the *Greeks* retired, was still called in his Time, the Place of the Ambush of the *Greeks*; and we may say there is nothing impossible therein, and that this Opinion approaches nearest to ancient Tradition. Accordingly, in the Bas-reliefs of the *Iliac*-Table, which we have been speaking of, we see the *Trojans* leading the Horse into their Citadel: It is also figured, in another Place of the same Table, with a Ladder, which *Sinon* carries to let the *Greeks* descend, according to the Opinion of those who believed that they were shut up in the Cavity of that Machine. We find also the same Horse represented on several ancient Monuments, and especially on an *Intaglio*, published by *Liceti*, so current was this Tradition in Antiquity. Is it incredible that superstitious People should introduce into their City that Machine which they took to be an *ex voto*, made to an incensed Goddess?

But what makes this Opinion still more credible, is, what we are told to this Purpose by *Dicys* of *Crete*, concerning the Treachery of *Antenor*, who himself gave *Ulysses* that Advice, at delivering to him the *Palladium*, giving him to understand, that he must make a wooden Horse, as an Offering to *Minerva*, before his Departure; and upon this he got a Peace concluded with the *Greeks*, for a Sum of Money to be given them to indemnify them for the Charges of the War, which accordingly was put in Execution: So that having retired not long after, and left that Horse as a Monument of Peace, and of the Satisfaction they said they owed to *Minerva*, *Antenor* found no great Difficulty to get a Breach made in the Wall, to receive it into the City; which being done, he gave the *Greeks* Notice by *Sinon*, to return while all were asleep, and quite secure. Those who thought this Artifice too gross to impose upon the *Trojans*, gave out, that this Horse was a warlike Machine, which they made Use of for approach-

approaching the Walls of the City, in order to demolish them: Which makes *Laocoon* say;

*Aut hæc in nostros fabricata est Machina muros,
Aut aliquis latet error, equo ne credite Teucri.*

Æneid. l. 2.

Virgil, to make *Eneas's* Relation of the taking of that City more moving, says it was sack'd and burnt in the same Night; but most of the Ancients who have related this Event, assure us, that the first Thing they did was to make themselves Masters of all Quarters of the City, to put all those to the Sword who made any Resistance, and to take the rest Prisoners, Men and Women, pillaging the City; and that some Days after, the Booty and Slaves, which were collected upon the Shore, being divided, the *Greeks*, before they embarked, set Fire to it. Those who had escaped the Slaughter, by hiding themselves in Places unknown to their Enemies, run to extinguish it, and saved some Quarters, where they dwelt after the Departure of the *Greeks*.

Dion Chrysostom, in the Speech he made in the midst of *Troy*, which I quote elsewhere, asserts, upon the Faith of the *Egyptian* Priests, that *Helen*, courted by the greatest Princes of *Asia* and *Greece*, was married by her Father to *Alexander*, or *Paris* the Son of *Priam*: that the *Greeks*, disobliged at this Preference, made War upon the *Trojans*; that the same *Greeks*, weakened by Plague, Famine, and the Dissensions that arose among themselves, entered into a Treaty of Peace with the *Trojans*; and that, in order to perpetuate the Memory of the Peace that was concluded, they built a wooden Horse, on which were engraved, in gross Characters, the Articles of the Peace; and, in fine, that the *Trojans*, to introduce this Machine into the City, made a Breach in the Walls. This Narration, if true, shews us what had given Rise to the Fables delivered by *Virgil*, and the other Poets.

Be

Be that as it will, the City was sack'd, according to the most generally received Opinion. The numerous Family of *Priam* was cut off with that unfortunate Prince, and all his Children had a wretched End. He himself was slain by *Pyrrhus* in the midst of his Gods; and it availed him nothing to embrace the Altar of *Jupiter Erceus*; the Son of *Achilles* tore him from thence, even in the Sight of his Wife (a), and plunged his Sword into his Heart. That unfortunate Prince, as we know, had many Children by his Wives and Mistresses; one by *Arisba* the Daughter of *Merops*, his first Wife, named *Esacus*, who grieved himself to Death for the Loss of a Spouse whom he tenderly loved, and whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a Didapper (b); perhaps to signify that he threw himself into some River. By *Hecuba*, his second Wife, he had *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobe*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphe*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, *Troilus*; and four Daughters, *Creusa* married to *Eneas*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra* (c). These unfortunate Children almost all perished in this War.

The valiant *Hector*, after having a Thousand Times spread Terror and Desolation thro' the *Grecian* Camp, fell at last a Victim to *Achilles's* Resentment, as has been already said. We may, however, remark by the Way, that, according to *Philostratus*, the *Trojans*, after rebuilding their City, conferred upon that Hero divine Honours; and he is represented upon their Medals

(a) *Pausanias*, in his *Phoc.* says, that, according to the Poet *Lescheus*, *Priam* was not slain before the Altar of *Jupiter Erceus*, but that he was only torn from it by Force; and then being dragg'd as far as his Palace Gate, he met there *Pyrrhus*, who made no Scruple to take from him the little Life he had left from Old Age and Misfortunes.

(b) *Metam.* l. 11. that Poet feigns, in his usual Way, that he was then only in Love with the Nymph *Hesperia*, and that as he was in Pursuit of her, she was stung by a Serpent, whereof she died; which was the Cause of *Esacus's* desperate Grief:

Vulnus ab angue
A me causa data est, &c.

(c) We say nothing here of several other Children he had by his Concubines: *Virgil* says to this Purpose in his second Book of the *Æneid*:
Quinquaginta illi thalami, spei tanta nepotum.

als riding in a Chariot drawn by two Horses, holding in one Hand a Pike, and in the other, the *Palladium*, with this Greek Inscription, 'ΕΚΤΩΡ; and in the Exergue ΙΔΙΕΩΝ. The unhappy *Troilus* also died by the Hand of *Achilles*. *Paris*, after having received a mortal Wound by the Hand of *Philoctetes*, repaired to Mount *Ida*, to his beloved *Oenone*, and there breathed his last. *Deiphobus*, who had married *Helen*, after the Death of his Brother, was betrayed by that Traitor, and delivered up to the *Greeks*, who used him in the most barbarous Manner possible (a). The generous *Laodice*, to shun the Captivity with which she was threatened, threw herself down from the Top of a Rock (b). *Polyxena*, who had been the innocent Cause of *Achilles's* Death, as shall be said in the History of that Prince, was sacrificed by a barbarous Piety to that Heroe's Manes. *Crensa*, whom *Priam* had married to *Eneas*, perished in the Conflagration (c). *Andromache*, *Hector's* Wife (d), after having seen her Son *Astyanax*, the only Hope of the *Trojans*, thrown down from a high Tower, became the Slave of *Pyrrhus*, who, from I know not what Remains of Pity, gave her in Marriage to *Helenus*, *Priam's* Son, whose Predictions had been favourable to him. *Helenus*, I believe, was the only one of *Priam's* Children who survived the Ruin of his Country; and he spun out a wretched enough Life in *Epirus*, whereof he was King, sharing with his dear

(a). See to this Purpose the sixth Book of the *Eneid*.

(b) In *Phrygia* was the Tomb of this unfortunate Daughter of *Priam*, which *Maximus*, the Prætor of *Asia*, repaired, and put an Epitaph upon it, which is thus translated from the *Greek*.

Ladice quondam hic suscepit terra debiscens,
 Hostilem fugeret cum tremebunda manu
 Sed quod tempus edax consumpserat usque Sepulchrum,
 Splendorem huic Prætor Maximus attribuit:
 Quæque alibi sine honore Puellæ stabat imago,
 Ærea sic titulo desuper imposuit.

Canterul Comm. in *Cassandram*.

(c) *Virgil*, l. 2. relates this Death in a fabulous Manner.

(d) She was the Daughter of *Eetion*, King of *Cilicia*, whom *Achilles* slew at the Sack of *Troy*, with his other Children. *Homer*, *Iliad*. l. 2.

dear *Andromache* the Affliction which so great Disasters had brought upon her.

This Princess had three Children by *Pyrrhus*, *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Pergamus*; and a Son by *Helenus*, named *Cestrinus*, who having succeeded to a great Part of his Father's Dominions, with the Aid of the *Epirotes*, settled in the Country which is above the River *Thyamis*, now *Calama*, and gave to the Province called *Cammania*, according to *Stephanus*, the Name of *Cestrina* (a). *Molossus* ascended not his Father's Throne till after the Death of *Helenus*. *Pergamus* went into *Asia*; and having fixed his Residence in *Teuthrania*, where *Arias* reigned, slew that Prince in a Duel, made himself Master of his Dominions, and gave his Name to the City *Pergamus*.

In that City, according to *Pausanias*, from whom I borrow this Passage, was the heroic Monument of *Andromache*, who, according to some Ancients, had followed *Pergamus* into *Asia*. *Pielus* continued in *Epirus*, where he reigned after the Death of *Molossus*, who probably left no Children: At least, according to the Author now quoted, it was to him that *Pyrrhus* and his Ancestors ascribed their Original. *Homer*, and after him the other Poets, have always represented *Andromache*, as a virtuous Woman, and exceedingly attached to her Husband *Hector*. The last Farewel she takes of her Husband, is one of the most moving and laboured Pieces of the *Iliad*: two Verses of *Ovid* give us likewise a good Picture of her:

*Hector ab Andromaches complexibus ibat in Armis,
Et galeam capiti quæ daret, Uxor erat* (1).

VOL. IV.

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The

(a) *Pausanias*, l. 2. & in *Atticis*, grants that *Cestrinus* was the Son of *Helenus* and *Andromache*, and that he gave his Name to the Country where he reigned; but he says, *Andromache* married not her Brother-in-law till after the Death of *Pyrrhus*. *Pliny*, l. 4. mentions the City *Cestrina*, which he places upon one of the Mountains of *Pindus*, which extended as far as *Thesprotia*. *Ptolomy*, 'tis true, makes no mention of it; but this is no Wonder, since he says as little of the *Molossi*, a People in the Neighbourhood of *Thesprotia*, and well known in that Time.

(1) *Amor. Eleg. 9.*

The unhappy *Cassandra*, whose Predictions were never credited, after having received, in *Minerva's* Temple, the most outrageous Insult, became the Slave of *Agamemnon*, and was sacrificed to *Clytemnestra's* Jealousy. The Fable says, that *Apollo* had been in Love with her, and that having allowed her to ask whatever she pleased, as the Reward of her Love, she desired of him the Gift of Prophecy, her Lover instantly disclosed to her the most secret Mysteries of Futurity; but *Cassandra*, instead of gratifying his Passion, shewed him nothing but Scorn and Contempt. *Apollo*, incensed at her Falshood, tho' he could not take away from her the Gift he had given her, took Care, at least, that she should not be the better for it, and that no Credit should be given to her Predictions, which had no other Effect, but to render her odious. The Foundation of this Fable I take to have been, that *Cassandra*, the Priestess of *Apollo*, learned from a Priest of that God the Art of Divination, either by Magic, or the Aruspices, wherein she afterwards excelled, with her Brother *Helenus*, who learned it from her. Probably that Priest fell in Love with her, and being unable to gain her Affection, defamed her thro' all the City, and to her Relations, laying his Intrigue, according to the Manner of those Times, to the Charge of the God whom he served. He succeeded in his Design; for *Cassandra* having foretold the Calamities that were to befall *Paris*, *Priam*, and the whole City, she was clap'd up in a Tower, where she incessantly sung the Misfortunes of her Country (a), which made her pass for mad. Her Shrieks and Tears were redoubled, when she learned that *Paris* was gone into *Greece*; but it was her Fate not to have her Prophecies believed, and only made the Objects of Ridicule. The Night in which *Troy* was taken, *Ajax* having met her in *Minerva's* Temple, where she hoped to have found a Sanctu-

(a) This is the Account given of her by all the Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*; *Homer*, *Eschiles*, *Lycophron*, *Euripides*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Seneca*, &c.

Sanctuary, offered Violence to her; but this Sacrilege was punished, as shall be said afterwards (a).

The *Greek* Captains having made a Division of the Slaves, she followed *Agamemnon*, who fell in Love with her; and this Passion cost both of them their Life. *Clytemnestra*, who had a Mind to secure the Crown to her Lover, put her Husband and her Rival to Death, in the Manner which we are going to relate immediately. Upon the Predictions of this *Cassandra*, surnamed *Alexandra*, has the Poet *Lycophron* made a Poem, which may be reckoned a Master-Piece of Obscurity. 'Tis probable, that this Princess was interred at *Amyclé* in *Laconia*, and that she was there acknowledged as a Divinity: *Pausanias* is my Voucher, and this Author relying upon some Tradition which was current in his Time; speaks of the Temple which the *Amycleans* had built in Honour of this Princess; wherein was also the Picture of *Clytemnestra*, and the Statue of *Agamemnon*, who was also believed to have been buried in that Place.

Hecuba attempting to revenge the Death of her Son *Polydorus*, was stoned to Death by the *Greeks*. But this Event is too considerable, not to be told at full length. *Priam* being informed that the *Greeks* were arming against him, sent his Son *Polydorus* with a Part of his Treasure, to the Court of *Polymnestor* King of *Thrace*, to whom he had given in Marriage his Daughter *Ilione*. He seeing the *Greeks* Masters of *Troy*; and apprehending he had been used ill, or prompted to the cursed Design by Avarice, secretly put to Death

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that

(a) *Pausanias*, explaining the fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, representing the taking of *Troy*, says, and I think he is alone in his Assertion, That *Ajax* was there represented, holding his Buckler in his Hand, and approaching the Altar, as to justify himself by Oath from the Outrage he was going to have committed against that Princess. To what Excess did the Pagan Religion carry its Votaries! Was ever such an extravagant Oath heard of? And what are we to think of *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, who received it? For this I take to be the true Sense of the Expressions used by that Author, who seems to say that these two Princes freed him from that Oath; which makes no rational Sense. Would it not have been better to stone that Miscreant, as *Ulysses* advised. *Pausan. ibid.*

that young Prince, the Grief whereof killed *Ilione* (a). *Hyginus* relates the Fact with some little Variation : He says, that *Priam* having sent the young *Polydore*, who was then but in the Cradle, *Ilione* brought him up as her Son, and made *Diphilus* pass for her Brother ; probably, being jealous of the Cruelty and Avarice of her Husband. In fact, the *Greeks* having let him know that they would give him *Electra*, the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, if he would divorce *Ilione*, and put *Polydore* to Death, that Prince accepted the Proposals ; but instead of his Brother-in-law, it was his own Son he put to Death.

Polydore in the mean Time went to consult the Oracle of *Apollo* about his Destiny, and learned that his Father was dead, and his Country burnt ; but he was agreeably surprized to find the quite contrary at his Return to *Thrace*. *Ilione*, having explained to him this Riddle, he pluck'd out *Polymnestor's* Eyes. *Homer*, more to be relied on, as to all the Adventures of this War, than *Virgil*, and the rest, instead of this Story, relates (1) how *Achilles* slew that young Prince near the Walls of *Troy*. *Pliny* (2), speaking of the City *Ænoa*, makes Mention of the same *Polydore's* Tomb, for which *Ausonius* has made an Epitaph, quoted in the Margin below (b).

In the Opinion of those who will have him to have been slain by the King of *Thrace*, *Hecuba* having a Mind to revenge the Death of her Son, went to the Palace of *Polymnestor*, where under Pretence of having something to say to him in Secret, she was going to have plucked out his Eyes ; but some *Greeks* having run up to his Assistance, drag'd her out of that Prince's Palace,

(a) - - - Hæc Polydorum obtruncat, & auro
Vi potitur. Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra famas! Æn. l. 3.

(1) *Iliad* l. 20. (2) *L.* 4. c. 11.

(b) Cede procul tumulo, myrtum fuge nescius hospes :
Telorum seges est sanguine adulta mco.
Confixus jaculis, & ab ipsa cæde sepaltus,
Condor in hoc tumulo bis Polydorus ego,
Scit pius Æneas, & tu, Rex impie! quod me
Thracia pæra premit, Trojaque cura tegit.

Palace, stoned her, and propagated a Report that she had been transformed into a Bitch, to denote the Rage and Despair to which her Misfortunes had reduced her; or, as *Servius* remarks, because she had continually loaded with Imprecations the Army of the *Greeks*, that she might thereby procure Death, which she preferred to Slavery (a).

*Diety*s of *Crete* informs us (1), that *Hecuba* became a Slave to *Ulysses*, and that this Prince, obliged to set out *incognito*, because he was accused of *Ajax's* Death, left that unfortunate Princess in the Hands of her Enemies, who stoned her in the Manner already said. But 'tis very probable, that he himself was the Author of her Death, since it is said, that upon his Arrival in *Sicily*, he was so tormented with terrible Dreams, that in Order to appease the Gods, he built a Temple to *Hecate*, who presides over Dreams, and a Chapel to *Hecuba*.

Mela and *Strabo* (2) tell us, that in *Thrace* was to be seen the Place of her Burial, which was called *the Dog's Tomb*. *Hyginus* again, so many Traditions there were concerning these ancient Adventures, is of Opinion, that she was thrown into the Sea, and that the Place got the Name of *Cyneum*. I find, however, another Foundation to this Fable. *Hecuba*, in *Euripides*, complains of her being chained like a Dog to the Gates of *Agamemnon*, whose Slave she was: As to which, we are to observe, that anciently the Porters were, for the most part, chained. Perhaps this unfortunate Princess was made Porter to the King of *Mycenæ*. The *Greeks* gave bad enough Usage to those illustrious Captives, to give a Handle to this Conjecture, tho' the most common Tradition is, that she died in *Thrace*.

Hecuba, *Homer* tells us, was the Daughter of *Dymas*, or, according to *Virgil*, who has followed *Euripides*, of *Cisseis* King of *Thrace*, and Sister to *Theano*, the Priestess of *Apollo* at *Troy*, during this War.

R 3

Such

(a) To this Purpose *Plautus* speaks in his *Menechmei*.

Omnia mala ingerebat, quemquam aspexerat:

Itaque adeo jure cæpta est appellari canis.

(1) L. 5.

(2) L. 13.

Such was the deplorable Fate of this illustrious Family (a): its Allies had no better End; *Memnon*, *Rhesus*, *Chorebus*, *Agapenor*, *Elpenor* King of *Eubœa*, and the rest, lost all of them their Lives there.

The Heroes of the *Grecian* Army were not more fortunate: *Achilles* was slain by *Paris*; *Patroclus* by *Hector*: That Prince, the Favourite of *Achilles* according to *Eustathius*, was from *Opus*, a City of the *Locrian* *Opuntians*. *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, killed himself in Despair, because *Ulysses* got the better of him in the Dispute for *Achilles's* Arms: *Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, was shipwreck'd, and buried in the Waves, as if the Gods had thought fit to avenge the Injury he offered to *Cassandra* in the Temple of *Minerva*. *Ulysses* suffered infinite Dangers by Sea: *Agamemnon* was slain by his Wife, upon his Arrival at *Mycenæ*. *Mnestheus*, King of *Athens*, died by the Way: Almost all these Captains died either by War or Shipwreck; and of all the Kings that were in League to avenge the *Atridae*, there was hardly one who returned in Peace to his Family and Children, since most of those who escaped Shipwreck, were obliged to go and plant Colonies in remote Countries. *Teucer*, exiled by his Father *Telamon*, for not having revenged the Death of his elder Brother, went to *Cyprus*, and built a new *Salamis* in Honour of *Jupiter*, where his Descendants reigned down to *Evagoras*, that is, till the Hundredth Olympiad, as we learn from the Panegyric upon this last Prince, made by *Isocrates*. *Agapenor*, the Leader of the *Arcadians*, retired into the same Island, and there built *Paphos*, and a Temple to *Venus*, at some Distance from that which had been formerly erected to her by *Cinyras*, as we read in *Pausanias*. *Nestor*, with the *Pyliaus*, went into *Italy*, and built the City *Metapontus* (b). *Phalantus*, with a Colony of *Laconians*, built

(a) *Hic finis fatum Priami, hic exitus illorum*
Sorte tulit.

Æn. l. 2.

(b) *Pausanias*, in *Messen.* supposes that *Nestor*, after the *Trojan* War, returned to *Pylus*, and died there; and this Author says nothing of his Voyage to *Italy*. He even adds, that he had preferred *Pylus* for the Seat of the Empire to the other Cities in his Possession, and that his Descendants followed his Example.

built in the same Country that of *Tarentum* : *Philoctetes* that of *Petilia*. *Diomedes* having found his Wife faithless, went to *Apulia*, where he founded that of *Argyripa* ; and *Idomeneus*, driven from *Crete* for having barbarously sacrificed his Son to an imprudent Vow, was forced to fly into the Country of the *Salentines*.

Thus perished most of the *Grecian* and *Trojan* Heroes ; but as I have but transiently touched upon most of the Adventures that befel them, the Reader no doubt will expect that I should enlarge further upon so interesting Subjects : This is what I shall do, after I have settled the *Æra* of the Event now related, and given a short History of the *Trojans* and their City.

C H A P. VII.

The Æra of the taking of Troy, with the History of that City.

A R T I C L E I.

The Æra of the taking of Troy.

THE Year in which *Troy* was taken, makes an essential *Æra* for the Knowledge of the Events of the fabulous Age : This being once effectually settled, we date the Facts prior to it, by tracing upwards ; and those that were posterior, by reckoning downwards, as far as the *Christian Æra*. But in every one of these Events, as in all others of those remote Ages, Authors ancient and modern differ so widely from one another, that 'tis impossible to reconcile them. Those who are for abridging the Chronology of the Antiquities of *Greece*, such as *Conringius*, and *Sir Isaac Newton*, date the taking of *Troy* only at the Distance of about 900 or 907 Years from the vulgar Era : Those who extend these same Antiquities too far, as *F. Stephen Souciet*, contend that this City was taken 1388 Years before the same *Æra*. Between these two Extremes, there are forty or fifty different Opinions, which remove this Event, some to a greater, some to a smaller Distance.

It will not surely be expected that I should insist upon an Examination into all these particular Opinions; the Reasons that induced Chronologists to prefer one Date to another, are founded upon Particulars which would carry me too far from my Subject; and those who have the Curiosity to examine them, I refer to *Petavius*, *Scaliger*, *Don Pezron*, and particularly to the tenth Chapter of the third Book of *The critical Reflections upon the Histories of ancient Nations*, by M. *Fourmont* the elder, where they will find full Satisfaction. For my part, I adhere to the Opinion of *Eratosthenes*, quoted by *Eusebius*, and to that of *Apollodorus* the Chronographer, cited by *Clement of Alexandria*, who place the taking of this City, the one in the Year 1183, the other in the Year 1181, before the *Christian Æra*; that is, about 450 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, 400 or 407 before the first *Olympiad*, as is fully proved by *Joseph Scaliger* (1), in the last Year of the Reign of *Mnestheus* King of *Athens*, and of that of *Agamemnon*; and under the Judgeship of *Eliud*. After all, the Opinion which I follow is at this Day most generally received; and if *Julius Africanus* has taken the Mean between the two Authors above-mentioned, by placing this Æra in the Year 1182, and if *Petavius* has set it a Year farther back than *Apollodorus*, by making it fall in the Year 1184, the Difference is but inconsiderable, and affects not my Subject in the least. For in whatever Year I place this Æra, as it is the Boundary of my Researches, 'tis enough that I have settled the other Æras that preceded it, that the Reader may see with a Glance of his Eye the Distance there is between the Events which compose the History of the fabulous Times, which is all I aim at in this Volume.

ARTICLE II.

The History of Troy.

The Origine of the *Trojans* and of their City is, like that of all other Nations, wrapped up in Darkness and Fictions,

(1) De Emend. Temp. l. 5.

Fictions, and we find different Sentiments among the Authors who have given Account of it. Some make them come from *Crete*, others from *Italy*, or from *Samothrace*, or *Athens*, or *Arcadia*, and each of these Opinions is supported by Partisans of great Name. The Historian *Josephus* alledges, that they sprung from *Thogarmah*, the Son of *Gomer*; but as the Prophet *Ezekiel* makes the northern Nations descended from this *Thogarmah*, which hardly agrees to the *Phrygians*, I submit to *Strabo's* Opinion, who makes them to have come from *Thrace*: An Opinion the more probable, that besides their nearness to one another, these two People had anciently a great Conformity in Manners, and almost one and the same Religion.

Be that as it will, tracing their History from about the Time of *Dardanus*, provided we reckon him, as *Diodorus* and *Apollodorus* do, a Native of *Thrace* or *Samothrace*, and not of *Italy*, as *Virgil* makes him, with a View to flatter the *Romans*, this History, I say, begins to grow less obscure.

Dardanus having quitted *Samothrace* (a), after the Death of his Brother *Jasion*, who was Thunderstruck for having offended *Ceres*, went to the Coasts of *Asia Minor*, into the *Lesser Phrygia*, where he married *Batea* the Daughter of *Teucer*, who himself having quitted *Crete*, came and settled in the same Country, where *Scamander* the most ancient King of that Province we know of, had given him his Daughter in Marriage. *Dardanus*, after the Death of his Father-in-Law, ascended

(a) According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, l. 1. *Dardanus* was a Native of *Arcadia*; a Deluge that happened in his Time, having obliged him to depart from thence, he transplanted himself into an Island of *Thrace*, which was first named *Dardania*, and afterwards got the Name of *Samothrace*, as we read in *Pausanias*, which he also quitted, and removed into *Phrygia*. He had brought with him *Carybas* his Nephew, the Son of his Brother *Jasion*, who instituted there the Worship of the Mother of the Gods, as has been said in the History of that Goddess. *Dardanus* also transported into the same Country the *Samothracian* Gods, and two Statues of *Pallas*, whereof the one was so famous afterwards under the Name of the *Palladium*.

ed the Throne, reigned sixty-two Years, built the City *Dardania*, and was reckoned the Founder of the Kingdom of *Troy*. *Erichthonius*, who succeeded him immediately, reigned forty-six, and *Tros* his Son near as many Years; it was the latter gave his Name to *Troy* which was formerly called *Dardania*. *Tros* had three Sons; *Ganymedes*, carried off by *Tantalus*; *Ilus* the Founder of the Royal Line; and *Assaracus* the Founder of that of *Anchises Eneas's* Father. *Ilus* built the Citadel of *Ilium*, reigned forty Years, and left a Son *Laomedon*, the Father of *Priam*, under whom *Troy* was taken. *Laomedon*, who reigned twenty-nine Years, encompassed the City with Walls so strong, that the Work was ascribed to *Apollo* the God of fine Arts; or rather, if we may believe *Homer*, to *Neptune*, who raised them while *Apollo* kept *Laomedon's* Flocks, in hope of a Hire promised him by that Prince, by whom he was defrauded; which makes *Horace* say:

Mercede pasta destituit Deos (1).

To this Purpose *Homer* introduces *Neptune* speaking:

Troy's Walls I rais'd (for such were Jove's Com-
mands)

And you' proud Bulwarks grew beneath my Hands;

Tby Task it was to feed the bellowing Doves

Along fair Ida's Vales, and pendent Groves.

But when the circling Seasons in their Train,

Brought back the grateful Day that crown'd our Pain,

With Menace stern the fraudulent King defy'd

Our latent Godhead, and the Prize deny'd:

Pope's *Iliad*, 21. 520.

The strong Moles that were found necessary to be raised against the Waves of the Sea, passed for the Work of the same God; and the Winds and Inundations having afterwards demolished a Part of these Works, it was given out, after the Manner of those Times, that *Neptune* had thus taken Vengeance upon the perfidious *Laomedon* (2). The same was the Fate of

(1) Ode 3. Book III. after *Pindar*. (2) See the History of *Neptune*.

of the Walls of *Troy* that perished by Age, and were rebuilt by *Hercules*, when he took that City, as has been said in his History.

To enable the Reader to understand the two Royal Lines from *Dardanus* to *Priam*, I have set down the genealogical Tree.

DARDANUS.

Erichthonius.

Tros.

<i>Ilus,</i>	<i>Assaracus,</i>
<i>Laomedon, Tithon,</i>	<i>Capys,</i>
<i>Priam,</i>	<i>Anchises,</i>
<i>Hector, Paris,</i>	<i>Eneas.</i>

As to what remains, we have followed the most general Opinion, and perhaps the most probable one, concerning the manner in which this famous City was sack'd; for 'tis almost beyond doubt, whatever be the Accounts of the *Romans*, who would needs at any rate derive their Original from *Eneas* and *Venus*, that it was not destroyed; but that *Eneas* and *Antenor* secured it from Fire and Pillage, if they did not even give it up themselves to the *Greeks*; and that the former, or at least his Descendants (a), reigned there very long, as *Neptune* plainly foretels in the *Iliad*, or, to speak more accurately, as *Homer*, an *Ionian* by Extraction, and consequently in the Neighbourhood of the *Trojans*, makes *Neptune* foretel, because probably, even in the Time of that Poet, the Posterity of *Eneas* were still reigning over that City, whom he could not but please by making the God of the Sea foretel what they actually saw with their Eyes. In fact, it would seem, as is very ingeniously remarked by a learned Author (1), that

(a) *Eusebius*, upon the Authority of *Diclys* of *Crete*, says the Sons of *Antenor* reigned at *Troy* after the Death of *Priam*, till *Hector's* Children expelled them thence, and reigned in their stead.

(1) Father *Hardouin's* Apology for *Homer*.

that *Homer's* Design was only to mark the total Extinction of *Ilus's* Line, from whom was descended the perfidious *Laomedon*, who by his Impieties had rendered himself unworthy of the Crown, for 'tis his Impieties are set forth by the Fable of *Neptune* and *Apollo* whom he cheated, and at the same time to punish *Priam's* base Indulgence to his Children, and particularly to the adulterous *Paris*; and to raise to the same Throne that of *Assaracus*, and of the pious *Æneas*, who in *Homer* and *Virgil*, is always represented as a Man reverencing the Gods, who appear to take particular Care of him, and save him several times from imminent Death, to preserve him for the Throne of the *Trojans*. 'Tis true, the learned Author now cited goes still farther, in maintaining that *Eneas* is the true Heroe of the *Iliad*, wherein I cannot be of his Mind, tho' he supports it very ingeniously.



B O O K VI.

*Containing the particular History of the
Leaders of the Grecian and Trojan
Armies.*

AFTER having divided the Spoils of the *Trojans*, the *Grecian* Captains embarked each with his Troops, and underwent various Adventures, which making a considerable Part of the History of that Time, claim a Place here. I begin with that of the General of the Army.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

The History of Agamemnon, and his Family.

PELOPS being forced, as has been said, to quit *Lydia*, after *Tros* had made himself Master of his Dominions, in Revenge of the Death of *Ganymede* (a), had repaired to the Court of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa* (b), who gave him a kindly Reception (c). This Prince had a Daughter, who was an accomplished Beauty, her Name *Hippodamia*; but whether he was in Love with her himself, as *Pausanias* and *Hyginus* will have it; or affrighted by an Oracle, which had foretold him that he would be slain by his Son-in-law, as it is in *Diodorus* (1), *Thucydides* (2), and *Strabo* (3), he would not give her in Marriage; and, in order to remove a Multitude of Lovers, who ply'd her continually with their Addresses, he had proposed to them a very hard Condition, promising the young Princess to the Man who should outstrip him in the Race, adding that he would put all to Death whom he got the better of. The Lover was to set out first in the Race, and *Oenomaus*, with Sword in Hand, was to pursue him; and to run it through his Body, if he could overtake him (d). He had already put Thirteen to Death, according to *Pindar* (4), and others had withdrawn, when *Pelops* bribed *Myrtilus*, *Oenomaus's* Charioteer (e). He, in hope of the Reward which *Pelops* had promised him, cut the King's Chariot in two, and then joined the two Parts together so artfully,

(a) Some Authors are of Opinion, that *Pelops* quitted his Country only upon Account of Earthquakes.

(b) *Asopus*, King of a Part of the *Peloponnesus*, had a Daughter named *Harpina*, who had by *Mars*, or by some Warrior or Priest of that God, *Oenomaus*.

(c) The Date of his Arrival in *Greece* has been marked before.

(1) L. 4. (2) L. 1. (3) L. 8.

(d) *Diod. loc. cit.* *Pindar.* *Luc. &c.* The Race was from *Pisa* to an Altar of *Neptune*, in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*.

(4) *Ode. Olym.* l. 1.

(e) He is given out to have been the Son of *Mercury*, probably because he was very cunning.

fully, that no Appearance of a Fracture was to be seen; but while *Oenomaus* was in Pursuit of *Pelops*, who was running before him, the Chariot falling asunder, that unfortunate Prince broke his Neck, and *Pelops* married *Hippodamia*. *Myrtilus* was punished for his Baseness and Treachery, for *Pelops* himself threw him into the Sea, which from him was called *Myrtilene*. The Waves having driven his Body ashore, the *Phe-neates* gave him Burial, and instituted an Annual Feast in his Honour, because he was reckoned the Son of *Mercury*. By the Way, we are to observe, that the Quality of Charioteer was not dishonourable in those Times; and that frequently Kings themselves, or some Prince of their Court, guided their Chariots, as we learn from *Homer*, in several Places of the *Iliad*. This *Myrtilus* was therefore a Man of Figure, and if we may believe *Pausanias* (5), he himself was of the Number of *Hippodamia's* Lovers; and engaged in *Pelops's* Service, only in Hope he would allow him to gratify his Passion, which he had sworn to do in a Manner which is seldom agreeable to Husband or Gallant. But he had no sooner got the Victory, than he cleared himself of his Oath, by throwing him into the Sea. *Mercury*, we are told, was highly provoked at *Pelops's* Perfidiousness; and tho' that Prince, to appease him, had built to him a stately Temple, the God never gave over persecuting his Posterity, and was the Author of all those great Disasters which are so much celebrated by the Poets. It was for the same Reason, if we may believe *Euripides*, that *Mercury* sent the famous Ram, whose Golden Fleece brought so many Calamities upon that Family: But this Fable we shall explain upon another Occasion: In the mean Time, let us return to *Pelops*.

That Prince having ascended the Throne; gained several Conquests over his Neighbours, and gave his Name to that fine Country, which was from that Time called the *Peloponnesus*, as much as to say, the Island of *Pelops*. Further, it was fabled that the Horses which drew

(5) In Attic.

drew *Pelops's* Chariot, had Wings, and that they had been given him by *Neptune*, whereby was signified their Swiftneſs; or, if we may believe *Pindar* and *Palephatus*, the Meaning is, that *Pelops* made Uſe of a Ship with Sails to carry off *Hippodamia*. The Poets tell us, it was *Neptune* favoured *Pelops* in that Race; and they add farther, that God had formerly carried away that Prince, becauſe, in fact, he had left his Country to embark upon the Sea, and his Voyage had been very happy.

Pindar has touched this Fable with a great Deal of Delicacy, in his firſt *Olympic*. He firſt rejects the Fable of the Ivory Shoulder, which I ſhall ſpeak of in the History of *Tantalus*, and conſiders it as a Fable childiſh and frivolous. He ſays that in reality *Tantalus* having been invited to the Table of the Gods, was willing to regale them alſo in his Turn, but that nothing fell out at that Entertainment which was not conſiſtent with ſtrict Decency. He adds, that *Neptune*, charmed with the Beauty of the young *Pelops*, carried him up to Heaven, to pour out his Nectar, as *Ganymede* did to *Jupiter*; that Search was made every where for that young Prince, without any Account of him being heard; and he would always have continued in the ſame Office, had not the Crime of *Tantalus* his Father, who would needs diſtribute to Men the Nectar which the Gods had reſerved to themſelves as a Symbol of their Immortality, brought about *Pelops's* Diſgrace, and obliged the Aſſembly of the Gods to degrade him again to the Earth, where falling in Love with *Hippodamia*, he went one Day to the Sea-Coaſt, to invoke *Neptune's* Aid, that he might have Succeſs in that Enterprize, which was attended with equal Danger and Difficulty. The God of the Sea heard his Prayer, and made him a Preſent of a Chariot, and Horſes of indefatigable Swiftneſs, with which he was victorious in the Race, and gained the Prize, which coſt ſo many unfortunate Lovers their Lives. Thus it is great Poets have the Art of embellishing their Works with ancient Pieces of History, by cloathing them with all the Ornaments of Poetry. *Pelops*

Pelops had several Children; among others, *Atræus* and *Thyestes*. They, by the Advice of their Mother, having put to Death their Brother *Chrysippus*, whom *Pelops* had by his Mistress *Astioche*, that Prince banished them from his Court, with the Queen. It is even alledged, that she died thro' Anguish and Remorse for having been accessary to her Father's Death, by holding Intelligence with *Pelops* and *Myrtilus*. *Pelops* died some Time after *Hippodamia* (a).

Atræus, who had retired to the Court of *Eurystheus* King of *Argos*, and had married his Daughter *Ærope*, was declared King in Room of his Father-in-law, who was slain in *Attica* by the *Heraclidæ*, not long before the *Trojan War*; and thus it was, the *Pelopidæ* ascended the Throne of *Mycenæ*: *Thyestes*, who followed him, won the Heart of the Queen his Sister-in-law, and had two Children by her, or three, according to some. *Atræus* having discovered this Intrigue, banished him at first from his Court; but not thinking himself sufficiently revenged by that Removal, he recalled him under Pretext of Reconciliation, and having assassinated the Children whom he had by the Queen, served them up to him at Table, in poisoned Dishes of Meat, as we are told by *Pausanias*. 'Tis further said, that that the Sun hid his Head, that he might not shine upon so barbarous a Repast; a lively and natural Figure, to denote the Abhorrence of universal Nature at this Action. *Thyestes* was avenged afterwards by his Son *Ægisthus*, who slew his Uncle *Atræus*, in the Manner I am going to relate. But, in order to the right understanding of this whole History, we must know that *Thyestes* having found his Daughter *Pelopea* in a Grove consecrated to *Minerva*, ravished her, without knowing who she was, and he had by her *Ægisthus*, whom she exposed. *Servius*, upon the first Book of the *Eneid*, and *Lactantius* upon the fourth of the *Thebaid*, say, he committed that Incest wittingly, because an Oracle had foretold him that he should be revenged by a Son whom he should have by her; and that he was acted by such

a

(a) See the End of *Thyestes's* History.

a strong Desire of Revenge; that he stifled all the Dictates of Reason against so criminal an Action. Some Time after the Death of his Wife *Ærope*, *Atreus* married the same *Pelopea*, who was his Niece, and educated, together with *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, the young *Egisthus*, whom he had brought to his Court, as we learn from *Pausanias* (1), and *Hyginus* (2). They having found, at *Delphi*, their Uncle *Thyestes*, brought him to their Father, who clap'd him up in Prison, and sent *Egisthus* to kill him; but *Thyestes* having spy'd in his Hands the Sword which *Pelopea* had snatched from him when he was going out of the sacred Grove, after the Violence he had offered to her, found him out to be his Son. His Daughter coming up, no sooner knew the Incest of her Father, than she fell upon that same Sword, and *Egisthus* carried it all bloody to *Atreus*, who thought he had got rid of his Brother; and having gone to offer a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, *Egisthus* slew him during the Ceremony, and delivered his Father out of Prison. Thus *Thyestes* ascended the Throne, and banished his two Nephews, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, the Sons of *Atreus* his Brother.

These two young Princes repaired to the Court of *Polyphides* King of *Sicyon*, who sent them to *Oeneus* King of *Oechalia*; and that generous Prince married them to the two Daughters of *Tyndarus*, *Clytemnestra* and *Helen*. With the Assistance of their Father-in-law they resolved to revenge the Death of *Atreus*, pursued *Thyestes* vigorously; but he having fled for Refuge to an Altar of *Juno*, they spared his Life, contenting themselves with banishing him to the Island of *Cythera*. Thus *Agamemnon* ascended the Throne of *Argos*, which he transferred to *Mycenæ*, and his Brother *Menelaus* succeeded *Tyndarus* his Father-in-law, and was King of *Sparta*.

'Tis proper to remark, before we go farther, that when I say *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* were the Sons of *Atreus*, I speak according to the common Opinion, tho' I am not ignorant that there are several Authors, among whom may be named *Eusebius* and *Scaliger*,

who believe, and that with a good deal of Reason, that they were not the Sons of that Prince, but of *Plisthenes* his Brother; and as the Actions of the latter had not deserved honourable mention in History, he having led a very obscure Life, hence the Ancients, and especially *Homer*, to do honour to the Memory of the Chief of so many Kings, and to that of his Brother, industriously made them pass for the Sons of *Atreus* who had brought them up, and gives them always the Name of the *Atridae*.

I forgot to take notice that the Beginning of the Enmity between *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, was owing to *Thyestes*'s having stole from his Brother a Ram with a *Golden Fleece*, on which he reckoned the good Luck of his Family depended; and that he committed this Theft by the Interposition of *Ærope* his Sister-in-law, whom he had debauched; which incensed *Atreus* to such a Degree, that he cut the Throats of the two Children whom his Brother had by *Ærope*.

As for Egisthus and Agamemnon, says Pausanias (1), I know not which of the two gave the first Provocation to the other; if it was Egisthus, or if he only acted in revenge of the Murther of Tantalus the Son of Thyestes, who had married Clytemnestra the Daughter of Tyndarus. 'Tis very true that *Euripides*, in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, introduces *Clytemnestra* reproaching *Agamemnon* for having put to Death *Tantalus* the Son of *Thyestes* her first Husband; but *Eustatbius* upon the eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, treats the former Marriage as a Fable, from the Authority of *Homer*, who speaks of *Agamemnon* as having married a Woman so young, that it is in no wise probable she had a former Husband.

Almost all the Ancients, especially the Poets, either believed, or would have it believed, that *Atreus* in revenge had made his Brother eat up his own Children, and obliged the Sun to hide his Head; and this shocking Piece of ancient History is represented upon a fine Groupe in the *Farnese Gallery*. It was always thought that the Statue of this Groupe represented the Emperor *Commodus*; but 'tis actually an *Atreus*, standing

(1) Loc. cit.

ing with a Poniard in one Hand, and in the other a Child whom he is going to sacrifice to his Resentment; and this is *Gronovius's* Opinion of it, against *du Perrier*, and some others (a).

'Tis proper however to observe, that *Strabo* and *Servius* consider this pretended Fact only as an Allegory, founded upon *Atreus's* having been the first who foretold the Eclipses of the Sun, who at that Time hides himself from our Eyes, as if he actually withdrew under the Horizon.

Be that as it will, *Agamemnon* being obliged about that time to leave his Court to go and command the *Grecian* Army, was heartily reconciled to his Cousin *Egistbus*, pardoned him for the Death of his Father, and even left him the Care of his Wife *Clytemnestra*, and of his three Children, *Orestes* (b); *Iphigenia*, and *Electra*, appointing however a certain Songster his sole Confident to overlook their Conduct. *Egistbus* having captivated the Affections of *Clytemnestra*, found a way to get rid of the too vigilant Guardian; and destroyed him at a Hunting-Match. After this he kept no Measures, and their Freedoms were so open, that *Agamemnon* himself heard the afflicting News thereof about the end of the Siege of *Troy*, and resolved to take Revenge so soon as he was returned; but his Wife prevented him, and killed him upon his Arrival, together with her Rival (c), as we read in *Homer* (1), *Euripides*, *Diodorus Siculus* (2), *Lycophron* (3), *Virgil* (4), and all the other Ancients.

To proceed, 'tis well known in what manner this sad Tragedy was acted; and how *Clytemnestra*, either in the midst of a Feast which she gave him upon his Arrival, or as he was coming out of the Bath, having desired her Husband to lay aside a *Phrygian* Habit,

S 2

which

(a) Consult *Meziriac* upon this Place.

(b) *Orestes* was the youngest, and was then but a Child.

(c) We are told that *Ajax* the Son of *Nauplius*, to revenge the Death of his Uncle *Palamedes*, went and informed *Clytemnestra*, that her Husband was in love with *Cassandra*, whom he was bringing with him.

(1) *Odyss.* l. 2. (2) *L.* 4. (3) In *Caſſand.* (4) *En.* l. 4.

which he wore ever since the taking of *Troy*, for one which she said she had wrought for him during his Absence ; that Prince was going to put it on, but his Hands being intangled in the Sleeves, which she had designedly made close, the Conspirators rose from Table and put him to Death.

The faithless *Clytemnestra* afterwards married *Egistbus*, and set the Crown upon his Head, which he kept seven Years, as we learn from *Velleius Paterculus* after *Homer* (1). Young *Orestes* had also been the Victim of that cruel Intrigue, if his Sister *Electra* had not secretly conveyed him to the Court of his Uncle *Strophius* King of *Phocis*, who had married *Agamemnon's* Sister. There it was that *Orestes* contracted that close Friendship with his Cousin *Pylades* the Son of *Strophius*, which rendered them inseparable for ever.

Pausanias says (2), there were to be seen in his Time at *Mycenæ*, the Remains of the Tombs of *Agamemnon*, of *Eurymedon* his Charioteer, and of all those whom that General had brought back from *Troy*, and whom *Egistbus* cut off at the Entertainment he gave them, near that of *Teledamus* and *Pelops*, and of the Twins whom *Cassandra* had by *Agamemnon*, and whom *Egistbus* had put to Death without pitying their tender Age, after having imbrued his Hands in the Blood of the Father and Mother.

Orestes some Years after formed the Design of revenging the Death of his Father ; and having for that Effect raised some Troops, left *Strophius's* Court with *Pylades*, entered secretly into *Mycenæ*, and concealed himself at the House of his Sister *Electra* (a), whom *Egistbus* had married to a Man of mean Extraction, that he might have nothing to fear from his Resentment. * She first spread a false Report thro' *Mycenæ* of *Orestes's* Death, at which *Egistbus* and *Clytemnestra* were

(1) *Odyss.* l. 3. (2) In Corinth.

(a) *Homer*, l. 9. names this Princess *Laodice* ; as to which the Commentators remark, that the Surname of *Electra* was given her only to denote that it was very late before she was married ; 'tis even probable, that it was not given her till long after by the tragic Poets, and that *Homer* never knew it.

were so overjoyed, that they went directly to the Temple of *Apollo*, to give Thanks to the Gods for this agreeable News. *Orestes* entering thither with his Soldiers, and having ordered the Guards to be seized, slew his Mother and her unhappy Lover with his own Hand, thus revenging the Death of his Father and Grandfather. They were interred without the City; not having been deemed worthy to be buried, as *Pausanias* remarks, in the same Place with *Agamemnon*, and those who had been slain with him.

Then it was, we are told, that *Orestes* began to be tort by the Furies, that is, the Stings of his Conscience gave him no respite. He went first to *Athens*, where the *Areopagus* expiated him from his Crime: A remarkable Event, whereof we have the Date upon the *Parian* Marbles, which falls on the Year 1093 or 94 before *Jesus Christ*, 7 or 8 Years after the taking of *Troy*. We are told that the Voices of the Judges being equal on either Side, *Minerva* in Person had given hers in favour of that unfortunate Prince; this is what we learn from *Hesychius* and *Eschiles*. But the Truth is, that a Person was as effectually acquitted by an Equality of Votes (a), as if *Minerva* had given hers to cast the Balance. We are further told, that *Orestes* in Gratitude, raised an Altar to that Goddess, under the Name of *Warlike Minerva* (b).

Orestes thought it not enough to be acquitted by the Judgment of the *Areopagus*, he went also to the *Irezenians* to submit to the Ceremony of Expiation; and *Pausanias* informs us (1), that he was obliged to lodge in a Place by himself, no body daring to receive him into his House, and all looked upon him as under a kind of Excommunication. At length he moved the

S 3 Compassion

(a) *Pari judicum sententia reus absolvitur.*

Hesych.

Vincit Orestes, siquidem suffragia judicata sunt Æqualia.

Eschiles.

(b) *Pausanias*, in *Attic.* calls it ἀρείας Ἀθηνᾶς Βωμός; which also carried an Allusion to the *Areopagus*, whose Name came from *Ares*, or *Mars*.

(1) In *Corinth.* c. 31.

Compassion of the *Trezenians*, who expiated him ; and the Author now named remarks, that a Laurel sprung from the Place where that famous Expiation was performed, because some of the Water of the Fountain *Hippocrene* had been spilt there. This Laurel was even to be seen in his Time, near the Place where that Prince was lodged. The *Trezenians*, as we learn from the same Author, shewed also in his Time the Place near *Apollo's* Temple, where *Orestes* was obliged to dwell by himself, till his Crime was entirely expiated ; and even at present, continues that Author, the Descendants of those who were delegated to that Purification, eat always in that Place on a certain Day of the Year. The same People shewed also the Stone on which the nine Judges had sat who expiated him, and which they called *The sacred Stone*.

The same Author, in another Place (1), tells us that *Orestes*, still pursued by the Furies, had stopped near *Gytbeum* in *Laconia*, where he took his Seat upon a rough Stone, which was still to be seen in his Time ; and that as that Prince had found there some Relief from his Disorder, he had called that Stone by the Name of *Jupiter Cappatus*, that is, *Jupiter the Comforter*.

After these Expiations, *Orestes* was re-established in his Kingdom by *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, who had lately succeeded *Mnestheus*, under whose Reign the *Arundel* Marbles (a) fix the Date of the Expiation by the *Areopagus* mentioned above ; which, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, happened seven Years after the taking of *Troy* ; wherein this Author agrees with *Homer*, who says (2) *Egisthus* reigned seven Years at *Mycenæ* after the Death of *Agamemnon*.

Neither the Judgment of the *Areopagus*, nor that of the *Trezenians* were able to calm *Orestes's* troubled Mind ;

(1) In *Lacon*, c. 22.

(a) The 26 *Æra*. *Selden* in his Commentary upon that *Æra*, is of opinion that this Sentence was passed in the thirtieth Year before the Destruction of *Troy*, notwithstanding the Authorities I have now quoted : Consult this Place of the *Arundel* Marbles.

(2) *Odyss.* l. 3.

Mind ; and the Furies incessantly tormenting him, he went to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, from whom he learned, that in order to get rid of them he was to go to *Tauris* (a), and carry off the Statue of *Diana*, and set *Iphigenia* at Liberty from *Thoas's* Tyranny. Accordingly he went thither with *Pylades* ; but having been taken and clapped in Chains, he was upon the Point of being sacrificed to the Goddess, according to the Custom of the Country, as we read in *Diodorus* (1). It was on this Occasion appeared that generous Struggle of Friendship, whereof *Cicero* speaks, one of those two Friends offering his Life for the other. In the mean Time *Orestes* having made himself known to the Priestess his Sister, she artfully suspended the Sacrifice, giving the King to understand that these Strangers being guilty of Murder, they could not be offered in Sacrifice to the holy Gods till they had received Expiation ; that the Ceremony must be performed by Sea ; and that the Statue of *Diana* having also been profaned by their unhallowed Hands, required Purification. *Iphigenia* having gone on board her Brother's Ship, went off with him, and carried along with her the Statue of the Goddess. Some Authors will have it, that *Orestes* before he set out had put *Thoas* to Death. But whatever be in that, this Event makes one of the finest Tragedies in *Euripides*. There were so many different Traditions concerning this Expedition of *Orestes*, and particularly concerning his Return (b), that one knows not which of them to fix upon. One thing agreed to by all the Ancients is, that after *Orestes* had executed his Enterprize, the Furies gave over tormenting him ; that is, he reckoned his Crime sufficiently expiated, or Time had abated his Remorse. But since I have begun to speak of this Statue of *Diana*, I shall here set down all that the Ancients say of it.

S 4

Several

(a) This is the *Taurica Chersonesus* beyond the *Euxine* Sea.

(1) L. 4.

(b) See what has been said in the first Volume, in relation to the Gods of *Cappadocia*.

Several laid claim to this Statue of *Diana*, and 'tis not easy to determine in what Place *Orestes* left it ; 'tis probable that several similar ones were formed, which were consecrated and left in several Places. The *Athenians* gave out that he had deposited it at *Brauton*, upon the Confines of *Attica* ; but *Pausanias* thinks there is more Probability in what the *Lacedemonians* alledge, that it was brought to *Sparta* by that Heroe, where he actually reigned, and where the Statue of *Diana* was worship'd under the Name of *Ortbya*, because *Orestes* had brought it so equally poised that it inclined neither to the one Side nor the other, from the Word *ὀρθος*, *rectus*, *right* ; and *Lygodesmos*, because he had pack'd it up among some Vine-Twigs. Even human Victims were sacrificed to it until the Time of *Lycurgus*, who abolished that Custom, and substituted in its stead that of Flagellation, to denote that the Altar of *Diana* of *Tauris* was always stained with human Blood.

Orestes, after his Return, married *Electra* to his dear *Pylades*, by whom, according to *Hellanicus*, quoted by *Pausanias* (1), she had two Children, namely *Strophius* and *Medon*. He bethought him next of getting back *Hermione*, the Daughter of his Uncle *Menelaus* and *Heien*, who had been promised him a long Time ago, and whom *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles* had carried off from him : Thus having learned that his Rival was gone to *Delphi* to appease *Apollo*, against whom he had used some indecent Expressions in relation to the Death of his Father, as we are told by *Euripides* and *Trogus Pompeius* (2), he set out thither directly with *Pylades*, and having insinuated to the People that *Pyrrhus* was only come there to rifle their Temple, made them fall upon him and murder him in a barbarous Manner. *Pausanias* adds (3): “ When *Pylades* “ conded *Orestes* in his Design to kill *Pyrrhus*, I pre- “ sume he did it not only out of Friendship to *Orestes*, “ but also in order to revenge his great Grandfather. “ For understanding this Passage we must know that “ *Pylades*

(1) In Corinth. (2) Justin, l. 17. Euripides. (3) In Corinth. c. 29.

“ *Pylades* was the Son of *Strophius*, the Grandson of
 “ *Crestus*, and great Grandson of *Phocus* the Son of
 “ *Eacus*; and that *Pyrrhus* was the Son of *Achilles* and
 “ Grandson of *Telamon*, who had slain *Phocus* his Bro-
 “ ther, as I have said elsewhere.”

After the Death of *Pyrrhus*, *Orestes* married *Hermione*, and lived from that Time in peaceful enough Enjoyment of his Kingdom; but having gone to *Arcadia*, he was bit by a Serpent, and died there at the Age of ninety Years, after a Reign of seventy (1). For he was but twenty when he left *Strophius*'s Court, and he ascended the Throne after the Death of *Egisthus* (a). His Son *Thisamenes* succeeded him, and after him *Pentbilus* whom he had by *Erigone*, the Daughter of *Egistus* and *Clytemnestra*, and consequently his Sister by the Mother. He had united to the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* that of *Sparta*, after the Death of *Menelaus* his Uncle and Father-in-law, the *Lacedemonians* having chose rather to settle the Crown upon the Husband of *Hermione* the Daughter of that Prince and *Helen*, than upon his natural Children. All these Facts happened from the Year 1250 before Christ, to the Year 1050 (b), that is in the Space of 200 Years: Then the Kingdom of *Mycenæ* came to a Period; for the *Heraclidæ*, as has been said, having entered the *Peloponnesus* in the Time of *Pentbilus*, obliged him to retire into *Achaia*.

Let us not forget another Adventure which we have in *Hyginus* (2). *Electra* having received the false News of the Death of *Orestes* and *Pylades*, who were given out to be sacrificed to *Diana* by *Thoas*, and this Report having spread, *Aletes* the Son of *Ægisthus* seeing none remaining of the Blood of the *Atridæ*, took Possession of the Crown of *Mycenæ*. In the mean Time *Electra*, in order to be better informed in a Piece of News wherein

(1) Petav. Rat. tem. l. 1.

(a) When *Agamemnon* went to the Trojan War, *Orestes* was but three Years old, thirteen when his Father was killed, and twenty when he avenged his Death.

(b) See Petav. loc. cit.

(2) Fable 122,

wherein she was so highly interested, arrived there the same Day that *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* did, and then the first News she heard was, that her Brother had been sacrificed by *Iphigenia*'s own Hands. Transported with Rage and desperate Grief, she snatched a flaming Brand from the Altar, and with it was going to have bored out her Sister's Eyes, when by good Luck *Orestes* appeared; and they coming to the Knowledge of one another, returned all three to *Mycenæ*, where they were no sooner arrived, than *Orestes* slew his Cousin *Aletes*; and he would have served his Sister *Erigone* the Daughter of *Egisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, with the same Measure, had not *Diana* interposed by conveying her to *Attica*, where she became Priestess: Which doubtless means that the Compassion he had for the Age and Innocence of that Princess, determined *Orestes* to spare her Life, contenting himself with consecrating her to the Service of *Diana*.

It will not be thought foreign to the Purpose to lay together in a few Words, all the Crimes of this Family, in order to justify *Horace*'s Expression, who calls it, *The cruel Family of Pelops, Sæva Pelopis domus*. *Tantalus*, who was the Founder of it, sacrificed his own Son *Pelops* to his Superstition: He again put to Death his Father-in-law *Oenomaus*, whose Wife *Hippodamia* killed herself thro' Despair. *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, the Sons of *Pelops*, slew their Brother *Chrysippus* at the Instigation of their Mother, who took this Revenge upon her Rival. *Thyestes* debauched his Sister-in-law, and *Atreus* assassinated the Children that sprung from that incestuous Embrace, served them up at Table to his Brother-in-law, made him drink their Blood, and at last sacrificed his Wife to his Fury. The same *Thyestes* ravished his Daughter, who killed herself with Grief. *Egisthus* the Son of *Thyestes*, to avenge his Father, put his Uncle *Atreus* to Death; *Thyestes* usurped the Crown of *Argos*, and banished his two Nephews. *Agamemnon* sacrificed, or at least delivered up as a Victim his Daughter *Iphigenia*, from Ambition to have the Command of an Army. *Egisthus*, violating the Laws of Hospitality,

Hospitality, debauched from her Husband the Affections of his Sister-in-law *Clytemnestra*; and they two together assassinated *Agamemnon* and *Cassandra*. The same *Agamemnon* had put to Death his Cousin *Tantalus*. *Orestes* slew his Mother and his Cousin *Egisthus*, and brought about *Pyrrhus's* Assassination. What Dissoluteness, what Ferocity of Manners! or rather what obstinate Perverseness of Taste in every Age, to bring upon the Stage these hideous and detestable Subjects; instead of choosing out from Antiquity the Examples of Virtue, that might easily be found there!

It remains to explain, before we close this Article, the Fable of that Ram with the *Golden Fleece* which the Gods are said to have given to *Pelops*, and which was a kind of sacred Pledge that insured the Crown of *Argos* to his Family. *Thyestes*, as we learn from *Seneca* (1), stole it from his Brother *Atreus*, with the Assistance of *Ærope* his Sister-in-law, whom he had debauched (a). It was probably nothing else but a Scepter covered with a gilded Fleece, which from a Tradition not well examined, came to be taken for the Fleece of one of *Pelops's* Rams. The Kings of *Tantalus's* Race, always bore this Scepter, which they looked upon as a Talisman. It was even believed that *Jupiter* had given it to his Son *Mercury*, who made a Present of it to *Pelops*, from whom it passed to *Atreus*. *Thyestes*, by stealing it from his Brother, thought to secure the Crown to himself: *Agamemnon* again bore it at the Siege of *Troy*, as we learn from *Homer* in more Places than one (b). The People of *Cheronea*, if we may believe *Pausanias*,

(1) In *Thyeste*.

(a) See *Cicero* l. 3, de *Nat. Deor.* who cites this Verse from an ancient Poet, whom *F. Delrio* will have to be *Attius*.

*Addo huc quod mihi portento Cælestum Pater
Prodigium misit regni stabilimen mei;
Agnum inter pecudes aurea clarum coma,
Quondam Thyestem clepere ausum esse e regia,
Qua in re adjutricem conjugem cepit sibi.*

(b) See *Seneca* in *Thyestes*, where he introduces *Atreus* complaining that his Brother had stole this Scepter from him. See *Justin*, l. 34. & *Homer*.

Pausanias (1), had such Veneration for this Scepter afterwards, that they adored it like a Divinity.

Pausanias tells us farther (2), that this Ram was represented in Marble upon *Thyestes's* Tomb, in that Place of the Highway between *Mycenæ* and *Argos* which was called *the Ram*.

Such is the History of this celebrated Family, always more noted for the Incests and other Crimes than for the virtuous Deeds of the Heroes of it. I have unravelled it as far as I was able from the Fables that were blended with it. Thus when we read *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Seneca*, as also our Moderns, *Corneille*, *Racine* and the rest, we will know how to understand them; and consider only as Embellishments, whatever is not consonant to these Explanations I have now given.

CHAP. II.

The History of Eacus, Peleus, Achilles and Thetis.

EACUS, the Founder of this Race, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Egina* the Daughter of *Asopus*, King of *Beotia*, who was confounded with a River, and therefore said to be the Son of the Ocean. That Prince, to avenge the Insult which *Jupiter*, that is a King of *Arcadia* (3) who bore this Name, had done to his Daughter, raised against him a powerful Army, and gave him Battle, wherein he was routed, as we learn from *Theodotus* (4); and because in ancient Times it was usual to intermix Fable with History, those who wrote this said, the River *Asopus* had with his Streams made War upon *Jupiter*, and that he, by transforming himself into Fire, had Thunder-struck him (a); a physical Circumstance founded upon the Situation of that River, which flows in a Country that abounds with

(1) In Beot.

(2) In Corinth.

(3) Pausan. in Arcad.

(4) In Boccace, l. i. c. 55.

(a) *Namque ferunt raptam patriis Æginan ab undis
Amplexu latuisse Jovis: furit amnis, et astris
Inensus bellare parat, &c.*

Stat. Theb. l. 7.

with Sulphur (*b*). To this Fable another was added, importing that *Jupiter*, to save his Mistress from the Vengeance of her Father, who made strict Search for her, transformed her into an Island: which signifies that he concealed her in an Island of the *Saronick* Gulf, now *Lepanta*, which was some time called the Island of *Egina*. There was *Eacus* born, the most equitable Judge of his Time, which procured him a Place among the Judges of Hell, as has been said. What raised the Character of that Prince, is, that *Attica* being distressed with a great Drought, with which the Gods punished the perfidious *Egeus*, for having put to Death the young *Androgeos*, the Oracle was consulted, and Answer given, that the Calamity would cease so soon as the King of *Egina* became Intercessor for *Greece*. This Prince offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, under the Name of *Panhellenian*, in Consequence of which there fell great Showers of Rain. *Pausanias* (1) adds, that the *Eginetes* had built a Monument named *Eacea*, where were the Statues of all the Deputies of *Greece*, who came for that Purpose into their Island.

Again, to this History was added a third Fable, which 'tis necessary to explain before we go farther. The Pestilence laid waste *Eacus's* Dominions, who seeing most of his Subjects cut off by it, prayed *Jupiter* to avert that Calamity. *Ovid*, who gives a pompous Description of the Desolations occasioned by that Plague (2), says, *Eacus* saw, in a Dream, a great Swarm of Pismires come from the Bottom of an old Oak, which, as they appeared, were transformed into

(*b*) The *Asopus*, according to *Pausanias* in *Corinth*. flowed in the Country of the *Phliasians*, a small Spot of Ground near *Sicyon*. It was under the Reign of *Aras*, that *Asopus*, who passed for the Son of *Neptune* and *Ceclysa*, discovered the Source of that River, which from him was called the *Asopus*. Here then are two *Asopus's*, the one a River, the other a Man who communicated his Name to the River. It was the same with the River *Inachus*, *Marsyas*, and a great many others. Thus when we read in the Mythologists and Historians, that *Egina* and *Thebe* were the Daughters of *Asopus*, we are to understand that their Father was King *Asopus*, who gave his Name to the River; and so others.

(1) In *Corinth*. c. 29.

(2) *Met.* L. 7.

to Men, and that on the next Morning, so soon as that Prince awoke, he received Advice, that his Dominions were better peopled than they had been before. This Fiction is founded merely upon the Equivocation of the Name of the *Myrmidons*, a People of *Thessaly*; the Subjects of *Eacus*; which resembles that of the *Pismire*, called in *Greek* Μυρμηξ. That People bearing a further Resemblance to that little Animal, in so far as instead of inhabiting Towns or Villages, they commonly kept in the open Fields, having no other Retreat, but the Dens and Cavities of Trees. *Eacus* drew them together, and settled them in Abodes more secure and commodious. This is the Truth of the Fable. Thus the *Greeks* took Advantage of the smallest Similitude to utter agreeable Fictions. Farther; the Original of that Circumstance, importing that *Juno*, to be avenged of her Rival, had inflicted that Calamity upon the Subjects of him whom she brought into the World, is, that this Goddess was often taken for the Air, from whose bad Qualities, Pestilence and other epidemical Distempers arise. For, to repeat it once more, it was usual to intermix Allegory even with the most historical Fables.

Eacus had by his Wife *Endeis*, the Daughter of *Cbiron* (a), two Sons, *Peleus* and *Telamon*; and by *Psamathe* the Daughter of *Nereus*, *Thetis*'s Sister, a Son named *Phocus*. As the latter was playing with his two Brothers, *Telamon*'s Coit lighted upon his Head, and slew him (1). *Eacus* being informed of this Accident, and hearing, at the same Time, that those young Princes had formerly had some Diffension with their Brother, or had committed that Crime at the Instigation of the jealous *Endeis* their Mother, he banished them from the Island *Egina*, condemning them to perpetual Exile. They went on board a Ship; and when they were got to a little Distance from the Shore, *Telamon* sent a Herald to his Father, to assure him,

(a) According to *Pausanias*, the Scholiast on *Pindar* and *Apollodorus*.

(1) *Diod.* l. 4.

him, that tho' he had killed *Phocus*, it was accidentally; and by no Means thro' premediated Design; but *Eacus* sent him a Return, that he was never to set his Foot again in his Island, and that if he had a Mind to justify himself, he might plead his Cause from his Ship, or from an Eminence on the Sea-shore. *Telamon* entered the following Night into the Port called *Secret*, and there having of Earth made a kind of Hillock, which was still subsisting in the Time of *Pausanias*, he spoke in his own Defence; but having lost his Cause, and *Eacus* being but too well justified in his Suspicions, he set sail for *Salamis*. This Manner of Self-defence, by taking that Precaution, was in Use in the heroic Times, and the same Author from whom I have borrowed this Relation, informs us that the *Athenians* had such another Court: The Judges sat upon the Sea-shore, while the Pannel, who appeared in his own Defence, was in a Ship, ready to go off if he was condemned.

Peleus sought a Retreat at *Pthia* in *Thessaly* with *Eurytion* the Son of *Aetor*, who after having expiated him, gave him his Daughter *Antigone* in Marriage, and the third Part of his Kingdom. The Issue of this Marriage was a Daughter named *Polydora*, who married *Borus* the Son of *Perieres*, to whom was born *Mnestheus*, the same who expelled *Theseus* from *Athens*, and reigned in his Stead. *Peleus*, being invited to the Hunting of *Calydon*, went thither with his Father-in-law, whom he unluckily slew as he was darting his Javelin at the Boar. By this Murder, tho' involuntary, being forced to abandon *Pthia*, he repaired to *Iolchos* to *Acastus*, who gave him Expiation. But a new Adventure happened which disturbed his Quiet at that Court. *Astidamia*, the Wife of *Acastus*, falling in Love with him, but finding him insensible, accused him of an Attempt to debauch her. *Acastus*, that he might not violate the Laws of Hospitality by putting him to Death himself, ordered his Officers to lead him to the Chace on Mount *Pelion*, and there bind him fast, hide his Sword, and then leave him thus exposed to the Mercy of the wild Beasts: As if this Manner of putting

putting him to Death had been less against the Laws of Hospitality, than if he had condemned him to die himself. *Peleus*, thus abandoned, found a Way to break his Chains, and having gathered some of his Friends, among others *Jason*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, went to *Iolchos*, and having forced his Way into the Palace of *Acastus*, slew *Astidamia* (1).

As he had saved himself against all Probability from so evident a Danger, it was fabled that *Jupiter* his Grandfather had made *Pluto* loose him, and give him the Sword with which he took Vengeance of that cruel Woman. In this Manner, to mention it by the Way, did that Prince, a Native of *Egina*, become Master of Part of *Thessaly*.

After the Death of his first Wife, *Peleus* married *Thetis*, the Sister of *Lycomedes* King of *Scyros*, by whom he had several Children, who all died under Age, but *Achilles*, whom we shall speak of immediately.

I have observed, that upon Occasion of this Marriage, all the Gods had disputed with him that Conquest; I shall add here, that *Thetis* was prevailed upon, with much ado, to marry a mere Mortal, after having been beloved by *Jupiter* himself, and that she had Recourse to several Stratagems to break off the Match; which is signified to us under a Fiction, setting forth, that in order to evade it, she had transformed herself into various Shapes; but that by *Chiron's* Advice, *Peleus* had bound her with Chains; which, no doubt, means that this wise Centaur removed all the Obstacles that *Thetis* raised against that Match, and brought her, at last, to consent to it.

None of the Sons of *Eacus* resided in *Egina*. *Peleus*, after having wandered a long Time thro' different Countries, settled in *Thessaly* (a), whence he sent his Son and Grandson, with the Myrmidons, to the *Trojan* War, and out-lived the Destruction of that City several

(1) Apollod. l. 9.

(a) I have observed, in its own Place, that he was one of the most celebrated *Argonauts*; and as he survived the taking of *Troy*, this is a new Proof of the Proximity of those two Events.

ral Years. The Children of *Phocus* came and lived in that Country, which is about the *Parnassus*, and at this Day called *Phocis*: “ I am, however, of Opini-
 “ on; says *Pausanias* (1), that *Phocis* went by that
 “ Name a Generation sooner, and that it derived it
 “ from *Phocus* the Son of *Ornytion*, who had settled in
 “ that Country. ’Tis very probable, continues the
 “ same Author, that under the Reign of the first *Pho-*
 “ *cus*, the Name of *Phocis* was only given to the
 “ Country nearest to *Titborea* and the *Parnassus*, and
 “ that afterwards the other *Phocus*, the Son of *Eacus*,
 “ coming to reign there, gave the same Name to all
 “ the circumjacent Places: Thus under the Name of
 “ *Minyans* are comprehended not only the People that
 “ border upon the *Orchomenians*, but those also who
 “ lie towards *Scarpbea*, a Town of the *Locrians*.”

Peleus was the Original of the Kings of *Epirus*, where *Neoptolemus*, or *Pyrrhus* his Grandson, reigned, upon his Return from *Troy*, as shall be said in his History.

Pausanias, from whom I have taken this Narrative, informs us (2), with respect to the Posterity of *Telamon*, that *Ajax* having led a private Life, none of his Descendants were very illustrious, except *Miltiades*, under whose Conduct the *Athenians* gained the Victory at *Marathon*, and *Cimon* his Son. But that Author had forgot, in this Passage, what he had said in his *Atticks* (3), that the same *Telamon* acquired the Kingdom of *Megara*, which he gave to his Son *Ajax*; and consequently ’tis certain that he did not always lead a private Life.

The Posterity of *Teucer*, continues the same *Pausanias*, maintained themselves upon the Throne of the *Cypriots* until *Evagoras*. As for *Phocus*, the Poet *Asius* gives him two Sons, *Panopeus* and *Chrysus*; to *Panopeus* was born *Epeus*, who framed the wooden Horse which the *Greeks* made use of in taking *Troy*. *Chrysus*

VOL. IV.

T

was

(1) In Corinth. (2) Ibid. (3) Ch. 42.

was the Father of *Strophius*, and the Grandfather of *Pylades*, whose Mother, the Sister of *Agamemnon*, was called *Anaxibia*. These were the Three Branches of the *Æacide*, who having all come from one Stock, went and settled in different Places.

Achilles. *Achilles* was the Son of *Peleus* King of *Thes-saly*, and of *Thetis*. We are told that this God-deſs to prove whether her Children were mortal, put them into a Caldron of boiling Water, or threw them into the Fire; whereby ſome of them perished: And *Achilles* would have had the ſame Fate, if *Peleus* had not ſeaſonably come up to his Deliverance, by which Means he had only one of his Heels burnt. This Fi-ction has doubtleſs no other Foundation but ſome Ce-remony of Purification which *Thetis* was wont to make uſe of. This Fable gave a Handle to ſay afterwards, that *Thetis* had dipp'd her Son in the Water of *Styx*, and had thereby made him invulnerable, all but the Heel; tho' we may alſo ſuppoſe that the Courage and Valour of that young Prince, and the Goodneſs of his Armour gave riſe to the Fable, which is not to be taken literally, ſince *Homer* (1) informs us, that he had been wounded at the Siege of *Troy* by *Hector*.

The Fable which I have been explaining, gave riſe to the firſt Name of *Achilles*, who was at firſt called *Pyrrhifous*, as much as to ſay, *Saved from the Fire* (a); and it was *Chiron* his Governour gave him the Name of *Achilles*, of whom many other Fables were publiſhed; ſuch as that he had been nurſed with the Marrow of a Lion, as we learn from *Statius* (b), becauſe his Name may

(1) *Odyſſ.* l. 11. See *Euſtatius* upon this Place.

(a) *Statius*, *Achil.* l. 2. *Libanius*, *Orat. contra Achillem.* *Apol-lodorus*, l. 4. of the *Argonauts*.

(b) *Non ullas ex more dapes habuiſſe, nec ullis
Uberibus ſatiaſſe famem, ſed ſciſſa leonum
Viſcera, ſemianimesque libens traxiſſe medullas.* *Stat.* l. 11. v. 381.
Girac however ſaid no Author had made mention of this, relying upon a Word in *Plutarch* ill tranſlated by *Amiot*, where he ſays that *Philius* brought up his Son, as *Chiron* had done *Achilles* with Meat not bloody; it ought to have been rendered *contrary to Chiron's Method*, as *Miziriac* has very well obſerved. See

may signify that he had never been suckled; but all these Fictions are founded only upon the poor Etymology of that Prince's Name; perhaps too he was said to be nursed with a Lion's Marrow, only because in his tender Youth, he attacked in the Chace, an Exercise which he loved, Bears, Boars, and Lions without Distinction, as we learn from the same *Statius* (a).

Chiron gave *Achilles* a good Education, and taught him, besides all the Exercises suitable to a young Prince, Medicine and Music.

When *Thetis* was informed that all the Nobility of *Greece* were assembled to go to the Siege of *Troy*, she sent him *incognito* to *Lycomedes* her Brother, to evade the Accomplishment of some Oracles, which had foretold that this War would prove fatal to him. That he might be the better concealed, he disguised himself like a Girl, and took the Name of *Pyrrha*, from his red Hair (1): Then it was he captivated the Heart of *Deidamia* the Daughter of *Lycomedes*, by whom he had a Son named *Pyrrhus* or *Neoptolemus*. In the mean Time, as one of the Fatalities of *Troy* bore that that City could not be taken without the Presence of *Achilles*, search was made for him every where, and *Ulysses* having learned that he was at *Scyros*, made use of a Stratagem to find him out, which succeeded. Among several Trinkets he mixed small Arms (2); which *Achilles* had no sooner seen, than he grasp'd the Arms; and by this Means having discovered himself, he was obliged to march with the rest.

This History is very exactly represented in the fine Statues which Cardinal *Polignac* brought from *Rome* in his last Journey. I am persuaded however that this Adventure is of a much later Invention than to have been known in *Homer's* Time. That Poet even demon-

T 2

lishes

See *Colomier's Bibl. Choisie*, and *Bayle*, who has copied him in his Dictionary.

(a) - - - *Invitas turbare cubilibus ursas,
Eulmineasque fues, & sicubi maxima tigris.
Aut seducta jugis fætæ spelunca Leænæ.*

Stat. l. 4. v. 404.

(1) Hygin. Fab (2) Ovid. Met. l. 13.

lives it, when he tells us, that *Nestor* and *Ulysses* having gone to the Courts of *Peleus* and *Ménætiüs*, they brought along with them *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, whom these two Princes frankly gave up to them.

I have often taken Notice of *Homer's* Silence as to certain fabulous Traditions ; which proves them to be more modern than the Poems of that great Poet, who would not have failed to employ them to give an Air of the Marvellous to his Narration : But we must return to *Achilles*.

This young Heroe performed many noble Atchievements during the Siege of *Troy*, took several Towns in Alliance with the *Trojans*, as we read in *Homer*, and *Strabo* (1), who names them all after the *Greek* Poet ; but having quarrelled with *Agamemnon*, he kept his Tent without fighting for near a Year, and quitted it at last to revenge the Death of *Patroclus* his Friend, slain by *Hector* under his Arms. As he was stern, brutal, and outrageous, after having taken away the Life of his Enemy, he offered a thousand Indignities to his Body (2), and sold it at last to *Priam* his Father. Having afterwards seen *Polyxena* during some Truce, he fell in Love with her, and asked her in Marriage. *Dithys* informs us, that *Achilles* found *Polyxena* in the Temple of *Apollo*, serving *Cassandra* at a Sacrifice, and that having fallen in Love with her, he asked her from *Hector* ; whose Answer was, That if he would abandon the Side of the *Greeks*, and betray the Army, he would give her to him in Marriage ; which highly provoked *Achilles* ; he adds, that when *Priam* went to redemand the Body of his Son, he took that Princess with him, to move the Heart of his Enemy, which had the desired Success, and at the same time proved the Cause of that young Heroe's Death ; for *Priam* having observed that he was still very much in love with his Daughter, purposed to invite him into the Temple of *Apollo* under pretext of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, where, in the time that *Deiphobus* was embracing him, *Paris* killed him. The *Greeks* suspected

(1) L. 14. (2) *Homer's Iliad*, l. 24.

suspected him of plotting with the *Trojans*, and so little did they regret the Death of this great Man, that *Ajax* was obliged to take care of his Funerals, and to employ some Persons from *Troas* to erect a Tomb to him upon the Promontory of *Sigeum* (1).

Dares of Phrygia gives much the same Account. He only adds, that this Prince defended himself a long Time, and sold his Life dear. *Paris* wounded him in the Heel, the only Place wherein he was vulnerable; which may be explained, without receding from Tradition, by saying that he actually wounded him in that Place (2), and it was given out that *Apollo* had directed the Blow; as if actually a God had been necessary to take away that Heroe's Life, and a Mortal could not pretend to the Power of killing him, as we are told by *Sophocles* in his Tragedy of *Philoctetes*; but without having recourse to these supernatural Circumstances, which were only invented to make the Death of that Heroe more signal; the Blow which *Paris* gave him, cut the Tendon of the Heel, the Wound whereof is mortal, unless there be able Hands to take particular Care of it; and to confirm what I here advance, that Tendon has since gone under the Name of *Achilles's* Tendon.

Tho' this Tradition concerning the Death of *Achilles* be commonly received, I will not however dissemble that *Homer* (3) plainly enough insinuates, that this Heroe died as he was fighting for his Country; that the *Greeks* fought a bloody Battle about his Body, which lasted a whole Day; he adds, that tho' wounded, he avenged his Death upon all those who came in his Way, and that before he expired he slew *Oritheus*, *Hipponous*, *Alcibous*, which put the *Trojans* into such Consternation that they all fled.

After his Death *Ajax* and *Ulysses* carried off his Body, and brought it into the Camp. This is what we see represented, tho' in a coarse Manner, upon the *Iliac* Table.

T 3

Achilles

(1) Dictys, l. 3. & 4. - (2) Hygin. Fab. 107. (3) Odyss. l. 24.

Achilles was honoured as a Demi-God in an Island of the *Euxine-Sea*, named at first *Leuce*, and afterwards *Acbillæa* (1), where he is said to have wrought a great many Miracles. We are farther told that he married there either *Iphigenia*, or according to others, *Helen*; and we have a thousand other Fables to this Purpose, founded upon the Relations of the Priests who imposed upon credulous Travellers. The Ancients have made this Island a kind of *Elysian Fields*, where the Souls of several Heroes had their Residence.

After the Death of *Achilles*, his Son *Pyrrhus* was brought to the Siege of *Troy*, tho' then but very young (a), and he distinguished himself there especially on the Day that the City was taken. It was he, according to *Virgil*, that slew *Priam*, and threw down the young *Astyanax*, *Hector's* Son, from a Tower; and as *Polyxena* had been the Cause of his Father's Death, he sacrificed her at his Tomb. The Misfortunes of this Princess were the Subject of two fine Pictures which *Pausanias* had seen, the one at *Athens*, the other at *Pergamus* upon the *Caicus* (2).

Pyrrhus after his Return from this Expedition married *Hermione* the Daughter of *Helen*, tho' already betrothed to *Orestes* (b), which cost him his Life; for that

(1) Pausan. l. 3. Plin. l. 4.

(a) If he was born when his Father was at *Lycomedes's* Court, that is when the *Trojan War* began to be spoke of, he might then have been eighteen or twenty Years old. The Passage I have taken from *Homer*, which makes *Helen* to have resided twenty Years at *Troy*, from whence it may be concluded, that ten Years were spent in making Preparations for that Expedition, removes many Difficulties as to the Age of *Achilles*, and that of his Son, which would otherwise be unanswerable.

Pausanias, in his *Phocica*, observes that in *Homer* the Son of *Achilles* is always named *Neoptolemus*, and that it is the Author of the *Cypriacks* who says *Lycomedes* named him *Pyrrhus*; it was *Phœnix* gave him the Name of *Neoptolemus*, because *Achilles* his Father was very young when he went to the War.

(2) Pausan. in Phoc.

(b) *Hermione* stung with Jealousy that *Pyrrhus* should have preferred *Andromache* to her, gave *Orestes* secret Information of the Absence of her Husband, and probably concerted with him to cut him off.

that Prince, as has been said, made him be assassinated at *Delpbi*, either by a Priest named *Machareus*, or by the Populace; as to which *Virgil* seems guilty of two Errors in speaking of this Death (1), one, in making *Pyrrhus* to be slain by *Orestes* instigated by the Furies, tho' all are agreed that he was delivered from them upon his Return from *Tauris*; the other in saying that he slew him before the Altar of *Apollo* his Father, tho' 'tis certain *Achilles* claimed that God neither for his Father, nor for one of his Progenitors (a); but it may be answered in Vindication of *Virgil*, as to the first Article, that Poets give themselves no trouble about the Chronology, nor the Circumstances of Time, and that they accommodate the Events of their Heroe's Life, so as to represent them at such and such a Time, what they were in any particular known Period of their Life; thus we may say *Virgil* is not blameable for not being too scrupulously attached to the Circumstances of Time, and that it was enough for him, that *Orestes* had been long acted by the Furies, to justify his representing him as furious on a very proper Occasion, when he was to cut his Rival's Throat in the midst of a Temple (b).

As to the second Article, we may suppose that *Virgil* when he says *Orestes* slew *Pyrrhus*, *ad patrias aras*, means at the Altars of the same God in whose Temple his Father had been slain, tho' he might have expressed his Sentiment better. The ingenious Translator of the *Eneid* (2) has very well expressed the Meaning of the *Latin* Poet in these four Verses:

T 4

Pyrrhus

(1) *Eneid*. l. 3.

(a) *Ast illum creptæ magno inflammatus amore
Conjugis, & scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes
Accipit incautum, patriasque obtruncat ad aras.*

See *Meziriac* upon the Epistle of *Hermione* who censures *Virg*! for these Faults.

(b) *Racine* has imitated *Virgil*, and represents *Orestes* under the Influence of the Furies after the Death of *Pyrrhus*. *Trag. of Andromache*.

(2) *M. de Segrais*.

*Pyrrhus en fut epris ; mais le rival epoux,
Seisi de ses fraveurs & d'un transport jaloux,
Le surprend, & l'immole a sa juste colere,
Aux Autels ou Paris sacrifice son pere.*

Pyrrhus was smitten with Hermione's Charms, but his Rival Orestes, transported with Jealousy, and toss'd by the Furies, surprized that Prince in an unguarded Hour, and sacrificed him at the Altar where his Father Achilles fell before.

I must not forget to take Notice, that *Pyrrhus* during his Absence having lost his Father's Kingdom, which was *Thessaly*, or at least a good Part of that Country, retired to *Epirus* (1), conquered a great Part of it, and there fixed the Seat of his Empire. His Descendants reigned there after him, the Country itself was called *Pyrrhis*, and afterwards *Epirotis*.

Pindar says that Prince reigned not long among the *Molossi*, but that his Posterity settled there for ever ; which *Thetis*, in *Euripides's* Tragedy of *Andromache*, foretels him. *Molossia* was a Part of *Epirus* ; the Scholiast however remarks that this Poet mentions *Molossia* only by way of Anticipation, since it only got this Name from the Son whom that Prince had by *Andromache*.

Some of the Ancients tell us that *Helenus*, *Priam's* Son, had told him to settle in the Place where he should find Houses whose Foundations were of Wood, the Buildings also of Wood, and the Roofs of Feathers ; and that he having observed in his Way, Spears fixed in the Ground, whereon were the Cloaths of some Soldiers ; he wanted no more to persuade him that this was the Place prescribed to him, and that the Oracle was fulfilled.

Homer, who is of greater Credit and Antiquity, follows another Tradition, when speaking of *Neoptolemus's* Marriage, on occasion of *Telemachus's* coming to the Court of *Menelaus*, he says, that Prince had given him his Daughter ; and by this Expression he supposed that

(1) Justin. l. 17

that he reigned then at *Phthia*, the Capital of the Kingdom of his Father and Grandfather; but he might very well have reigned over both Kingdoms; over the one by Inheritance, and over the other by Conquest.

C H A P. III.

The History of the two Ajaxes.

AMONG the more famous Captains of the Greeks, were also the two *Ajaxes*; the one the Son of *Oileus*, the other of *Telamon* and *Hesione*: The former, who was very powerful, equipped forty Ships (1), which he led to the Siege of *Troy*. He was a brave and intrepid Prince, stern and ferocious. The Insult he offered to *Cassandra* turned the Hearts of Gods and Men against him. *Ulysses*, according to the Testimony of *Pausanias* (2), was for his being stoned, and it would have been done, had he not offered to clear himself by Oath (3). He even insinuated that *Agamemnon* had propagated that evil Report, only that he himself might ravish *Cassandra*, with whom he was actually in Love. *Ajax* suffered Shipwreck in his Return with a Part of the Greeks, near the *Cheredin* Rocks, about the Island of *Eubœa*; *Nauplius*, who was the King thereof, having kindled a Light in the Night-time with a View to decoy the Grecian Fleet among the Rocks, wherein he succeeded; and thus he avenged the Death of his Father *Palamedes*, whom *Ulysses* and the other Grecian Captains had put to Death: The Poets have done him the Honour to justify him, by ascribing that Event to the Wrath of *Minerva*, who thus avenged the Profanation of her Temple. On this Occasion several other Fables have been delivered. It was given out, that *Ajax* having escaped Shipwreck, had rested himself upon a Rock which *Neptune* had clove with a Blow of his Trident; and that the Portion which he sat down upon had fallen into the Sea with him. Others say he was Thunder-struck

(1) Homer. *Iliad*. l. 2. (2) L. 10. (3) Idem. *ib*.

struck by *Minerva* herself (a). Lastly (1), some Ancients assert, that after the Storm, having sat down upon a Rock, as he was insulting the Gods by a thousand Blasphemies, *Minerva* implored *Neptune's* Aid, who buried him under the Fall of the same Rock. *Lycrophon* (2) seems to intimate, that his Body carried by the Waves into *Delos*, was there interred by *Tetbys's* Means; another Fable; as likewise what we read in some Authors that this Heroe had three Hands, which *Servius* (3) explains to denote his great Agility, in moving his Hands with so much Address, that he seemed to have three.

Tho' *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Seneca*, and several other Ancients have said that *Ajax* was punished in the Manner now mentioned, yet *Timeus*, who was of the same Country with this Heroe, asserts in his History, that he perished not in the Shipwreck I have been speaking of, but that he returned into his own Dominions. This Author, no doubt, deserves more Credit than the Poets, who have foisted into the Account of his Death the Wrath of *Minerva*, and other Circumstances of Admiration. The *Locrians* represented *Ajax* upon their Medals, as may be seen in *Goltzius*.

Some time after his Death, the Pestilence laid waste his Kingdom; upon which the Oracle, being consulted, made answer that in order to appease the Wrath of the Goddess provoked by the Impiety of the King, they were to send every Year into the Temple she had at *Troy*, two young Virgins to serve her as Priestesses; which they punctually obeyed: so much did Religion, and particularly Faith in Oracles, bear Sway at that Time over the Minds of Men: a new Proof at the same Time, that *Troy* was not entirely demolished by the *Greeks*, but that it still subsisted, tho' in less Lustre and Glory than before, as we learn from *Plutarch* and *S. Jerom* after him. The Conduct of the *Trojans* towards these young Priestesses, might well have excused

(a) *Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammæ,*

Turbine corripuit, scopuloque affixit acuto.

Virg.

(1) Quint Calaber, l. 14. *Seneca*. (2) In his *Cassand.* v. 400.

(3) In 1. *Æneid*.

ed the *Locrians* from a Compliance, yet they continued faithful to the Decision of the Oracle. The *Trojans*, at least in the earlier times, concealed themselves in the Way that those unfortunate Victims of their Goddess were to take, and after having assassinated them, burnt their Bodies, and threw their Ashes into the Sea. There were some of them however who by taking By-Paths arrived at the Temple, where they found a secure Sanctuary against the Cruelty of their Enemies. This Custom, which commenced three Years before the taking of *Troy*, lasted till the Year of *Rome* 564. that is, upwards of a Thousand Years (1).

The *Locrians* of *Opus*, of whom *Ajax* was King, had so high an Opinion of his Valour, that even after his Death they left in their Line of Battle a Place vacant, as if this Prince had been to fill it up (2). In the Battle they sustained against the *Crotoniates*, *Autoleon* seeing in the Enemy's Army a Place empty, made his Attack there; but he was wounded by a Specter; and the Wound not being like to heal, the Oracle he consulted made Answer, that the only Remedy remaining for him, was to appease *Ajax's* Manes. *Autoleon* went for that Effect into the Island *Leucé*, where among the Shades of several other Heroes of Antiquity, he saw that of *Ajax*, whom he appeased, and was instantly cured (a).

The History of Ajax, the Son of Telamon.

Ajax the Son of *Telamon*, was the most valiant of the *Greeks* next to *Achilles* (3): he was like him, stern, brutal and outrageous; *Sophocles* represents him as an Atheist, who, when his Father exhorted him to depend upon the Gods for Victory, replied the most arrant Cowards may be victorious with such Assistance; but that for his Part he was sure of Victory without it. This Prince performed a thousand signal Exploits at the Siege of *Troy*, as may be seen in *Homer*. The Dispute he had with *Ulysses* about the Arms of *Achilles* (4) proved fatal to

(1) *Plutarch de sera Num. vindicta.* (2) *Conon Narr.* 17.

(a) See what has been said of this Island in the History of *Achilles*.

(3) *Iliad* L. 2. (4) *Homer, Odyss.* 1. 13.

to him. The Preference given to his Competitor having turned him delirious, he fell upon some Flocks, thinking to have slain his Enemies; and finding his Mistake, killed himself in the Anguish of his Soul, in the last Year of the Siege of *Troy* (1). But I should have noticed that in this, as in every other Article, we find great Diversity of Opinions among the Ancients. For *Suidas*, after *Diëtys*, says these two Heroes disputed not for the Arms of *Achilles*, but for the *Palladium*. These Authors add that *Agamemnon* having adjudged it to *Ulysses*, *Ajax* vowed Revenge; and that *Agamemnon*, in Concert with the other Captains who were afraid of him, assassinated him in his Tent; that *Ulysses*, who was suspected for being the Author, was obliged to set out *incognito*, and the Army retained a high Resentment against *Agamemnon*.

Homer (2) makes *Demodocus* sing at the Feast which *Alcinous* gives *Ulysses*, the Dispute between *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, who came to high Words; which gave great Joy to *Agamemnon*, because it accomplished an Oracle he had received at *Pytho* (a), where he had consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*. But that Poet is not explicit as to the Ground of the Dispute. *Didymus* and *Eustatbius*, who have transmitted to us the Tradition concerning it, assure us that the Question was, whether *Troy* should be taken by open Force or by Stratagem (b). Be that as it will, *Calchas*, who was consulted to determine whether they should burn the Body of *Ajax*, decided that as he had died like an Atheist, he had no Title to the Honours of a funeral Pile, but ought only to be interred, as we learn from *Sophocles*, and the young

(1) *Homer* Loc. cit. *Sophoc.* *Ovid.* &c. (2) *Odyss.* l. 8.

(a) This Oracle was that of *Delphi*, which had revealed to *Agamemnon* that *Troy* would be taken when *Ulysses* and *Ajax* fell out in their Opinions, at a Feast upon a Sacrifice.

(b) *Homer* *Odyss.* l. 11. says, it was *Thetis*, the Mother of *Achilles*, that proposed the Dispute for her Son's Arms. The Grecian Captains being greatly at a Loss what Judgment to pronounce, brought before them some Trojan Prisoners, interrogated them which of the two Competitors had done them most Mischief, and they having answered *Ulysses*, the Arms were adjudged to him.

young *Philostratus* (1). *Quintus Smyrneus* however says his Body was burnt; *Strabo* (2), and other Ancients mention his Tomb, which was near the Promontory of *Rhæteum*.

Whatever be in that, the *Greeks* raised a stately Monument to him upon the same Promontory; and when *Horace* says (3) this Heroe remained without Burial, he deviates from the Truth, in Allusion to that incident in the Tragedy of *Ajax*, where *Sophocles* feigns that *Agamemnon* was unwilling to allow the Honours of Burial to be conferred upon him, but that he yielded at length to the importunate Instances of *Teucer*.

To proceed, there is a Mixture of Fables in this History: One is that *Ajax* was invulnerable, the Foundation whereof we find in *Apollodorus*. *Telamon* complaining that he had no Children, *Hercules* his Friend prayed *Jupiter* to give him a Son with a Skin as hard as that of the Lion of *Nemæa*, which *Iris* had made invulnerable (4). Farther, that *Ajax* being born, was covered by that Heroe with the Skin of that Lion (5), whereby he became invulnerable, except in the Place that was under the Hole of the Skin, made by the Wound *Hercules* had given that Lion (a).

However odd this Fiction is, I believe it may be explained by saying that perhaps *Hercules*, who was *Telamon's* Friend, having seen *Ajax* in his Youth, put upon him the Lion's Skin which he wore, as a Prefage of his future Valour.

The second Fable is united to the first; for we are told that *Ajax* had this Name (6) because *Hercules*, while he was offering Sacrifices to the Gods to solícite them to give *Telamon* a Son, and observing the Auguries, he saw an Eagle, which he reckoned a Prefage of his Birth; and perhaps the bare Resemblance of Names gave rise to this Fable.

The third is that *Ajax* was transformed into a Flower, after his Death (7). *Ovid* says the two first Letters of his Name, as also the Complaints of *Hyacinthus*, *ai*, were

(1) In Heroic. (2) L. 13. (3) Sat. 1. 2. (4) Apollod. l. 3. Pind. Isth. Od. 6. (5) The Scholiast upon Sophoc. in Ajac. Suidas, &c.

(a) Some Authors say it was in the Neck, others in the Side.

(6) In Greek Αἴας. (7) Ovid. loc. cit.

were marked upon this Flower. This Fable has seemingly no other Foundation, but the Flattery of some Wit, who invented this Circumstance in the Funeral Oration on that Heroe.

The fourth is, that the Soul of this Prince, after Death, had passed into the Body of a Lion: a Fable founded upon the high Idea of *Ajax's* Valour, and the Reveries of the *Metempsychosis*.

The fifth is, that *Ulysses* having been shipwreck'd, and lost the Arms of *Achilles*, the Waves conveyed them near to *Ajax's* Tomb, as may be seen in a Fragment of *Ptolomy Ephestion*, preserved by *Photius* (1); upon which the *Greek* Poets have moralized. Probably this Fable has no other Foundation, but that *Ulysses* in some Storm, promised to send his Army to the Tomb of *Ajax*, in order to appease his offended Manes. We find in *Patin* and in *Spon*, a Medal of the *Prussians*, whereon *Ajax* is represented naked; and plunging his Sword into his Bosom.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Diomedes.

DIOMEDES, the Son of *Tydeus*, and Grandson of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, is one of the Heroes of the *Iliad*, whose Exploits *Homer* seems to recount with the greatest Complacency. Being settled after the Death of his Father at *Argos*, where he had great Influence, and being of the Blood Royal, tho' he had never reigned, he was chosen, with *Mecystheus* his Relation, to conduct the *Argives* to the Siege of *Troy* (2), where he signalized himself by a thousand glorious Achievements. *Homer* represents him sometimes fighting with *Hector* and *Eneas*, whom he drives before him so furiously, that *Venus* is obliged to cover her Son with a Cloud, thereby to screen him from certain Death; sometimes encountering *Venus* herself, whom he wounds in the Hand. Again, it was he that entered by Night with

(1) Ptol. Ephest. apud Photium. (2) Homer l. 1. & l. 5.

with *Ulysses* into *Troy*, where having penetrated into the very Citadel, he stole away the *Palladium*, on the Preservation of which that City depended (1): Accordingly we have in *Beger* (2) and *Spanheim* (3), a Medal whereon that Prince, sitting naked, according to the Manner in which *Pliny* tells us (4) the ancient Heroes were figured, holds in his Right-hand this Statue of *Minerva*, as the most remarkable of his Trophies. He also went, as is commonly believed, into the Island of *Lemnos*, whence not being able to force *Philoctetes*, he carried off from him *Hercules's* Arrows; and it was with these Arrows in his Hand that he was represented in a Statue he had at *Athens* (5); tho' *Ovid* tells the Story differently, as shall be said in the History of *Ulysses*; and *Sophocles*, in his Tragedy of *Philoctetes*, one of the finest Antiquity has left us, makes *Ulysses* be accompany'd only by the young *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*.

At his Return from the Siege of *Troy*, where he highly signalized himself, he lost his Course in a dark Night, and landed at *Phalera* in *Attica* (6). The *Argives* whom he had with him, imagining they were in hostile Ground, began to pillage the Country; when *Demophoon*, who had lost all Knowledge of them, run up and slew several of those *Argives*, and carried off from them the *Palladium*. This Incident, which could be ascribed to nothing but the Mischance of not knowing one another, had no other bad Consequences.

Diomedes, being at *Corinth*, built a Temple to *Minerva*, under the Name of *Minerva with the fine Eyes*; and she was so called (7), in Commemoration of her having opened the Eyes of this Heroe before *Troy*, and dissipated the Darknefs in which he was involved. He also built another in Honour of *Apollo* (8), surnamed *Epibaterius*, because that God had saved him from the Storm, with which the *Greeks* were overtaken in their Return from *Troy*.

So

(1) Virgil, Ovid, Silius Italicus. (2) Treasure of Brandebourg, Tom. 1. (3) Add. ad Callim. (4) L. 34. c. 5. (5) Pausan. in Attic. (6) Pausan. Ibid. (7) Pausan. in Corinth. (8) Idem ibid.

So soon as he was arrived at *Argos*, his Grandfather *Oeneus*, expelled his Kingdom by the Sons of *Agrius*, applied to him for Assistance. He forthwith led an Army to *Calydonia*, and revenged the Injustice done to that Prince ; but after this Piece of Service, he declared to him, that he could not stay in *Etolia*, and advised him to return with him to *Argos*. *Oeneus* having accepted this Proposal, *Diomedes* put all possible Honour upon him as his Grandfather by the Father's Side ; and to perpetuate his Memory, called the Place where that Prince ended his Days, *Oenoë*.

While he was at the Siege of *Troy*, his Wife fell in Love with a young Man named *Cyllabarus* ; and there were not wanting Flatterers who said it was *Venus* had disposed him to gratify the Desire of his Lover, that she might be revenged of *Diomedes* for wounding her in the Hand. This Intrigue having made a great Noise, and *Cyllabarus* being a Person of considerable Interest, *Diomedes* grew sick of *Argos*, and went in Quest of a Settlement in that Part of *Italy*, since known by the Name of *Great Greece* ; where having married the Daughter of *Damnus*, he built in *Japygia* (a) the Town of *Argos-Hippion*, now *Arpi*. *Turnus* being then at War with *Eneas*, sent to him for Assistance, which he refused to grant (1) ; for at Bottom *Eneas* was no Enemy to the *Greeks*, as shall be said in his History. Accordingly, *Pausanias* positively asserts, that *Diomedes* never made War upon the *Trojan* Prince. *Ovid* (2), who gives the History of the Embassy that *Turnus* sent him, says *Diomedes* excused himself by reason of the few Troops he had, because his Companions, during his Voyage, having insulted *Venus*, were transformed by that Goddess into Fowls, that took Flight into a neighbouring Island. The Fact is, that *Diomedes* being dead, his Companions finding themselves not the strongest Party in their new City, retired secretly into a little Island ; and, it being full of Fowls, hence the Fable that it was the *Argives* themselves had assumed

(a) This is what we call at this Day *Apulia*.

(1) *Ovid. Met. l. 13.* (2) *Loc. cit.*

sumed their Figure. The Learned have given themselves the Trouble to enquire what Fowls these were, and one of them has composed a Dissertation, intitl'd, *de ave Diomedæa*. *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who make frequent mention of these Fowls, assure us that they caress'd the *Greeks* who arriv'd in that Island, and *Ovid* says they resembled Swans.

C H A P. V.

The History of Ulysses.

ULYSSES, King of two small Islands in the *Ionian* Sea, called *Ithaca* and *Dulichium*, was the Son of *Laertes* and *Anticlea* the Daughter of *Autolycus*: *Hyginus* (1), and after him *Tzetzes*, are of Opinion, as has been said elsewhere (a); that *Anticlea* was already with Child of *Ulysses* when *Laertes* married her; which *Ajax* throws up to him in the Diffension he had with him (2). *Ulysses* is known to have been a Prince of great Eloquence, sly, subtle, and artful; and to have contributed full as much by his Wiles to the taking of *Troy*, as *Ajax* and *Diomedes* did by their Valour. 'Tis also known, that in order to be exempted from going to the Siege of *Troy*; and that he might not forsake *Penelope*; whom he had but lately married; he feigned himself mad, and that *Palamedes* having discovered his Madness to be only counterfeited, he engaged him to join the other Captains; which afterwards cost him his Life. Antiquity is divided as to the Manner in which *Ulysses* put to Death that Prince, one of the most accomplished of his Time. *Ovid* says (3); that having hid some Money in *Palamedes*'s Tent; he gave out, that he had received it as a Bribe from the *Trojans*, and so got him condemned by a Council of War to be stoned. *Pausanias* (4), on the contrary, asserts, that he had read in the *Cypriacks*, that *Palamedes* having

VOL. IV

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gone

(1) Fab 267.

(a) See the History of *Sisyphus*, Vol. II. B. IV.

(2) *Ovid. Met.* l. 13. (3) *Ibid.* (4) In *Phœnicis*.

gone a Fishing to the Sea Coast, *Ulysses* and *Diomedes* pushed him into the Water, where he was drowned.

As *Ulysses* was known to be no less eloquent than cunning and crafty, the Leaders of the Army prevailed upon him, before they embarked, to go in Quest of *Achilles* to the Island of *Scyros*, where he found him out in spite of his Disguise, and brought him with him to the *Grecian* Camp, as has been said in the History of that Heroe. He was deputed also towards the End of the Siege of *Troy*, to go to *Lemnos*, in Quest of *Philoctetes*, who had *Hercules's* Arrows; he carried off the *Palladium* with *Diomedes*, slew *Rhesus*, and took his Horses, and performed several other remarkable Actions, more from a Spirit of Revenge that animated him, and by his Wiles, than from true Valour and Prowess. 'Tis also well known, that in his Return he had several Adventures, which are the Subject of *Homer's Odyssey* (a). We shall endeavour to explain such Actions of this Heroe as contain historical Truths.

After that *Telamon*, in revenge of the Death of his Son *Ajax*, had defeated his Fleet, he took ship in a *Phenician* Vessel, with which he arrived in *Sicily*. *Homer*, and after him *Ovid*, tells us, that upon his Arrival in that Island, where the *Cyclops* then were, *Polyphemus* devoured six of his Soldiers: They add, that *Ulysses* bored out his Eye with a burning Brand, and lodging himself, with his Companions, under the Bellies of some of his Sheep, happily escaped from the Cave of that terrible *Cyclop*.

In order to explain this Fable, we must know, that *Thucydides* says, the *Cyclops* were the most ancient Inhabitants of *Sicily* (b), that their Original was not known, and none could give Account what had become of them. They were reckoned the Natives of the Country, tho' 'tis very probable they were Strangers, and that 'tis for

(a) Consult *Strabo*, l. 1. *Polybius*, & *Seneca*, Ep. 88.

(b) *Cluverius*, in his Description of *Sicily*, Chap. 2. proves all Authors to be agreed, that the *Cyclops* inhabited *Sicily*; and he says, *Homer* is the only one who makes them to have inhabited the Continent. See that Chapter, as also *Turnebus*, l. 24. adv. Ch. 10.

for this Reason *Homer* says (1) they were the Sons of *Neptune*, a Name given to those who came by Sea to people any Island. This is the Opinion of *Bochart* (2), who thinks they entered thither about an Age after *Phaleg*; which made them be looked upon as Natives of the Island, especially by the *Phenicians*, who did not settle there till many Ages after. If we may believe *Justin* (3), the *Cyclops* were in Possession of that Island till the Reign of *Cocalus*; that is, until the Time of *Minos* II. and *Theseus*. They inhabited towards the West of the Island, near the Promontory of *Lilybeum*, and hence got the Name of *Cyclops*, compounded of two *Phenician* Words, *Chek-loup*; as much as to say, People of the Gulph of *Lilybeum* (a); which misled the *Greeks*, who not understanding that Language, took their Name to be derived from *Cyclos* (4), which signifies *round*; upon which they uttered the Fable, that the *Cyclops* had but one Eye in the Middle of their Forehead. There are Authors however of Opinion, that this Fiction has no other Foundation, but that the *Cyclops* were armed with small Bucklers of Steel that covered their Faces, and that had a Hole directly against the Eyes; whence they were said to have but one Eye. *Virgil* seems to confirm this Conjecture, by comparing their Eye to a Shield (b).

As the *Cyclops* were a savage, brutal Race (c), the Poets represent them as real Man-eaters; and instead of saying, they had slain some of *Ulysses's* Companions, who were wandering in the Island, assert, that they had eat them up. As for the Fable that makes them pass for *Vulcan's* Smiths, it comes from the Place of their Residence, which was near Mount *Ætna*, which from the Flames it throws out, was reckoned the Shop of that God; and the dreadful Noise which the Fire and Winds make

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(1) *Odyss.* l. 11. & 12. (2) *Chan.* l. 1. c. 30. (3) *L.* 4.

(a) *Viros finus Lilybetani.* See *Bochart.* loc. cit.

(4) *Circulus.*

(b) *Ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici Clypei & Phæbææ Lampadis instar.* *Æn.* 3. 636.

(c) It was this Ferocity of Manners gave the *Greeks* a Handle to invent so many Fables about them.

in those horrid Caverns, passed for the redoubled Thumps they gave upon their Anvils (*a*). We are told further, that *Jupiter* made use of them in forging his Thunderbolts (*b*), and that they had been employed in surrounding several Cities with Walls; insomuch, that in general all Walls and Towers that had great Solidity were accounted their Work. *Virgil* says (*1*), it was they had made the Inclosure and Gates to the *Elysian* Fields:

- - - - - *Cyclosum edueta Caminis,
Mœnia conspicio, atque adverso fornice portas.*

and several other Works; and, if we may believe *Aristotle*, they are to be reckoned the first that super-added Turrets to the Walls of Cities.

The *Cyclops* were also ranked among the Gods, and *Pausanias* (*2*) speaks of a Temple at *Corinth* wherein they had an Altar upon which Sacrifices were offered to them.

Polyphemus is the most celebrated of the *Cyclops*: *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, have made him very famous in their Works (*c*). The first tells us, that *Ulysses* found occasion for all his Address to get out of the Cavern. That Prince having entered thither, *Polyphemus* returning with his Flocks, shut himself in with a huge Stone, and first eat up two of his Companions, threatening him with the same Fate; but our Heroe having made him drunk, bored out with a Fire-brand the only Eye he had in the Middle of his Forehead, and the *Cyclop* having the next Day opened his Cave, to let out his Flocks, *Ulysses* placed his Companions under their Bellies,

(*a*) *Virgil*, l. 2. calls them *Ætæos fratres*.

(*b*) *Ferrum exercebant vasso Cyclopes in antro
Brontesque Steropesque & nudus membra Pyracmone - - -
His informatum manibus jam parte polita
Fulmen erat, toto Genitor quæ plurima celo
Dejicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat;
Tres imbris torvi radios, tres nubis aquosæ.
Adliderat, &c.* Virg. *Æn.* 8. 425.

(*1*) *Æn.* l. 6. (*2*) In *Corinth*.

(*c*) *Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

Æn. l. 5.

Bellies, and thus they got out without being perceived. 'Tis obvious that this Fable, when explained apart from the Marvellous, means, that *Ulysses* happily escaped out of the Hands of the *Cyclops*; tho' *Homer* might have brought him out of the Cave more ingeniously, unless the Poet means some Stratagem to which he has not thought fit to leave us the Key. These Adventures, fabulous as they are, have a Foundation in History; and this is what we have in our Eye. *Polyphemus* lived in the Time of *Ulysses*, and was King of *Sicily*, as we learn from *Diodorus*, and some other Authors (a). This Prince arrived there, and having captivated the Affections of *Elpe*, that *Cyclop's* Daughter, carried her off. The *Lestrigons*, who were other Inhabitants of that Island, took her from him by Force, and returned her to her Father. Further, these *Lestrigons* were a barbarous Race; and, if we may credit the Poets, both they and the *Cyclops* were real Cannibals, who devoured six of *Ulysses's* Companions. But the learned *Bochart* (1) will have the Rise of this Fable to be, that the *Lestrigons* were anciently called *Leontini*, a Name derived from their barbarous and cruel Manners (2); *e Leontinis moribus*. *Homer* adds, that *Neptune*, offended at *Ulysses*, for having put out the Eye of his Son *Polyphemus*, sunk his Ship near the Island of the *Phenicians*, where he however swam ashore with the Scarf which *Leucothoe* had given him.

When *Ovid* and *Theocritus* (b) represent *Polyphemus* in Love with the lovely *Galatea*, and *Acis's* Rival, telling us, that this hideous Giant buried that young Prince under a Rock which he pluck'd up by the Root, and that the Gods transformed him into a River, or rather into a River-God; this is a Romance, which I take to have no other Foundation but a poetical Fancy. Some Authors however are of Opinion, that *Acis* was a young Prince of *Sicily*, who was in Love with the beauteous *Galatea*, and that in Despair he threw himself into the

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River,

(a) See *Tzetzes*, in his *Chil. Diodorus*, &c.

(1) *Chan. l. 1. c. 26.* (2) *Idem ibid.*

(b) See also *Lucian*, and *Philostrophus*.

River, which from that Time has born his Name: Tho' the learned Author so often quoted (1), takes this Explanation to be itself a new Fable, and the River *Acis* to have had its Name from the Rapidity of its Streams.

If *Hesiod* says (2) the *Cyclops* were the Offspring of Heaven and Earth, it is because their true Original was unknown; and it was usual to make them the Offspring of the Earth, whose Genealogy was not known.

That they were considered as Giants, was owing, I believe, more to the monstrous Enormity of their Manners, than to any thing extraordinary in their Size or Stature; and, as for the gigantic Bones that are sometimes found in *Sicily*, which are said to be those of the ancient Inhabitants of that Island, I refer to what has been said on this Subject in the second Volume.

As *Ulysses* was also made to pass thro' the Straits of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, 'tis proper to consider what may have given Rise to the Fables that were delivered on this Occasion. *Ovid* says, *Scylla* was a beautiful Nymph, of whom *Glaucus*, a Sea-God, became enamoured; but not being able to make any Impression upon her, he had recourse to the Art of a certain Sorceress, named *Circe*. She herself, struck with *Glaucus*'s Merit, resolved to punish him for being insensible to her, and to put to Death her Rival *Scylla*; and having composed a Poison, threw it into a Fountain, where the Nymph having come to bathe, was transformed into a Monster. *Homer* says, she had twelve Claws, six Mouths, and as many Heads; *Virgil* also gives the Description of her (a). We are further told, that she being frightened herself with the dreadful Howlings of the Dogs that kenneled in her Womb, threw herself into the Sea, near the Place where are the famous Straits that bear her Name; and thus she was avenged on *Circe*, by destroying the Ships

(1) Bochart loc. cit. (2) In Theog.

(a) *Prima hominis facies, & pulchro pectore Virgo
Pube tenus, postremo immani corpore Pistrix,
Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.*

Ships of *Ulysses* her Lover. 'Tis easy to see that this is a mere Romance ; but it is made up of several real Adventures, which we must unfold.

There is between *Messina* and *Reggio* a very narrow Firth, where huge ragged Rocks jut out into the Sea, from the two opposite Shores. This Firth was called *Scylla* on the Side of *Reggio*, and *Charibdis* on the Side of *Messina* (a). In Proportion as you remove from this Place, the Rocks seem to meet together, and then the Ships that enter there seem swallowed up ; which *Justin* very happily expresses after *Trogus Pompeius* (b). As the Currents there are extremely rapid, and the Water violently agitated in Gulfs and Whirlpools, a confused Noise is heard, not unlike to that of several Dogs barking together ; and hence, according to the same Author, came the Fable of *Scylla*, her Transformation into a Monster, and her Howlings (c). Accordingly *Virgil* compares the Noise of the Waves breaking upon one another near a Rock, to the baying of Dogs ;

Multis circum latrantibus undis (1).

Hence we may consider as new Fables, what some Authors have invented for explaining this, as when they say what gave Rise to it, was the Shipwreck of a Princess named *Scylla*, whom *Pausanias* (2) and *Virgil* (3) make to have been the Daughter of *Nisus* King of *Megara*, who perished in these Straits (d) ; or accord-

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ing

(a) *Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis*
Obsidet. Æneid, l. 3.

(b) *Ea est procul insipientibus natura loci, ut sinum maris, non transitum putes : quo cum accesseris, discedere ac sejungi promontoria, quæ antea juncta fuerant, arbitrere.* Justin, l. 4.

(c) *Hinc fabulæ Scyllam & Charybdim peperere, hinc latratus auditus, hinc monstri credita sumulachra, dum navigantes magnis vorticibus pelagi desidentis ætæriti, latrare putant undas quas sorbentis cestus vorago conludit.* Id. Ibid.

(1) *Æn.* l. 7. (2) *Pausan.* in *Corinth.* (3) *Ecl.* 6.

(d) *Quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est*
Candida succinctum latrantibus inguina monstis.
Dulichias vexasse rates, & gurgite in alto,
Ab ! timidas nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.

Virg. loc. cit.

ing to *Lycophron* (1), it was a Daughter of *Phorcus*, who having stole from *Hercules* *Geryon's* Oxen, was put to Death by that Heroe; and her Father having put her Body upon the Pile, and refined it from its Mortality, she became a Divinity. We are not to place in the same Class what *Palephatus* says, that *Scylla* was a Ship of the *Tyrrhenians*, who laid waste the Coasts of *Sicily*, and which carried upon its Prow the monstrous Figure of a Woman whose Body was encompassed with Dogs Heads; that Author adds that *Ulysses* declined any Encounter with them, which gave Rise to all the Fables which *Homer* has vented in Relation to this Subject. *Eusebius*, to mention it by the Way, explains this Fable as *Palephatus* does; but still I am rather inclined to *Bochart's* Opinion, that the Name of the Straits of *Scylla* comes from a *Phenician* Word *Sol*, which signifies *Ruin*, and that it was given to it upon Account of the frequent Shipwrecks that happened there; as that of *Charybdis*, which signifies *Gulph* (2), was given to the other Promontory upon Account of the Eddies there which sometimes swallowed up Ships (a); which is the more probable, that the Etymologies given by the *Greeks* to these two Straits, differ but little from this, since, according to them, *Scylla* imports *to spoil*, and *Charybdis*, *to swallow up*.

Again, when we are told that *Ulysses* slew the Monster, which gave Rise to this Fable, 'tis probably because this Heroe having happily passed the Straits of *Scylla*, it was afterwards reckoned a Place of less Danger, and Ships began to pass there with Confidence. *Homer*, who says this Monster swallowed up Ships, and afterwards threw them up, adds that *Tiresias* having warned *Ulysses* of this, he profited by his Advice, waiting till *Charybdis* should give him back the Mast of his Ship which was gone to the Bottom, by Means whereof he escaped Shipwreck.

As

(1) In *Cassand.* (2) *Bochart*, l. i. c. 26.(a) *Hic a mari profundoque sorbet navigia.**Senec. de consol. animæ.*

As *Homer* speaks at great length of this Heroe's Abode with *Circe*, I shall give her ^{The History} of *Circe*. History in this Place. *Circe*, *Hesiod* tells us

(1), was the Daughter of the *Sun* and *Perseis*, and Sister to *Pasiphae* the Wife of *Minas*; and the *Sun*, according to the same Author, was the Son of *Hyperion* and *Theia*, the Offspring of Heaven and Earth. *Homer* adds (2) that she was Sister to *Æetes* King of *Colchos*, who lived in the time of the *Argonauts*, as has been said in speaking of the Expedition of those Heroes to the Conquest of the Golden Fleece. Some Authors, who reckon this Genealogy a Fable, will have it that this Princess passed for the Daughter of the Sun only upon Account of the great Knowledge she had of Plants and Medicine, whereof *Apollo*, or rather the Sun, was the God (a). Others, with *Diodorus*, take this Fiction to have no other Foundation but that her Grand-father was called *Elius* or *Sol*.

Circe devoted herself to the Study of Herbs, wherein she succeeded so well as to find out several Remedies; but as she made Use of her secret Art in taking Revenge of her Enemies by Poison, hence she passed for a Sorceress. We are even told, that having married the King of the *Sarmatians*, or of the *Scythians*, she poisoned him; whereby she became so odious to her Subjects, that she was obliged to quit her Kingdom to retire to the Coasts of *Italy*, into the Place which from that time bore the Name of *Circe's Promontory*, upon the *Tuscan Sea*, now *Monte Circello* (b).

Apollonius assures us that *Apollo*, this Princess's Father, rescued her from the Hands of her Subjects, who were going to have killed her, and transported her in his Chariot to *Italy*; which imports that she happily made her Escape, and against all Probability, from the Vengeance of the *Scythians*, by Means of some Ship with Sails. But notwithstanding all these Authorities,
I am

(1) In Theog. (2) Odyss. l. 10.

(a) *Orpheus* makes her the Daughter of *Apollo* and *Asterope*.

(b) *Præxima Circeæ raduntur littora terræ,
Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantu.*

Virg. Æn. l. 3.

I am of Opinion that this Princess had no Connection with *Medea* who lived with her in the time of the *Argonauts*, but Resemblance of Character. I rely upon the Authority of *Strabo*, who very judiciously remarks that *Homer* having heard of *Jason's* Expedition to *Colchis*, and to the City *Æea*, which was the Capital thereof, and knowing all the Fables that had been vented concerning *Medea* and *Circe*, their Inchantments and Conformity of Manners, upon that Account makes them to be related, wherein he has been followed by *Onomacritus* and *Apollonius Rhodius*. And if the same *Homer* has transported the Seat of *Circe* to the middle of the Ocean, it was to add a greater Air of the marvellous to the Relation which *Ulysses* gives of his Adventures to the *Pheacians*, who loved Fiction, and were too ignorant to be capable of confuting him.

As *Circe* lived much about the Time of the *Trojan* War, 'tis credible enough that *Ulysses* arrived at her Palace, and that he actually fell in Love with her. This at least is the Sentiment of those who affirm that he had a Son by her named *Telegonus*. The Charms of this Princess having made him neglectful of his own Honour, as well as of his Companions, they plunged themselves into the Pleasures of a voluptuous Court; which makes *Homer* say she had transformed them into Swine: and what he adds of *Mercury's* giving that Prince an Herb named *Moly* (a) whereby he had evaded *Circe's* Charms, is to teach us that having at length recovered himself from his Remissness, he had given Counsel to his Companions to quit so dangerous an Abode. This Plant, so difficult to be found, according to *Homer*, is the Prudence which *Ulysses* exerted in extricating his Soldiers from the Seat of Voluptuousness; and it may be supposed that all the Transformations which *Homer*, *Ovid*, and the other Poets say this Princess wrought, were rather the Effects of her Charms and

(a) 'Tis probably wild Rue, whose Root is black, and the Flower white; which makes *Ovid* say:

Pacifer hunc dederat florem Cyllenius album,
Moly vocant superi, nigra radice tectur.

Met. I. 14.

and Beauty, than of her Magic, tho' *Horace* gives us plainly to understand (a) it was the Potions she gave that brought about these Wonders. *You have heard*, says he, *of the Songs of the Sirens, and of Circe's Potions. Had Ulysses, like his Companions, been so foolishly enslaved to his Passions as to drink of the intoxicating Cup of that Sorceress, he must have sunk himself into a beastly and sottish Life, like those impure Animals that delight to wallow in Mire and Dirt, under the Dominion of a base Prostitute.*

To support the Character of an Enchantress which they gave to *Circe*, they went the length of saying that she possessed the Art of drawing down the Stars from Heaven, to denote that Voluptuousness degrades the most exalted Minds; unless we chuse rather to say with *Bochart*, for Moralizings are very arbitrary, that the Fable of *Circe's* Enchantments came from the *Phenician* Word *Lat*, or *Latim*, which signifies Inchantment (1), whence the *Latins* were denominated Enchanters. *Bochart* had read in the Ancients that *Latium* abounded with Plants of a venomous Nature, and proper for making Spells and Enchantments, as may be seen in *Theophrastus* (2), *Strabo* (3), in the Scholiast on *Apolonius* (4), and several others.

As the Princess we are now speaking of excelled in that Art, and greatly surpassed the other Inhabitants of that Country, this is undoubtedly what made her be reckoned the Daughter of *Apollo* the God of Medicine, a Branch of which is the Knowledge of Plants.

In short, what is more certain than any Thing else in this whole History is, that *Circe*, notwithstanding her Inchantments and depraved Morals, had divine Honours paid to her; and in the Time of *Cicero* she was

(a) *Sirenum voces, & Circes pocula nosti;
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset;
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis & excers,
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.*

1. *Epif.* 2. 23.

(1) *Φάρμακωδης* Chan. l. 1. c. 13. (2) *Hist. Plant.* (3) L. 5.

(4) L. 3.

was still worshipped by the Inhabitants of the *Italian Coast*, where she had fixed her Residence.

We may remark, after a learned Mythologist (1), that there were two *Circes* who came afterwards to be confounded; she whom *Diodorus*, after *Hesiod*, calls the Daughter of the Sun, was much more ancient than *Ulysses*, since she lived in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and was Sister to *Æetes*; she at whose Court *Ulysses* spent some Time, and who reigned over the Coasts of *Italy*, about the Time of the *Trojan War*, was the Daughter of the former *Circe*, the Grand-daughter of *Elius*, and Sister to *Æetes* the second. As few Authors distinguish these two *Circes*, and the two *Æetes's* Kings of *Colchos*, no wonder that there is so much Obscurity in this ancient History. *Boccace*, who is the Mythologist I have in my Eye, had on his Side the Authority of *Theodotion*, whose Work is since lost. *Ovid* adds to all that has been now said, that *Circe* having fallen in love with *Picus* King of *Italy*, transformed him into a Magpye, as has been said in the History of the terrestrial Gods.

Ulysses, according to *Homer*, arrived also at the Court of *Calypso*, the Daughter of the *Ocean*, and of the ancient *Tethys*, or according to *Hyginus* (2) and *Tibullus*, of *Atlas*,

Fœcunda Atlantidos arva Calypsus.

Calypso reigned over the Island of *Ogygia*, in the *Ionian Sea*, better known by the Name of *Calypso's Island*. This is what we read in *Homer*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*; but *Hyginus* and *Mela* make her to have reigned near the Coasts of *Italy* in the Island of *Æea*, probably confounding her with *Circe* who dwelt there. *Homer* (3) tells us, in what manner *Calypso* received *Ulysses* upon his Return from the *Trojan Expedition*, and how she detained him for seven Years (a), offering him

(1) *Boccace's* Genealogy of the Gods, l. 4. c. 14. (2) *Fab.* 125.

(3) *Odyss.* l. 5.

(a) *Ovid* says she detained him but six Years, and *Hyginus* only one Year.

him even Immortality, if he would marry her; but this Prince not being capable of forgetting his dear *Penelope*, preferred his own Island of *Ithaca* to all the Proposals *Calypso* could make him; and *Mercury* being sent to her from *Jupiter*, she let him go: But not without shedding a Flood of Tears at his Departure, as may be gathered from this Verse in *Ovid*:

Ab quoties illum doluit properare Calypso (1).

What *Homer* says of this Goddess, as also of the Island that she inhabited, has always been reckoned a mere Fiction; and so fine an Occasion for moralizing and framing Allegories has not been neglected. *Pliny*, who places this Island (2) upon the Coasts of *Italy* that bordered with *Great Greece*, speaks of it in the following Manner:

“ The Island of *Ogygia*, so called by *Homer*, is the
 “ habitable Land in that whole Hemisphere which the
 “ Ancients believed to be surrounded on all Sides with
 “ the Ocean, for which Reason it is called *Navel*
 “ *Island* (3), that is, the middle of the Ocean. There
 “ he places *Calypso* the Daughter of *Atlas*, who knows
 “ the Foundations of the Ocean, and supports upon
 “ immense Pillars the Weight of Heaven and Earth.
 “ This is Nature herself, such as she appears in that
 “ Hemisphere; and *Homer* gives her the Name of a
 “ Woman very well known then, because there are
 “ many Things in Nature which she keeps concealed;
 “ the Word *καλύπτειν*, signifying *to conceal*.”

Bossu (4) raises another Allegory from it: *Calypso*, says he, as her Name implies, is the Goddess of *Secrecy*; at her Court *Ulysses* is concealed for seven Years, to denote that a great Politician never becomes compleatly so, but by a long Secrecy and Dissimulation. 'Tis in vain to enquire at present where the Island lay which this imaginary Goddess inhabited.

Ulysses, at departing from the Island of *Ogygia* or of *Calypso*, arrived in the Country of the *Pheacians*, who
 inhabited

(1) De Art. Aman. l. 2. (2) L. 3. (3) *Homer*. *Odyss*. l. 1. v. 50. (4) *Treatise of the Epic Poem*.

inhabited the Island of *Cercyra* (1), in the *Ionian* Sea, and met upon the Sea-coast *Nausicaa* the Daughter of *Alcinous* King of the Island, who according to the Manner of those ancient Times, was coming to see the Lye Washing, and she introduced him to her Father. *Homer* brings in here the Intervention of the Gods, to set off an Adventure that has nothing in it but what is very common; and when he says his Heroe was shrouded with a Cloud that no body might perceive him, he means it was Night when he arrived at the Palace of that Prince.

The *Pheacians*, whom Commerce had enriched, lived in Opulence and Luxury, and nothing was to be seen among them but Dancings, Festivals, and continual Banqueting, where Musick commonly accompanied good Cheer, and where Songs often very loose, such as that which *Phemius* sings in the Presence of *Ulysses*, upon the Adultery of *Mars* and *Venus*, were the Concomitants of those kinds of Feasts. Nothing was more magnificent than the Gardens of *Alcinous*, with which Antiquity has brought into Comparison only those of *Adonis* and *Scmiramis*. It was in this delightful Place *Ulysses* was received, for *Homer*, to give us a full View of his Heroe's Virtue, shews him to us in every Light: And here, after some stay, he embarked in the Ship which the King of the *Phenicians* equipped for him, and arrived at length at *Ithaca*, where having concealed himself with *Eumeus* one of his Domesticks, he concerted proper Measures to rid himself of some neighbouring Princes, who had been for twenty Years past making Court to his Wife *Penelope* (a), squandering away his Estate. The various Pretexts she made use of to amuse them till her Husband should return, gave rise to that famous Web which she undid by Night.

Ulysses having slain or put to flight all his Rivals, reigned in Peace, while *Telegonus*, whom he had by *Circé*, having arrived in the Island of *Ithaca* to see him,

(1) This is the Island of *Corfu*.

(a) See the four last Books of the *Odyssey*.

him, he endeavours to hinder his landing ; and *Telegonus* having struck him with a Spear, the End whereof was made of a Sea-Tortoise named *Pastinace*, and which according to *Pliny* is very venomous, he thus lost his Life, as *Tiresias* had foretold him; when he consulted him in Hell. His Son *Telemachus* ascended the Throne.

History makes no mention of his Successors ; and, to say the Truth, I am of Opinion that were it not for *Homer*, *Ithaca* and all that relates to it, would be quite unknown to us. That Poet acquaints us farther, that the young *Telemachus* went in quest of his Father, and after having brought him in his Voyage as far as *Sparta*, he leaves him there, that is, from the fourth Book of the *Odysssey*, to *Ulysses's* Arrival at *Ithaca*. 'Tis this Interval that *M. de Fenelon* has so happily filled up in his *Telemachus*, one of the finest Poems, and the most judicious that ever was writ.

Such is the History of *Ulysses*, which *Homer* has so artfully disguised by the Fables he has blended with it.

We have explained elsewhere the Adventures he had at *Eolus's* Court, in the Island of the *Sirens*, his Descent to Hell, and some others, but I have said nothing hitherto of what befel him among the *Ciconians*, a People of *Thracia*, near the River *Hebrus*, whose capital City, named *Ismara*, he pillaged, and divided their Spoils among his Companions : Nor of the Adventure he had among the *Lotophagi* (*a*), a People of the Island *Gelve*, near the Coasts of *Afric*, where he was obliged to bind two of his Companions, whom the Fruit of the *Lotos* had made to forget their Country ; nor of the unhappy Shipwreck he suffered at his Departure from *Sicily*, by the Resentment of *Apollo*, who thus avenged the Death of his Daughter *Lampetia* and *Phaetusa* ; as also the Theft of his Companions who had stole some Oxen that were consecrated to him ; in which Shipwreck our Heroe had perished, if he had not

(*a*) So called because they eat of the Fruit of the *Lotos*, which had a Quality to make those who eat of it to forget their Country.

not swam as far as the Island of *Ogygia*. I have, I say, purposely waved these Fables, whose Meaning, if they have any, is easy to be discovered; the Poet having exposed his Heroe to the Hatred of the Gods, and to the Dangers of three or four Shipwrecks, the better to illustrate his Valour and Prudence, and to make him still preserve, in the most enchanting Places, and amidst the most bewitching Charms of Pleasure, the Desire of returning into his Country, where his Presence was necessary, according to the End which the Poet has in his Eye, to redress the Disorder which his Family had fallen into thro' the Absence of its Master:

Ulysses after his Death was promoted to heroic Honours, and had even an Oracle in the Country of the *Eurithenians*, a People of *Etolia*, as we read in *Aristotle* quoted by *Tzetzes*, upon the 794th Verse of *Lycophron* (1). Among the Monuments of this Prince now remaining; there is a Medal of *Gorlay* representing him naked, holding a Pique in one Hand, with his right Foot upon a Wheel; near to him is a Pillar upon which is his Helmet.

The History of Penelope. *Penelope* was the Daughter of *Icarius*, who lived at *Athens* in the Time of *Pandion* II. of the Name. He is said to have had *Bacchus* for his Guest, who, as a Reward for his Civility, taught him the Art of planting the Vine, and of making Wine. This Hospitality, to mention it by the Way, signifies that *Icarius* was among the first in adopting the Worship of *Bacchus*, which from his Time was introduced at *Athens*. *Penelope* his Daughter had offers of Marriage made her from several Princes of *Greece*; and her Father, to avoid Quarrels that might have happened, obliged them to contend for her in the Games which he made them celebrate; a thing very common in those Times. *Ulysses* was the Conqueror (2), and gained the Lady for his Prize.

Icarius, who had settled at that Time in *Sparta*, where this Marriage was solemnized, used his utmost Efforts

(1) *Grantmenil*, p. 436. (2) *Pausan.* in *Lacon*;

Efforts to prevail upon his Son-in-law to stay with him, but all in vain. Despairing of being able to persuade him, he applied himself to his Daughter, conjured her not to forsake him ; and so soon as he saw her set out from *Sparta* to take Ship, he redoubled his Solicitations, and would needs follow her Chariot. *Ulysses* tired out at length with these Importunities, told his Wife that she might choose between her Father and her Husband, and that he left her at liberty either to go with him to *Ithaca*, or to return with her Father. *Penelope* blush'd at this Speech, and answered only by covering her Face with her Veil. *Icarius* who understood this dumb Language, let her go with her Husband ; but moved with the graceful Confusion he saw her in, he consecrated a Statue to *Modesty*, in the same Place where *Penelope* had put a Veil over her Face.

The World are so prepossessed in favour of *Penelope's* Virtue, that she is always considered as the most perfect Model of conjugal Love, and many People are highly offended with *Bayle* for having attacked her Character in his *Critical Dictionary* (1). I myself have been reflected upon for having said (2) that the Poets disguising the Characters of the Persons they spoke of, had made *Dido* a Lover abandoned to Despair, even her who was always faithful to the Memory of her first Husband *Sicheus* ; and *Penelope* a Model of Chastity, tho' many Authors tell us, she suffered herself to be debauched by some of her Lovers, who were always about her during the Absence of her Husband. One thing certain is, that *Pausanias* tells us (3) the Tradition of the *Arcadians* concerning this Princess did not agree with the Poets of *Thesprotia*. These gave out that after the Return of *Ulysses* she had a Daughter by him, who was called *Ptoliporthé*, a Name given her because she had been born after the taking of *Troy*. But the *Mantineans* contended, that being accused by her Husband of having herself introduced Disorder

VOL. IV.

X

into

(1) Art. of *Penelope*. (2) *Expl. des Fab.* T. 3. (3) In *Arcad.*

into his Family, she had been expelled by him, and that she repaired first to *Sparta*, and from that to *Mantineia*, where she ended her Days. The *Mantineans* were probably in the Right, for the Tomb of this Princess was actually among them, which stood in a small Plain, at the Foot of the Mountain, where the Town of *Mantineia* formerly was. How could she have been buried there, had she always lived and died at *Ithaca*? And why would she have been banished *Ithaca*, had not her Deportment during her Husband's long Absence, obliged him to inflict that Punishment upon her at his Return?

C H A P. VI.

The History of Antenor and Eneas.

I Join here the History of these two *Trojans*, because they are thought to have been Traitors to their Country, and to have had much the same Adventures; and if the latter is much more renowned than the former, it is owing to *Virgil's* having thought fit to make a Heroe of him, and immortalize his Memory by his *Eneid*.

Antenor was suspected for having favoured the *Greeks*, because he entertained their Deputies when they came to redemand *Helen*, and he was thought to have known *Ulysses*, at the Time he entered *Troy* to carry off the *Palladium*, without having discovered him, as he ought to have done. If we add to this what we are told by some of the Ancients, and the *Iliac* Table authorises it, that in the Night wherein that City was sack'd, the *Greeks* set a Guard upon his Palace to save it from being pillaged; and that in the midst of his Enemies, he quietly took Ship to pursue his Fortune elsewhere, it will appear that the Suspicion of his Treachery was but too well founded (1). Be that as it will, *Antenor* arrived with his small Fleet, by the *Adriatic* Sea, in that part of *Italy* which constitutes at present the State of *Venice*, and there built the City of *Padua*. This Article

(1) See *Tzetzes* upon *Lycophron*, *Diogenes* of *Crete*, &c.

ticle of the History of those Times is one of the most certain. *Pliny* (1) in Confirmation of it has recourse to the Authority of *Cato*, who asserted it in his Book of *Origines*: *Venetos Trojana stirpe ortos Author est Cato*. *Virgil* says so expressly (a), and *Titus Livius* asserts (2), that the Place where *Antenor* landed, got the Name of *Troy*, as also a Village which was in the Neighbourhood of it. To these Authorities we may add ancient Monuments, and established Tradition. *Tacitus* (3) informs us, that it was believed in his Time, that the Games celebrated at *Padua* had been instituted by this *Trojan*; and some Authors maintain that the Bonnet of the Doges of *Venice*, is made after the Model of those of the ancient *Phrygians*. *Antenor*, to establish himself in that part of *Italy*, entered directly into an Alliance with the *Henetes*, the present *Venetians*; and with their Assistance expelled the *Eganians*, and built the City which we have been now speaking of.

Some Authors are of Opinion that *Eneas* escaped from *Troy* by the Intelligence he had with the Enemy: And, on the other Hand, this Heroe, who is commonly reckoned the Founder of the *Roman* Empire, is become so famous by the fine Poem which *Virgil* has composed upon his Adventures, that the Reader will not be displeased to be determined which Side of the Question to choose.

Tros the King of *Troy* had two Sons, *The History of*
Ilus and *Assaracus*; the latter had a Son *Anchises*.
named *Capys*, who was Father to *Anchises*, and Grandfather to *Eneas*; thus he was of the Blood Royal by the Father's Side (4); and in the Opinion of most of the Ancients, the Goddess *Venus* was his Mother. No-

X 2

thing

(1) L. 3. c. 13.

(a) *Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivum*

Illyricos penetrare sinus; atque intima tutus

Regna Liburnorum, & fontem superare Timavi.

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesque locavit

Teucrorum, & genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit

Troia —

Æn. l. 1. v. 246, & 251.

(2) L. 1. c. 1. (3) L. 16. c. 21. (4) *Homer. Iliad. l. 20.*

thing is so famous among the Poets, as the Commerce of *Anchises* with this Goddess (1); but probably this Fable was invented to cloak some Piece of Gallantry, and to calm the Jealousy of *Anchises's* Wife, who saw him too often frequent the Banks of the River *Simois*, where he was probably smitten with the Charms of some Shepherdess, who was perhaps denominated *Venus* upon Account of her Beauty. It would seem that she was that *Venus*, whom *Homer* makes to have been the Daughter of *Dione* (2), and who is mentioned by *Cicero* (3). The Poets add that *Venus* enjoined her Gallant not to speak of this Adventure; but that he not being able to keep the Secret, was struck with Thunder, by which *Servius* says he lost his Sight; others say the Wound he received thereby never could be closed up (a). What gave rise to this Fable, by the Way, is that anciently Thunder was considered as the most dreadful Instrument of the Vengeance of the Gods; and those who were struck with it, were reckoned a kind of excommunicated Persons; whence *Anchises* was looked upon as the Object of the Wrath of the Gods, as *Virgil* gives us to understand in the following Lines:

*Jampridem invisus Divis & inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me Dicum pater atque hominum Rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis & contigit igne.*

Æn. l. 2. v. 647.

Grown to my Friends an useless heavy Load,
Long here I liv'd, abhor'd by every God;
Since, in his Wrath, high Heav'n's Almighty Sire,
Blasted these Limbs with his avenging Fire.

Pitt's Æneid.

Anchises however lived till the Age of eighty Years, and was buried, according to *Eustathius* (4), upon Mount

(1) Idem Hymn. upon Venus Virg. &c. (2) *Il.* l. 9. (3) *De Nat. Deor.* l. 3.

(a) Consult for all this the learned *Meziriac* upon *Ovid*, or *Bayle* who has copied him in his *Critical Dictionary*, Art. *Anchises*.

(4) Upon the 22 of the *Iliad*.

Mount *Ida*. Opinions however are very much divided on this Head : *Virgil* makés him to have died at *Drepana* in *Sicily* ; *Pausanias* in *Arcadia* ; *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and others, bring him as far as *Italy*, where he ends his Days.

Eneas his Son was educated in the Coun- *The History*
of Eneas.
try till he was put under the Direction of a Governor, and some Years after, *Priam* gave him his Daughter *Creusa* in Marriage, by whom he had a Son named *Iulus*, or *Ascanius* (a).

As *Homer* is the most ancient Author who has spoken of this Prince, 'tis in the *Iliad* we are to seek for his Character, and to learn what he did at the Siege of *Troy*. The celebrated *F. Hardouin*, is even of Opinion that he is the true Heroe of the Poem now mentioned, which, according to him, was only composed to flatter the Kings of *Troas*, *Eneas's* Descendants, who were still reigning in the Time of that Poet, who being an *Ionian* must have known them. In a Word, the *Iliad*, according to this learned Author, was nothing but the History of the Fall of the eldest Branch of the *Trojan* Kings, that is, of *Laomedon* and *Priam*, to which the youngest Branch, or that of *Asseracus*, must have succeeded, from whom *Eneas* descended, as has been already said in the Article that relates to the Succession of the Kings of *Troy*.

Among the Atchievements of *Eneas*, during the Siege, as they are related by the Poet, he says he fought with *Achilles*, but that *Neptune* carried him off from the Combat ; and I am of Opinion, to mention it by the Way, that what had given a Handle to this Fiction, was, that the Combat between *Achilles* and *Eneas* having lasted the whole Day, Night put an End to it, or rather some Feast of *Neptune* obliged them to suspend it. *Eneas* distinguished himself, especially in the Night

X 3 that

(a) The Poet *Lescheus*, and the Author of the *Cypriacs*, give *Eneas* to Wife *Eurydice*, as we are told by *Pausanias* in *Phoc.* but the most common Opinion is that he had *Creusa* the Daughter of *Priam* ; and as she died in the Burning of *Troy*, the Poets gave out that the Mother of the Gods, and *Venus*, had carried her away from the Greeks, Vid. *Pausanias loc. cit.*

that the City was taken, when, without dwelling upon all that *Virgil* tells us to this Purpose (1), rather in a poetical than an historical Manner, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, he entered into the Citadel of *Ilium*, and defended it to the last; that when he saw it was impossible to save it, he let out the Women, the old Men and Children by a Back-Door, and then came out himself with his Garrison, fighting his Way thro' the Enemy till he came to Mount *Ida*, which was the Place of Rendezvous; that he there formed a little Army of those who were able to bear Arms; and the *Greeks* not daring to venture a Battle, made a Treaty with them, by which they were permitted to march off. *Eneas* fitted out a Fleet of twenty Ships near the City *Antanaros*, at the Foot of Mount *Ida*, in which having embarked, he first arrived in *Thrace*, where he founded the City *Ænia*, and peopled it with those whom he could most easily spare.

Setting out from thence he made the Island of *Delos*, where *Anius* the high Priest of *Apello* gave him a favourable Reception (a). After this having coasted along the Island of *Cythera*, he arrived at a Cape of the *Peloponnesus*, which he called *Cynetium*, from the Name of one of his Companions who was buried there; and having entered *Greece*, he quitted the Fleet, to go and consult the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* (b). It was there he found his Brother-in-law *Helenus*, who was reputed in that Country a great Prophet. Arrived in the Country of the *Salentines*, where *Idomeneus* come from *Crete*, established his new Colony, he would have continued his Course by the Fare of *Messina*, but he was obliged to put in to *Sicily*, where he assisted *Elimus* and *Egestus* who also came from *Phrygia*, in building two Towers of their own Name, leaving with them those of the Ship's Crew, whom the Fatigue of the Voyage and old Age had rendered useless to him.

In

(1) *Eneid*. l. 2. & 3.

(a) We shall give afterwards the History of this *Anius* and his Daughters.

(b) *Eneas* was very superstitious; but *Virgil* gives him always the Designation of Pious.

In fine, having departed from that Island, he happily arrived at *Laurentum* upon the Coasts of *Tyrrhenia*, near the Mouth of the *Tyber*, in the Country of the *Aborigines* (1). These People, frightened at the Arrival of a Fleet man'd by Strangers, assembled under the Command of their King *Latinus*; but that Prince having been informed of the Motive that brought them into his Dominions, and that they were *Trojans*, who under the Conduct of *Æneas* the Son of *Venus* and *Anchises* were in Quest of some Place where they might settle and found a City, after the burning of their own, as the Oracles had prescribed to them; being farther informed that their Leader was a Man of Wisdom and Piety, who was carrying with him his Household Gods; viewing besides, with a Mixture of Astonishment and Awe, an illustrious Nation, the History of whose Misfortunes was already known, and a Heroe their Commander, who was indeed disposed to treat with him amicably; but at the same time determined to have Recourse to Force, if he could not otherwise compass his Design, he himself made up to *Æneas*, gave him his Hand in Token of Friendship, and the two Armies united. The Remembrance of an Oracle, and we know how far Predictions made Impression upon Peoples Minds at that Time, which had foretold *Latinus* the Arrival of some Strangers, whose Leader was to be his Son-in-law, was the principle Cause of the Advances he made to *Æneas*. He conducted him to his Palace; and in order to confirm by the strictest Ties the Alliance which he had made with him, and to unite the two Nations for ever, he gave him in Marriage in a short time after *Lavinia*, his only Daughter and the Heiress of his Crown. *Æneas*, with the Assistance of his Father-in-law and the *Latins*, built at that time a City which he called *Lavinium*, from the Name of his Wife, by whom he had a Son named *Ascanius*.

In the mean time this Match brought upon the *Trojans* and *Aborigines* a common Enemy. *Lavinia* before *Æneas*'s Arrival had been promised to *Turnus* King of the *Rutulians*,

Julians, who inhabited the Maritime Part of *Campania*, near the Place where *Rome* was afterwards built. This Prince, young and ambitious, Nephew to Queen *Amata Latinus's* Wife, enraged that a Stranger should be preferred to him, declared War upon his Rival, and gave him Battle, which cost both Sides dear. The *Rutuli* indeed were routed, but it cost *Latinus* his Life, who commanded in Person with his Son-in-law. *Æneas* being sole Master of his Father-in-law's Dominions, omitted nothing to prevent the new Efforts which *Turmus* was making to repair this Loss; especially when he understood that he had struck up an Alliance with the *Etrurians*, whose Power was then very formidable.

Mezentius who was their King, kept his Court at *Core*, a wealthy City, and one of the strongest in the Country. As that Prince, according to *Titus Livius*, had always looked with an evil Eye upon the *Trojan* Colony, and considered the rising Power of those Strangers as a just Ground of being alarmed for himself and his Neighbours, he made no Difficulty of joining with the *Rutuli*. In the mean Time *Æneas*, destitute of Assistance, in a Country where he had but new settled, finding that he had Occasion to be strictly united with the *Aborigines* to sustain the Storm with which he saw himself threatened, considered how this might best be effected. For that End he resolved henceforth to incorporate that People and the *Trojans* who followed him into one State, governed by the same Laws, under the Name of the *Latin* People. This Piece of Policy succeeded, and thereby he so gained the Affections of the *Aborigines*, that they were for ever after as faithful, and as much attached to him as the *Trojans* themselves. *Æneas*, strengthened by this Union, would not wait to receive the Enemy in the City: he took the Field, and the two Armies being very soon met, he fought a bloody Battle, wherein he lost his Life.

His Body not being found, it having probably fallen into the River *Numicus*, near which the Battle was fought, it was given out that *Venus* having purified him in the Water of that River, had promoted him to the

the Rank of the Gods. A Tomb was erected to him upon the Banks of the River, a Monument which was still subsisting in the time of *Titus Livius*, and where Sacrifices were offered to him afterwards under the Name of *Jupiter Indiges*. This Heroe died at the Age of thirty eight Years, and reigned only three. His Son *Ascanius* succeeded him, and built the famous City *Alba*, where his Descendants reigned over the *Latin* Territory, until *Numitor*, *Romulus's* Grand-Father.

The Kingdom of *Alba*, according to *Arnobius*, lasted 420 Years, or 432, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, under fourteen Kings. *Æneas* reigned three Years, his Son *Ascanius* 38, partly in *Lavinium*, and partly in *Alba*, to which he transferred the Seat of the Empire. After his Death search was made every where for his Mother-in-law *Lavinia*, who had concealed herself in a Forest where she was delivered of a Son, who from thence got the Name of *Sylvius*, which the Kings of *Alba* thought it their Honour to assume afterwards: he was also surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his Father's Death, *Iulus* the Son of *Ascanius* disputed the Crown with that young Prince; but the *Latins* obliged him to drop his Pretensions, and invested him with the Office of high Priest, which continued a long time in this Prince's Family. *Sylvius* reigned 29 Years, and his Son *Æneas Sylvius* 31. *Latinus*, who succeeded him, reigned 50. *Alba* 29. *Capetus* 26, *Capis* 28, *Calpetus* 30, *Tyberinus* 8. It was from this Prince's having drowned himself in the *Albula* that it got the Name of the *Tyber*, which it has gone by ever since that time. *Agrippa* reigned 41. To him succeeded the Tyrant *Alladius*, equally detested by Gods and Men, for having usurped divine Honours; he was punished for his Impiety, and drowned himself in a Pond, after a Reign of 19 Years. *Aventinus*, who derived his Name to the *Aventine* Mount, was in Possession of the Crown thirty seven Years; *Procas* twenty nine; *Amulius*, who supplanted his Brother *Numitor*, reigned 42 Years, until *Romulus* his Grandson, and the Son

Son of *Rhea Sylvia* his Niece, put him to Death, and re-established his Grand-Father upon the Throne of *Alba*, whereof he was the last King; tho' this City stood till the time of *Tullus Hostilius* the third King of *Rome*, who demolished it after the Defeat of the *Curatii* (a): thus *Æneas*, as we see, precedes *Romulus* by 450 Years.

Before *Æneas*, there had been five Kings in *Latium*, *Janus*, *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*, whose Reigns, if we may believe *Eusebius*, had lasted 150 Years (b). Their History is full of Fables, and we know nothing in that Country more ancient than *Janus*. This is what appears most probable in the History of *Æneas*; and all the rest is only to be looked upon as Embellishments. Upon the whole, I have followed the most common Opinion; *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and *Titus Livius*, who are more conform to *Virgil*, have been my Guides. I am not ignorant that in this Article, as well as most others of the fabulous Age, Authors vary prodigiously. There are some of them who, in order to deprive the *Romans* of the Glory of having had this illustrious Leader of the *Trojans* for their Founder, contend that *Æneas* never came into *Italy* (c): That he reigned in *Troas*, according to the Prediction which *Homer* mentions in his *Iliad*.

That Poet, speaking of the Combat in which *Æneas* was like to have perished by *Achilles's* Hand, says:

*Achilles rushing in with dreadful Cries,
Draws his broad Blade, and at Æneas flies:
But Ocean's God, whose Earthquakes rock the Ground,
Saw the Distress, and mov'd the Pow'rs around.
Lo! on the Brink of Fate Æneas stands,
An instant Victim to Achilles' Hands:*

By

(a) See *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, l. 1. *Titus Livius*, l. 1.

(b) See for the ancient People of *Italy*, the Dissertations of *Theodorus Rickius*.

(c) To this Purpose may be seen the Dissertation of the learned *Bechart*: it is in *M. Scgrais's* Translation of the *Eneid* into *French Verse*, who knew not what Answer to give to it; but *Theodorus Rickius* has both fully answered that, and *Cluverius* in his Dissertation on the ancient People of *Italy*, Chap. 12. to which I refer the Reader.

*By Phoebus urg'd; but Phoebus has bestow'd
His Aid in vain: The Man o'erpow'rs the God.
And can ye see this righteous Chief atone
With guiltless Blood, for Vices not his own?
To all the Gods his constant Vows were paid;
Sure, tho' he wars for Troy he claims our Aid.
Fate wills not this; nor thus can Jove resign
The future Father of the Dardan Line:
The first great Ancestor obtain'd his Grace,
And still his Love descends on all the Race,
For Priam now, and Priam's faithless Kind,
At length are odious to th' all-seeing Mind;
On great Æneas shall devolve the Reign,
And Sons succeeding Sons the lasting Line sustain.*

*The great Earth-shaker thus: to whom replies
Th' imperial Goddess with the radiant Eyes,
Good as he is, to immolate or spare
The Dardan Prince, O Neptune, be thy Care;
Pallas and I, by all that Gods can bind,
Have sworn Destruction to the Trojan Kind;
Not ev'n an Instant to protract their Fate
Or save one Member of the sinking State;
Till her last Flame be quench'd with her last Gore,
And ev'n her crumbling Ruins are no more.*

*The King of Ocean to the Fight descends,
Thro' all the whistling Darts his Course he bends,
Swift interpos'd between the Warriours flies,
And casts thick Darkness o'er Achilles' Eyes.
From great Æneas' Shield the Spear he drew,
And at its Master's Feet the Weapon threw:
That done, with Force divine he snatch'd on high
The Dardan Prince, and bore him thro' the Sky,
Smooth-gliding without Step, above the Heads
Of warring Heroes, and of bounding Steeds.*

Pope's Iliad. xx. 341.

This formal Passage is very considerable, and of great Weight to demolish the Pretensions of the Romans, who valued themselves on that chimerical Conceit of being descended from Æneas; for unless we allow

low what I remark elsewhere, that *Homer*, who was an *Ionian*, puts this Prediction into *Neptune's* Mouth, for no other Reason, in all Probability, but because he saw the Posterity of *Aeneas* still in Possession of the Throne of the *Trojans*; would he ever have made *Neptune* speak so, who was their declared Enemy?

Thus all that the Historians have written of *Aeneas's* Voyage to *Italy*, may be looked upon as Romance, that has no other Tendency but to over throw historical Truth, since the most ancient of these is several Ages later than *Homer*, while that Poet lived only 260 Years, or thereabouts, after the taking of *Troy*, and wrote in some of the Cities of *Ionia*, in the Neighbourhood of *Phrygia*, or at no great Distance from it. Accordingly some Historians before *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* having perceived the Force of this Passage in *Homer*, would needs explain it in a Consistency with this Fable, by saying that *Aeneas* after having been in *Italy*, returned to *Troy*, and there left his Son *Ascanius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, not satisfied with this Solution, which appears to him improbable, has taken another Method to preserve to the *Romans* the Glory of being descended from *Venus's* Son, by saying that by these Words, *He shall reign over the Trojans*, *Homer* meant he shall reign over the *Trojans* whom he shall carry with him into *Italy*. Might not *Aeneas*, says he, have reigned over the *Trojans* whom he carried into *Italy*, tho' settled elsewhere?

This Historian, who wrote in *Rome* itself, and under the Eye of *Augustus*, was willing to make his Court to that Prince, by explaining this Passage of *Homer* so as to favour the wild Notion with which he was intoxicated. This is a just Ground of Reproach against him; for that Poets should flatter Princes by their Fictions is no wise surprizing; but for Historians to corrupt the Gravity and Severity of History to substitute Fable and Falshood in the Room of Truth, is a Fault not to be pardoned. *Strabo* acts a much better Part; for though he wrote his Geography about the Beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, yet he has the Courage to explain this Passage of

of *Homer*, and to assert (1), *that this Poet says, and would have us to understand that Æneas remained at Troy, that he reigned there, all Priam's Race having been extinct, and that he left the Crown to his Children after him.* 'Tis needless to take Notice here of the pleasant Correction which *Strabo* tells us some Criticks had made upon *Homer's* Text by reading, *παντεσσι*, instead of *τροεσσι*; *he shall reign over all the World*, instead of *he shall reign over the Trojans*; as if *Homer* had known and foretold in that Time that the Empire of the whole World was promised to the Family of *Æneas*; the Flattery to *Augustus* in this is too discernable.

Again there was another Tradition, perhaps of equal Authority with that which I have now delivered, according to which it was a Question whether *Ascanius*, who succeeded *Æneas* in *Italy*, was the Son of *Lavinia*, or that other Prince of the same Name whom he had by *Creusa*, who followed his Father in his Expeditions, and who was surnamed *Iulus*. However, it was from this last, the Grandson of *Venus*, that the *Romans* valued themselves on being descended, and from whom the *Julian* Family boasted to have derived its Name and Original.

Another Tradition again is what *Conon* follows (2). After the Destruction of *Troy*, says he, *Æneas*, to avoid falling into the Hands of the *Greeks*, repaired to Mount *Ida*; but scarcely had he settled there, when he was driven thence by *Eytius* and *Scamander* the Sons of *Hector*, who obliged him to go and seek his Fortune some where else, and reigned in his Stead. What is singular in this Narration of *Conon*, is that he names two of *Hector's* Sons of whom we know little or nothing, none of the Ancients having mentioned any Son of his, but *Astyanax*.

Other Authors, so great Diversity is there among the Ancients as to this Article, will have it that *Æneas* was made Prisoner by *Pyrrhus*, and that after the Death of his Conqueror, he repaired to *Macedonia*: there are even Authors who tell us farther that *Æneas* was absent

(1) L. 13. (2) Nar. 46.

sent when *Troy* was taken, and that *Priam* his Father-in-law had sent him into *Italy* with some Troops: Some alledge, as has been said, that *Æneas* betrayed the City *Troy*, from the Hatred he bore to *Priam*, who used him ill. *Servius* (1) mentions this Treachery after *Titus Livius*, among whose Works, as they are now extant, this Passage is not to be found: Others write that he died in *Thrace* or in *Arcadia*: Others, in fine, that *Turnus* slew *Æneas*, and that *Ascanius* avenged his Father by killing *Turnus*.

'Tis impossible to reconcile Sentiments so opposite, and it would be no Reconciliation of them in earnest to say with *Tryphiodorus* (2), that *Venus* had transported *Eneas* thro' the Air into *Italy*. Let us therefore leave the *Romans* in Possession of their Claim, nor envy them the Glory of being descended from *Venus* and *Eneas*.

But before I close this Chapter, I am still to explain other Fables that are interwove with the History of the Prince now in Question. We begin with that of his Amour with *Elisa*, so celebrated under the Name of *Dido*. She was the Daughter of *Belus* II. King of *Tyre* in *Phenicia*. *Pygmalion* her Brother ascended the Throne after the Death of his Father (a), and *Elisa* was married to *Sicbarbas* (b) the Priest of *Hercules*, her Mother's Brother, who was possessed of immense Riches; but which the Fear of the covetous *Pygmalion* obliged him to keep so secret, that he was only conjectured to be so rich. This however was enough to inflame the Avarice of the King, who without regard to the Ties of Blood which united them, cruelly murdered him.

Elisa, dissembling her Resentment, gave out that she was desirous to leave a Place which served only to re-
new

(1) In 2d *Æneid*. (2) Poem upon the taking of *Troy*.

(a) Here is the Order of her Genealogy: *Jupiter Epaphus*, *Libra*, *Belus* I. *Agenor*, *Phœnix*, *Belus* II. or *Metres*, *Pygmalion* and *Dido*.

(b) This is *Virgil's* *Sicbæus*.

new her Grief, and to go and live with *Pygmalion* (a). He presuming she would bring with her the Treasure of her Husband, sent her a Ship and a Convoy; but having set sail, she had the Precaution to lodge in the Ship some Bales loaded with Sand; and having given out that she was going to sacrifice to the Manes of her Husband whatever was most dear to her in the World; she threw them into the Sea, telling the Soldiers it was the Money of the unfortunate *Sicharbas*, and that consequently there was no other Resource for them but to fly with her, since *Pygmalion*, if he found them come without *Sicharbas's* Treasures, would put them all to Death; which obliged them to go and seek a Sanctuary from the Persecutions of that Prince. They first landed in *Cyprus*, whence *Dido* carried off fifty young Virgins, whom she gave in Marriage to her Companions in the Expedition. The Wind drove them afterwards upon the Coasts of *Africa*, where that Princess raised a Citadel, near which the City *Carthage* was afterwards built, so great was the Concourse of People and Merchants who arrived there from all Quarters. A Fable was afterwards trump'd up, which I must explain here. We are told that *Dido* bought from the Inhabitants of the Country as much Ground as a Bull's Hide could cover; upon which she cut down a Hide into many Thongs, which encompassed a Quantity of Ground sufficient to build a Citadel upon, which from thence was called *Byrsa*, that is, *a Bull's Hide*; but this Fable is owing to the *Greeks*, who pretended to find in their Language the Etymology of all Antiquities, not knowing that *Bostra*, or *Botbrab*, in the *Phenician* Language imports a Citadel (1); thus instead of saying simply that *Dido* built a Citadel, having found this barbarous

(a) We must not confound, as *Ovid* has done, this King of *Tyre*, with another *Pygmalion* the King of *Cyprus*, who having made a fine Statue which he fell in love with himself, and *Venus* having animated it, he begot upon it *Paphus*, who built the City *Paphos* in *Cyprus*, and the Temple of *Venus*, which has been so much talked of; a Fable which has no other Foundation, but that he gained the good Graces of some Beauty whom he was in love with:

(1) Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 14. Vossius de Idol. l. 1. c. 3.

barbarous Word in the Annals which they read, and not knowing its Signification, they translated it by that of *Byrsa*, which having no Sense in this Place, they framed the Commentary now mentioned. We are told further, that those who dug the Foundations of this Citadel, found there a Horse's Head, which they reckoned a Prefage of its future Grandeur; another Fable, if we may believe *Bockart*, founded upon this Citadel's being named *Cacabé*, a Word which in the Language of the *Phenicians* signifies *a Horse* (a).

After the *Phenicians*, whom *Dido* led into this Part of *Africa*, had made this Settlement there, they would needs compel the Queen to marry *Iarbas* King of *Mauritania*, who had declared War upon them, and she sought three Months to consider of it. During that Time, having erected a funeral Pile, as if by some Sacrifice she had been to appease the Manes of her former Husband, she stabb'd herself with a Poniard, whereof she died. This Action made her get the Name of *Dido*, which imports *valiant Woman*, and by a strange Reverse of History, *Virgil*, instead of representing her as a Woman who killed herself, rather than marry a second Husband, makes her so much in love with *Eneas*, that his Departure drove her to Despair.

But what is farther remarkable, he makes an Anachronism of near 300 Years, which has been already often observed, for there is no less an Interval between *Eneas* and *Dido*; and tho' there are several Opinions as to the Time when she lived (b), 'tis agreed that she was later than the *Trojan* Heroe by some Ages, and nobody doubts of *Virgil's* Anachronism: *Troy* having been taken in the Time of the Judges, and *Pygmalion*, *Dido's* Brother, not having come into the World till the Reign of *Joram* King of *Judah*. Accordingly *Eccbert* (c) makes *Dido* to have been Aunt to the famous

(a) Bockart lcc. cit. adds that the Name of *Carthage* comes from *Cacabé*.

(b) Sil. Ital. de Bell. Punic. lib. 1. Velleius Patenc. l. 1. Appian in Libycis, &c.

(c) See *Meziriac* upon the Epistle of *Dido* to *Eneas*, and the *Teleme- com.* p. 77. & sequ.

mous *Jezebel* whom *Abaz* married, and who brought so many Calamities upon the Kingdom of *Israel*. But, to say something more precise; *Dido* left the Kingdom of *Tyre*, in the seventh Year of *Pygmalion's* Reign, 247 Years after the taking of *Troy*, and 953 Years before *Jesus Christ*.

Her Subjects after her Death ascribed divine Honours to her, and instituted to her religious Worship (a). According to *Ovid* she had paid the same Honours to her Husband *Sichæus*.

The History of the Daughters of *Anius*, at whose Court *Eneas* resided for some Time, and who, according to *Ovid*, were transformed into Pigeons; requires also to have the Fable of it explained.

Anius King of *Delos*, and also High-Priest of *Apollo* (b), was of the Family of *Cadmus* on the Side of his Mother *Rheo*, the Daughter of *Staphilus*, who claimed *Bacchus* for his Father. *Rheo* having had some Intrigue (c), her Father exposed her upon the Sea in a little Ship, in which she arrived at *Delos*, where she was delivered of *Anius*; who by his Marriage with *Doripe*, had three Daughters extremely frugal, and who laid up great Store of Offerings that were brought to the Temple of *Apollo*. The Greeks, during the Siege of *Troy*, sent *Palamedes* to ask Provisions from *Anius*, and obliged him even to give his Daughters Hostages. These Princesses however found a Way to make their escape; which gave occasion to say that *Bacchus* had transformed them to Pigeons. As to what is alleged that they turned every thing they touched into Wine, Corn and Oil, it was founded, in the Opinion of the learned *Bochart*, upon the Etymologies of the Names of these three Virgins, *Æno*, *Spermo*, and *Elaïs*, which may refer to the Wine, Corn; and Oil; that were offered for ordinary to *Apollo*, and whereof they laid up Store that were of great Service to the Grecian Army.

VOL. IV.

Y

As

(a) See his Epistle to M. Segrais's *Loco cit.*

(b) *Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.* Virg. l. 3.

(c) *Dicd.* l. 7.

As to what *Virgil* says, that *Eneas* upon his Arrival in *Italy* went to consult the *Sibyl* who conducted him to Hell, this is only an Episode of that Poet's Invention, to embellish his Poem; and we will not resume here, what has been said of those famous Prophetesses in the first Volume (1). There occur however some other Fables in the History of *Eneas*, which are neither important, nor difficult to be explained. The first is that of the City *Ardea*, which is said to have been transformed into a Bird (2); the Foundation whereof is that *Eneas's* Troops having set Fire to that City, the Capital of the *Rutuli*, it was given out to be metamorphosed into that Bird which bears the same Name with the City (3). It appears to have been afterwards rebuilt, since we learn from *Titus Livius*, that it was still subsisting in the Time of the *Tarquins*.

The second is that of *Eneas's* Ships transformed into Nymphs by *Cybele* (4), but this is only another Episode to embellish the History of this Heroe; for the Truth is that *Turnus* set Fire to them, to cut off from his Enemy all Means of escape: And because they would needs have every thing that concerned this Founder of the *Roman* Empire to be marvellous, hence *Virgil* took a Handle from those Ships being made of Firr consecrated to *Cybele*, to say that Goddess, to revenge the Affront offered to her thereby, had transformed them into Sea-Nymphs.

The third is that of the White Sow that pointed out to *Eneas* the Place of his Settlement. After the following Manner is the Story related by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (5), and *Titus Livius* (6). *Eneas* having learned from the Oracle of *Dodona*, or according to others from the *Sibyl*, that he was to stop at the Place where a white Sow should bring forth her young; when this Prince had arrived in *Italy*, and was preparing to offer a Sacrifice in order to get farther Insight into his Destiny, the Sow that was to have been sacrificed, escaped out of the Sacrificer's Hands, and fled

(1) L. 5. (2) Ovid. Met. l. 14. (3) *Ardea*. (4) Virg. l. 9.
(5) Ant. Rom. l. 1. (6) L. 1.

fled towards the Sea. *Eneas*, calling to Mind the Oracle, followed her until she stopp'd in a Place that was very high. This Place being barren and uncultivated, our Heroe was at a Loss how this could be reconciled with the magnificent Promises of the Oracle, when a Voice proceeded from the neighbouring Wood, and intimated to him that this was the Place where he was to build a City, and that after having resided there as many Years as the Sow should bring forth young, a more considerable Settlement was decreed for him by the Fates. *Eneas* obeyed the heavenly Voice, and began to lay the Foundations of a City that was called *Lavinium*, as has been said; the Day after the Sow brought forth thirty young, which presaged that within thirty Years he was to build another City.

This Fable would seem to signify, that *Eneas* was able to procure at first only a little barren Spot of Ground overgrown with Wood; but that afterwards, upon the Defeat of *Turnus*, and his Alliance with *Latinus*, he became capable of aggrandizing himself. Perhaps too as he was very superstitious, the Victim might happen to escape by Accident, and he follow it as a Presage given him by the Gods. The same Authors inform us of other Prodigies that are as little worthy of Credit.

C H A P. VII.

The History of Memnon.

THERE is no doubt, as we shall see in the Sequel of this Chapter, but that *Memnon* the Son of *Tithonus*, as *Priam's* Kinsman and Ally; furnished him with Troops towards the End of the Siege of *Troy*; this is what all the Ancients who have made mention of this War are agreed in. *Homer*, 'tis true, says nothing of it in his *Iliad*, because that Prince not having arrived till about the Middle of the tenth Year of the Siege, at which Period of Time all the Incidents that enter into that Poem had happened, he was in the

right not to name him among the other Allies of the *Trojans*. However, as he has inserted in his *Odyſſey* ſeveral Particulars concerning this ſame War, he there ſays (1), the Son of *Aurora* ſlew *Antilochus* the Son of *Neftor*; which all the Learned underſtand of *Memnon*, for Reaſons which we ſhall ſee afterwards. The ſame Poet names him too in the eleventh Book, where he makes *Ulyſſes* ſay, that of all the Shades the moſt beautiful next to *Memnon*, was that of *Eurypilus*. But 'tis not very eaſy to determine who he was, and whence he came, the Learned being very much divided on this Head; ſome following the *Greek* Traditions, that make him come from *Persia*, whither his Father *Titbonus* had retired; others from *Egypt*, whither it was *Amenophis*, or *Setbos*, or ſome other Prince that reigned there at that Time: Difficulties on both ſides, tho' not ſo great in following the *Greek* Hiſtory, than the *Egyptian* Tradition concerning that Time. To be convinced of this, we need but conſider, how *Perizonius* and M. *Fourmond* the elder have been perplexed, they who have examined this Article with a great deal of Care.

Thus the firſt knows not what King of *Egypt* to fix upon to find out *Memnon*; he ſeems however, after many Diſcuſſions, to conclude that he was the Son of *Proteus*, who, according to *Homer*, reigned there in the Time of the *Trojan* War; and that *Proteus* is the ſame with *Setbos*, or the *Titbonus* of the *Greeks*. But in following this Hypotheſis, we are very ſoon intangled in a new Difficulty. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the famous Statue of *Memnon*, ſays it was that of an *Egyptian* King whom they named *Phenompbas*, or *Amenophis*: Now about that time we find two Princes of this laſt Name; namely the eighth and ſeventeenth of the eighteenth *Dynasty* of the *Dioſpolitans*. Whoſe Statue was it of the two? *Eusebius* and after him *Syncellus*, are of Opinion that it is the firſt's; and *Perizonius* ſometimes will have it to belong to the ſecond, ſometimes

he

(1) *Odyſſey*, l. 4.

he knows not what to make of it, *ad alterutrum ego retulerim hunc Memnonem.*

Farther, another thing that perplexes our Author, is what we read in *Strabo* (1) that the *Memnon* of the Siege of *Troy* was named by the *Egyptians*, *Ismandes*, or *Mandes*; he must therefore find his *Memnon* in that Prince, as he does: But still new Difficulties. *Diodorus Siculus* gives the Name of *Maro* to this *Mandes*, and asserts that it was he who built the Labyrinth: We must therefore once more seek the *Memnon* of the *Greeks*, in him who during his Reign executed that Work which has been the Admiration of the World; but how had he the Time to get it done, his Father *Titbonus* having died in extreme old Age, and he himself having lost his Life at the Siege of *Troy*? It required at least a long Reign and a continued Tract of Peace to carry on that Structure, which *Pliny* calls *Portentosissimum humani ingenii opus. The most amazing Work of human Invention.*

M. Fourmond the elder (a), sufficiently shews the Weakness of *Perizonius's* Opinion, and that his very Conjectures destroy themselves. In fact, that learned Author having made *Amemenes* the Son of *Proteus*, pitches afterwards upon *Amenophis*, then he returns to the former: And after a good deal of Reasoning, he comes to agree with *Manetho*, whose Opinion he pretends to recede from. The same *M. Fourmond* fully proves next under what King of *Egypt* *Troy* was taken; being persuaded that *Manetho*, an *Egyptian* Author, must be preferred to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*; but does he find the *Titbonus* of the *Greeks*, and his Son *Memnon* in him who lived at *Diospolis*, in the Time of the Siege of that City? This is what he seems not to me to have proved. Besides, another Difficulty that equally affects all those who have recourse to *Egypt* for the Prince who came to the Succour of the *Phrygians*, on what Foundation can they assure us, that the King of *Egypt*

(1) Geogr. 1. 17.

(a) *Reflexions upon the History of ancient Nations.* Tom. ii. p. 169.

of that Time, was the Kinsman and Ally of *Priam*, and that he sent from the Extremity of *Thebais* where he reigned, his Son with twenty thousand Men, to the Relief of a City so remote, and whereof probably he had never heard a Word? The Kings of *Egypt*, those especially of *Diospolis* who reigned in that Time, proud of their Power, their Forces and Riches, had a high Contempt of other Kings, and never would admit of any Comparison with them.

We must therefore return to the Tradition of the *Greeks*, the only probable one as to this Article. *Hesiod* is the first who made use of it; *Pindar* improved upon it afterwards, and *Ovid* adds new Circumstances to it of his own. 'Tis true, in these Poets it is adulterated with several Fables, but they are such as are not inexplicable, as will appear at first Sight.

Reinerius Reinecius, in his learned Work upon ancient Families (1), is of Opinion that *Tithonus* was the Son of *Tros*, and Brother to *Laomedon*; and he prefers this Opinion to that of *Homer*, followed therein by *Apollodorus*, *Ovid* and *Hyginus*, who will have it that *Laomedon* was his Father, and consequently that he was *Priam*'s Brother. *Tithonus* not satisfied with his Portion, and his Brother *Laomedon* who succeeded to his Father *Tros*, probably allowing him no great Share in the Administration, he had no other Way to employ his Time but in Hunting, of which he was desperately fond. As he was wont every Morning to get up before the rising Sun, to plant his Toils in the Woods, hence he was said by a natural enough Metaphor to be enamoured of *Aurora*; and having abandoned *Phrygia* from some Disgust, whereof we know not the Cause, and repaired to *Susa* where *Teutamus* then reigned, he was favourably entertained by him, the Kingdom of *Priam* holding at that Time of the King of *Persia*. This Retreat gave Birth to a second Fiction. It was given out that *Aurora* had ravished *Tithonus*; a Fable which, no doubt, took its rise from what we have said of his love of Hunting, and from his

(1) Tom. iii. de Trojan. orig. & imperio, p. 13.

his Retreat into a Country which lay to the East of *Phrygia*.

Teutamus procured *Titbonus* a good Settlement in his Dominions, and gave him in Marriage *Ida*, by whom he had *Memnon*; and as the Exercise of the Body, when it is not carried too far, has a great Influence to strengthen the Constitution, and to produce a good State of Health, *Titbonus* died in an extreme old Age. Hence arose another Fiction: It was fabled that his Lover had transformed him into a Grasshopper, either to set forth to us that he had lived to a great Age; for, according to popular Opinion, this Insect, like the Serpent, is thought to renew its Age every Year by changing its Skin; or to denote that he resembled that little Animal in endless Prattle, as is the Manner of old Men.

Memnon led to *Troy* ten thousand *Persians*, and as many *Ethiopians*, with a great Number of Chariots. He set out, according to *Pausanias*, not from *Ethiopia*, but from the City *Susa* in *Persia*, and from the Banks of the River *Choaspes*; and his Expedition was so unquestionably true, that the *Phrygians* shewed even in the Time of that Author, the Rout he had taken, his Marches, and his several Encampments. We learn the same Fact from most of the Ancients, and particularly from *Diodorus Siculus*, *Quintus Smyrneus*, and *Ausonius*. This Prince was presently distinguished by his Valour, and made great Havock of all the *Greeks* who came in his Way. He slew *Antilochus*, who was hastening to the Relief of his Father *Nestor*, ready to sink under his Blows, and who saved his Life at the Expence of his own. *Homer*, who makes no mention of *Memnon* in his *Iliad*, as I have already remarked, has not omitted this Piece of History in his *Odyssey* (1). After that Poet has told us that the Speech of *Menelaus* concerning *Ulysses*, had drawn Tears from all who were present, he adds: *Pisistratus the Son of the wise Nestor, was tenderly affected with the Relation; his Brother Antilochus, whom the valiant Son of the Morning had slain*

(1) *Odyss.* l. 4. v. 187.

in Battle, occurred to his Mind, and at this Remembrance, with Tears trickling down his Cheeks he bespeaks Menelaus, &c.

Nestor inconsolable for the Death of his Son, who had so generously devoted himself for him, engaged *Achilles* to give him Revenge; and that young Prince having attacked *Memnon*, slew him at last after a sharp Combat, which *Quintus Smyrneus* describes at full length. Sumptuous Funerals were given him. According to some of the Ancients, his Ashes were carried into *Persia*, to comfort his Father who was still alive (a), tho' 'tis more probable that his Body was burnt, and his Ashes put in a Tomb upon the *Trojan* Coast; and that the Tomb which *Strabo* says he had in *Susiana*, was but a mere Cenotaph which had been raised there to his Honour. This Combat of *Achilles* with *Memnon* employed the Pencil of *Polygnotus*, as we read in *Pausanias*.

It happened perhaps that during the Ceremony of his Funerals, some travelling Birds that came at that Time into *Pbrygia*, alighted in that Place; which gave some Flatterers a Handle to say, that they had sprung from his Ashes (1), and from that Time they got the Name of *Memnonides*. *Elian* (2) says these Birds were black, shaped much like Hawks, which came every Year in Autumn from the Country of *Cyzicus*, to the Mountain where was this Prince's Tomb; that they divided into two Companies, fought together, and that the Conquerors returned after the Fight. *Pliny* adds (3), that there are several Authors who assert the same Thing; and if we may believe *Cremenius* (4), they performed the same Game in *Ethiopia* every fifth Year, near the Place where *Memnon's* Palace stood. *Pausanias*, (b) *Solinus*, and others, make mention of it likewise. The

(a) The Death of *Antilochus* and the Combat between *Memnon* and *Achilles*, are represented in the *Iliac* Table, as they also were, according to *Pausanias*, upon a Work of *Bathycles*.

(1) Ovid. l. 13. (2) L. 5. de Anim. (3) L. 2. c. 26. (4) Apud Plin. loc. cit.

(b) See *Pausanias* in *Attic*. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Lucian*, *Philophrastus*, *Tzetzes*, &c.

The first, after having said that *Polygnotus* had represented in that fine Picture, the Subject whereof was the taking of *Troy*, these Birds which had no other Name but the Birds of *Memnon*, tells us that those who inhabited the Coasts of the *Hellespont*, asserted that every Year upon one precise Day, they came and made clean a certain Space of Ground about the Tomb of this Prince, where neither Tree nor Grass was left to grow, and that afterwards they watered it with their Wings, which they went and dipped of purpose in the River *Efopus*.

What is reported of the Statue of this Prince at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, is no less wonderful: It is alledged that when the Sun-beams happened to strike upon it, it sent forth an harmonious Sound. *Strabo*, a very judicious Author, says he himself had been Witness to this Miracle, which can be attributed to nothing but either the Quality of the Stone it was made of, or to the Imposture of the Priests, or rather to some secret Spring which the learned *Kircher*, after *Pausanias*, alledges to have been a kind of Harpsicol inclosed within the Statue, and whose Strings being first slackened by the Moisture of the Night, and then distended by the Heat of the Sun, broke with a Noise (1) resembling that of the String of a Violin when it breaks. *Cambyfes*, who spared not the *Egyptian Ox Apis*, having a Mind to see through this Mystery, wherein he suspected some Trick of Magic, broke the Statue from the Head to the middle of the Body.

But 'tis necessary to observe, that the Ancients vary so much with respect to this Statue, that we would not know what to fix upon; if *Strabo* (2), an Author who was an Eye-witness, and who has no Design to impose, had not told us that he himself saw it, and heard the Noise it made. “ I was, says he, with *Ælius Gallus*,
 “ and with a Number of Friends, when as we were
 “ surveying the *Colossus*, we heard a certain Sound,
 “ without being able however to determine, whether
 “ it came from the Statue, or the Base, or if it pro-
 ceeded

(1) Pausan. in Attic. (2) Lib. 17.

“ceeded from any of the By-standers : For I would
 “rather believe any thing else, than imagine that
 “Stones ranged in such and such a Manner, were
 “capable of yielding such a Sound.”

To the Authority of this learned Geographer, we might add that of *Pausanias*, who in his Travels thro’ *Egypt*, saw the sorry Remains of this Statue, which *Cambyfes* had broke. The lower Part of the *Colossus*, says he, was still upon its Pedestal, while the rest of the Body was thrown down to the Ground, and every Morning at the Sun-rising yielded the Sound we have now been speaking of. *Pliny* (1) indeed, and *Tacitus* (2) both advance the same Fact, but without having been Witnesses to it; and *Lucian* (3) informs us that *Demetrius* went of purpose to *Egypt*, to see there the Pyramids, and *Memnon’s* Statue, from whence a Voice proceeded at the rising of the Sun. What the same Author adds in the Dialogue of *the false Prophet*, appears to be meer Raillery : “When, says he, in my
 “younger Days I was in *Egypt*, I had the Curiosity
 “to go and see the Miracle that was reported concerning *Memnon’s* Statue, which uttered a certain
 “Sound at Sun-rising; and I heard this Sound as the
 “Voice of an Oracle, and not after the Manner of
 “others who heard only an inarticulate Noise, since
 “*Memnon* himself delivered an Oracle every seventh
 “Year, which I would rehearse, if I did not think it
 “needless.”

Tho’ ’tis obvious that *Lucian* only jeers in that Place, ’tis nevertheless true, that the Statue we are now speaking of was believed to deliver Oracles.

Those who have read the Poets know with what flourishes they have set off the Article of *Memnon’s* Death. We see in their Writings, sometimes the Gods in full Council, at a Loss what Resolution to take upon the Death of this Prince : Sometimes *Aurora* in the Bitterness of her Grief refusing her Light to the World, until *Jupiter* had determined her to resume her ordinary Functions, &c.

If

(1) L. 36. c. 7. (2) Annal. l. 2. (3) In Toxi.

If it be asked whence it came to be said that *Titonus* his Father first asked of *Aurora* his Spouse to live several Ages, and that afterwards oppressed with the Infirmities of old Age he desired to be transformed into a Grasshopper, which was granted him; I answer that this implies in plain *English*, that *Titonus* lived very long, and that he was perhaps, after the Example of other old Men, so open and talkative, as to be compared to a Grasshopper; or rather this Fable was composed to support the Fiction of his Intrigue with *Aurora*; for the Grasshopper feeds upon the Dew that falls at the Rise of the Morning; or, if you will, it intimates that this Prince, weakened by great Age, had often recover'd his Strength by Remedies that were given him, whence he came to be compared to the Grasshopper that changes its Skin, and recovers its Strength, after it is exhausted by continual singing, and the Heat of the Sun.

There is no less Variety among both Ancients and Moderns concerning *Memnon* himself than in Relation to his Statue. As *Hesiod* had said he was King of *Thebes*, the *Greek* Authors who came afterwards, instead of examining if what that Poet said had any Foundation in Chronology, and in the *Egyptian* History, adopted it without any Restriction. *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus* speak of it, as also *Pindar* and *Ovid*. They thought themselves sufficiently warranted by *Hesiod*'s saying *Memnon* was the Son of *Titonus*, *Laomedon*'s Brother, to give out that that Prince had sent him to the Assistance of *Priam* his Nephew. And if these same Authors make him King of *Ethiopia*, tho' *Hesiod* says he was King of *Egypt*, it is because before *Psammeticus*, the *Greeks* were but little acquainted with *Egypt*, believing that Kingdom extended not far beyond the *Delta*, taking all the rest, especially *Thebais*, for *Ethiopia*, as *Strabo* remarks (a). The Author whom I here mention, has laid out a great deal of Erudition upon this Article, as well as upon *Memnon*'s Statue; but in order,

(a) L. 1. *Homer* has confounded these two Countries in his *Odsey*, L. 4. See *Marshall's* *Seculo* 15.

order to reconcile him with the other *Greeks*, we may say there were several Princes of the same Name, and that the History of *Amenophis* served perhaps to embellish that of *Memnon*. *M. le Clerc* has a very singular Opinion concerning this Prince: he takes him for *Hammon*, or *Hem*, the Son of *Noah*; and *Vossius* (a) asserts that he was the same with *Bealtis*, a Divinity of the *Syrians*, Male and Female, called by the *Greeks*, *Aphrodité*, and represented under the Form of a Stone: Accordingly *Philostratus*, as that learned Author remarks, says, *Memnon* was transformed into a black Stone, or rather into a Statue of black Stone, in the Taste of the Ancients, whereof the Eyes were shut, the Legs and Arms joined, and very little different from rough unpolished Stones. This is the Idea that Author gives of it in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, though all the rest speak of *Memnon's* Statue that was at *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, as a Colossal Figure, having the Mouth open, and resembling a Man who is about to speak.

To finish this History, I shall add that we have nothing more particular upon this Subject than what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*: namely, *that this Prince the Son of Tithonus led to Troy the Assyrian Troops, under the Reign of Teutamus, who was the twentieth King from Ninus and Semiramis, the Assyrians possessing at that time, which is upwards of a thousand Years ago, the Empire of Asia; Priam who was Tributary to the Kingdom of Teutamus, having applied to him for Assistance in his pressing Exigency, and having sent to him under the Conduct of Memnon, ten thousand Assyrians, and as many Persians; with two hundred Chariots, as has been already said.* Whence we must conclude that the *Persians* whom *Diodorus* speaks of in this Place, being from *Sesiana*, that Part of *Persia* that went under that Name was then Subject to the *Assyrians*, and that those *Ethiopians* were oriental *Ethiopians*, sufficiently distinguished by the Ancients, from the *Ethiopians* that are in the middle of *Egypt*. Such was the Country of *Memnon*, and that of the Troops he led to *Troy*. Those who
make

(a) Observat. upon *Pomponius Mela*.

make this Prince a Native of *Phrygia*, give Ground to believe that this was possibly the Reason why *Teutamus* made Choice of him to command the Troops he sent to *Priam*. That the Kingdom of *Tros* had been tributary to the ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*, besides what has been quoted from *Diodorus Siculus*, is confirmed by *Plato*, who expressly says so (1); but here is a Passage taken from *Huetius's* Treatise concerning the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise (2), which throws more Light upon the History of *Memnon*, than all that had been said before him. “ *Memnon*, says that learned Prelate, was the Son of *Tithonus* and *Aurora*. “ *Tithonus* was the Brother of *Priam* King of *Troy*, and “ to him is sometimes ascribed the Founding of the “ City *Susa*, the Capital of *Susiana*. From the Name “ of *Memnon* his Son, the Citadel was denominated “ *Memnonium*, the Palace and the Walls *Memnonian*, “ and *Susa* itself the City of *Memnon*, upon Account “ of the Veneration that was paid to him there; and “ in Honour of him a Temple was built, whither the “ *Assyrians* went and mourned for him, which is to be “ understood of the People of *Susiana*. This is that “ *Memnon* who came to the Assistance of the *Trojans*, “ from whom he derived his Original, and who was “ slain by *Achilles*. When the *Greeks* feigned that he “ was the Son of *Aurora*, they would have us to understand that he came from the East. - - - - I know the “ History of *Memnon* is very perplexed, and very differently related. Most ancient Authors tell us he “ was an *Ethiopian*: This Error flows from their confounding *Chus*, which signifies *Susiana*, with *Chus* “ which signifies the Countries situated upon the Borders of the *Arabick* Gulph, I mean *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*. - - - - What we are in Reason to think concerning *Memnon's* Expedition, may be gathered from “ *Diodorus*, and some others. The Kingdom of *Troas* “ was in the Dependence of the Empire of *Assyria*. “ *Tithonus*, *Priam's* Brother, who was Master of that “ King-

(1) De leg. L. 3. (2) Ch. 13.

“ Kingdom, went to the Court of the King of *Assyria*,
 “ who gave him the Government of *Susiana*. There
 “ he married in his old Age; and because his Wife
 “ was from a Country situated to the East of *Greece*
 “ and *Troas*, the *Greeks* who turned all History into
 “ Fiction, said he had married the Morning. *Mem-*
 “ *non* and *Enaibion* were the Issue of this Marriage:
 “ the War having after this arisen, *Priam* applied to
 “ *Teutamus* for Assistance, or at least to some King of
 “ *Assyria*, who granted him twenty thousand Men,
 “ and two hundred Chariots of War. *Diodorus* says
 “ this Supply consisted of ten thousand *Ethiopians*,
 “ and ten thousand *Susians*, returning to the vulgar
 “ Error, and confounding the *Chus* of *Ethiopia* with
 “ the *Chus* of *Susiana*. To make this Supply of more
 “ Service, *Teutamus* gave the Command thereof to
 “ *Memnon*, a young Prince of the *Trojan* Race, and
 “ who was therefore concerned for the Preservation of
 “ *Troy*. He kept *Tithonus* with himself upon Account
 “ of his Age, which rendered him unfit for the Ex-
 “ pedition, and his Prudence which qualified him for
 “ being Member of his Council. *Memnon* found Re-
 “ sistance in his March. The *Solyimi*, who have been
 “ since called the *Pisidians*, would needs dispute the
 “ Passage with him; but he defeated them and all that
 “ opposed him. He cleared the Passes, repaired the
 “ Ways, and by Reason of that long and dangerous
 “ March, had the Honour to communicate his Name
 “ to that high Way which was denominated *Memnoni-*
 “ *an*. He sustained the Attacks of the *Greeks* before
 “ *Troy* with great Valour; but at last was slain by
 “ *Achilles*. Various Accounts are given of the Place
 “ of his Burial; for not to mention *Philostratus*, who
 “ will have it that he had no Sepulchre, but that he
 “ was transformed into that miraculous Stone, *Troas*,
 “ *Phenicia* and *Susiana* contended together for him,
 “ and especially *Ethiopia*, tho’ it has no other Right
 “ to his Burial any more than to his Birth, but that
 “ which arises from the Equivocation of the Word
 “ *Chus*. But notwithstanding the Obscurity that this
 Equivocation

“ Equivocation has cast upon this History, *Philostratus*,
 “ *George Syncellus*, that is, the Coadjutor to the
 “ Church of *Constantinople*, and *Suidas* who had read
 “ and copied good Authors, tho’ often not very judi-
 “ ciously, have not been wanting to bear Testimony
 “ to the Truth; the first telling us that *Memnon* the
 “ *Ethiopian*, that is *Amenophis*, never came from *Troy*,
 “ and that he was wrongfully confounded with *Mem-*
 “ *non* the *Trojan*, not comprehending how *Memnon*
 “ could have brought Supply to the *Trojans* from so
 “ great a Distance, nor even by what Adventure *Ti-*
 “ *thonus* had gone and settled in *Ethiopia*, and came to
 “ be King thereof: the second, by distinguishing exact-
 “ ly *Amenophis* King of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, who is also
 “ stiled *Memnon*, from the speaking Statue of *Memnon*
 “ the Son of *Tithonus*, whom he ranks among the
 “ Kings of *Assyria*; and *Suidas*, by asserting that that
 “ *Memnon* was not an *Ethiopian*, but a *Susian*. *Pausa-*
 “ *nias*, tho’ of a very penetrating Genius, has but half
 “ unravelled this Confusion; saying that *Memnon* the
 “ *Ethiopian* came not from *Ethiopia* to *Troy*, but from
 “ *Susa*. *Eustathius*, and the Scholiast on *Pindar*, who
 “ goes by the Name of *Triclinius*, write that *Memnon*
 “ and *Emathion* his Brother were the only white Men
 “ among those *Ethiopians*, tho’ *Virgil* and others make
 “ *Memnon* black. This Remark confirms my Opinion;
 “ for tho’ the Poets and Writers of Romance have
 “ taken the Liberty to feign that *Andromeda* and *Cha-*
 “ *riceus* were born white among the *Blacks*, yet this
 “ is so singular in the ordinary Course of Nature, that
 “ there is much more Reason to believe that *Memnon*
 “ was white, because in Fact he was not an *Ethiopian*.”

C H A P. VIII.

The History of Eurypilus.

A MONG the *Trojan* Allies *Eurypilus* deserves a
 Place of Distinction, no less for his Birth than
 his excellent Qualifications, which gained him the Name
 of

of Heroe from the *Greeks* themselves; for *Ulysses*, who saw his Shade in Hell, gives him this Title.

He was the Son of *Telephus*, and Grandson of *Hercules*; and by the Side of his Mother *Astioche*, *Priam's* Sister, derived his Extraction from the Blood of the *Trojan Kings*.

This Prince was one of the handsomest and best made of his Time; but his were not effeminate Beauties, since to the personal Qualities with which Nature had favoured him, he joined a great deal of Valour and Courage. Accordingly we learn from *Quintus Smyrneus*, and the same Thing is represented upon the *Iliac Table*, that he slew *Nireus*, the Son of King *Charosi* and *Aglaia*, who had brought from *Synna* his Troops, in three Ships, as we read in *Homer* (1), and after a sharp Combat he slew *Machaon* the Son of *Esculapius*, who was seeking to revenge the Death of *Nireus*.

As he arrived not at the Siege of *Troy* till the End of the tenth Year, 'tis no Wonder that *Homer* has said nothing of him in his *Iliad*; but he has not omitted him in the *Odyssey*, as has been already remarked. After the following Manner does *Ulysses* speak of him to *Alcinous*, in Relation to the Feats of *Neoptolemus* at the Siege of *Troy*, where he arrived after the Death of his Father.

*Before the Van, impatient for the Fight,
With martial Port he strode, and stern Delight;
Heaps strow'd on Heaps beneath his Faulchion groan'd,
And Monuments of Dead deform'd the Ground.
The Time wou'd fail should I in order tell
What Foes were vanquish'd, and what Numbers fell;
How, lost thro' Love, Eurypilus was slain,
And round him bled his bold Cetaean Train.
To Troy no Heroe came of nobler Line,
Or if of nobler, Memnon, it was thine.*

Pope's *Odysf.* B. xi. 629.

This

This Passage in *Homer* informs us of many Circumstances of this Heroe's History which we should otherwise have been ignorant of: That this Prince was one of the handsomest of his Time; that he fought stoutly at the Siege of *Troy*, that he was slain by *Pyrrhus* or *Neoptolemus* the Son of *Achilles*; that he had conducted to this Siege the *Ceteans*, over whom no doubt he reigned. Now the *Ceteans* inhabited *Mysia*, a Part of *Asia Minor* which was near the River *Caicus*. This is what we learn from *Quintus Smyrneus* (1) when speaking of the Arrival of *Eurypilus* at the Siege of *Troy*, he says *he was followed by the warlike Ceteans who inhabited upon the Banks of the Caicus*; or, to speak more accurately, upon the Banks of the *Cetium*, another River near the *Caicus*, as appears from a Medal referred to by *Spanheim*, and struck at *Pergamus*, in the Time of *Adrian* the Emperor. If it be ask'd why the *Pergamenians* struck this Medal, it was, as we are told by that learned Antiquary after *Aristides*, because that People reckoned *Telephus* the Father of *Eurypilus* in the Number of their Founders. The *Pergamenians*, to flatter *Adrian*, had represented upon this Medal of theirs this Heroe, under the Resemblance of, and with the same Features as *Antinous*.

We learn farther from the Passage in *Homer*, that *Eurypilus* came to the Siege of *Troy* in Hope of becoming Son-in-law to his Uncle *Priam*, who had promised him his Daughter *Cassandra* in Marriage. In fine, that the *Ceteans* his Subjects, who all fought about their King till they died, had been drawn to the same Siege in Hope of marrying *Trojan* Women; for 'tis thus *Madam Dacier* explains it, tho' the Text of *Homer* bears only; *His Companions the Ceteans were slain as they fought about his Body, for the Presents of the Women*.

Strabo, who has quoted this Passage of *Homer* in his Geography, speaks of it to this Effect: *Homer in this Place proposes to us a Riddle rather than a Point of clear and plain History, for we neither know what People these Ceteans were, nor what we are to understand by the Pre-*

(1) L. 6, v. 121.

sents of the Women, and the Grammarians, in the Fables they deliver, set forth to us their own Fancies much more than a Solution of the Difficulty. There are therefore here two Riddles instead of one, the first consists in finding out who these *Ceteans* were whom *Eurypilus* had brought to the Siege of *Troy*. The second, what we are to understand by these Presents of Women. But the first is no Riddle: we know it, and I have proved from the Authority of *Quintus Smyrneus*, to whom we may join *Hesychius*, that they were a People of *Mysia* who inhabited upon the Banks of the *Caicus*, and that it was there *Telephus* the Father of *Eurypilus* had settled. *Strabo* agrees to it, and says this is *Homer's* Sentiment. The same Author also grants that a Rivulet, which was called the *Ceteum*, run into the *Caicus*; why then would he not understand that the People who inhabited the Confines, might be called the *Ceteans*? *Madam Dacier* in her Notes upon the *Odysssey* (1), has endeavoured to explain the second Difficulty; but not to dissemble, she has for her Opinion only *Diclys* of *Crete*, whose Authority is not generally acknowledged. This Author will have it that *Homer* in this Passage had an Eye to the Presents which *Priam* had sent to his Sister *Astioche* to engage her to make her Son come to his Assistance, with a Promise besides to his Nephew to give him his Daughter in Marriage. Among these Presents is reckoned a golden Vine, which *Jupiter* was said to have given formerly to *Tros*. Whatever be in that, it appears that *Priam*, hard put to it by his Enemies, had drawn to his Assistance several Princes by promising them his Daughter *Cassandra*. *Virgil* informs us that *Chorebus* came thither with that View, and *Homer* says the same of *Othryoneus* the *Thracian*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of Laocoon.

LAOCOON for his Birth, and Dignity, no less than for the tragical Adventure that ended his Days,

(1) Tom. 2. p. 379.

Days, an Adventure which *Virgil* so elegantly describes in the second Book of the *Æneid*, and which is represented in one of the finest Monuments of Antiquity now remaining, well deserves a separate Article. The Ancients who are not agreed as to the Family whence he derived his Original, are unanimous however that it was an illustrious one. *Hyginus* (1) says he was the Son of *Acætes*, and the Brother of *Anchises*. The Commentators on this Mythologist are of Opinion, and with Reason, that there is an Error in this Place, and that if *Laocoon* was Brother to *Anchises*, we must substitute in Place of *Acætes*, *Capys*, who with the Consent of all, was the Father of that *Trojan* Prince. Priest of *Apollo*, he was appointed by *Lot* to the same Office for *Neptune*, as we learn from *Virgil* (a), and it was in Quality of Priest of that God that he was sacrificing a Bull upon the Sea-shore, on the Day that preceded the Destruction of *Troy*. While the *Trojans* were busied in surveying the wooden Horse which the *Greeks* had left in their Camp, *Laocoon* came from *Troy*, and after having in vain endeavoured to persuade them to have nothing to do with such a Present, which they ought to consider only as a Machine, in whose capacious Womb their Enemies lay concealed, or which was designed for the battering down of their Walls, he darted his Javelin at it, which made it ring with a hollow confused Sound.

This Action was construed by all as Impiety, and they were much more confirmed in their Opinion, when at the same time that this Priest was offering the Sacrifice above mentioned, two hideous Serpents from the Island of *Tenedos*, according to *Virgil*, or from *Calydonæ*, if we may believe *Bacchillides* quoted by *Servius*, after having crossed the Sea that separates those Islands from *Troas*, advanced directly to the Altar where *Laocoon* was sacrificing, fell upon his two Sons, whom *Hyginus* names *Antiphatus* and *Tymbræus* (b); and after having piteously devoured them, seized upon *Laocoon*

Z 2

him-

(1) Fab. 735.

(a) *Laocoon ductus Neptuno sorte Sacerdos.*

Æn. l. 2.

(b) *Theffander* in *Servius* calls them *Melanthus* and *Ethronus*.

himself as he was coming to their Relief, and cruelly stung him to Death (a).

'Tis this Adventure has given Rise to a Master-piece of Sculpture representing it. This admirable Groupe, the Work, according to *Pliny*, of three celebrated Sculptors in *Rhodes*, *Agessander*, *Polydorus*, and *Athenodorus*, made of one single Block of Marble, was in the time of that Author in the Palace of *Titus* the Emperor, and is at this Day in the Gardens of the *Belveder* (b).

Those who have seen the Original, or the fine Copy, which is in bronze at *Trianon*, will easily perceive that this Groupe is formed upon *Virgil's* Description, whereof it perfectly exhibits the Spirit and Expression. But I must observe that our *French* Translators of this Poet, even the last who is so elegant, have not done Justice to the whole Sentiment, contenting themselves with saying *that the two Serpents in curling Volumes twice in-folded the Body of Laocoon, and twice his Neck*, taking no Notice of what follows, tho' it gives the finishing Stroke to this fine Picture, *superant capite & cervicibus altis*; it ought therefore to have been added, that notwithstanding those complicated Folds, *they still over-top'd Laocoon by the whole Head and Shoulders*.

C H A P. X.

The History of Paris, Helen, Menelaus, and Oenone.

HECUBA, when with Child, had a frightful Dream: She thought she carried in her Womb a Torch that was one Day to set on Fire the *Trojan* Empire. The Soothsayers consulted about this Dream, said

(a) *Hæginus* ascribes this sad Catastrophe to the Wrath of *Apollo*, who thereby took Vengeance on *Laocoon* for having married contrary to the express Prohibition given him against it.

(b) *Laocoon qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus & picturæ & statuariæ artis præferendum. Ex uno lapide, eum & liberos, draconumque mirabiles nexus, de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agessander, Polydorus & Athenodorus.*

Rhodii. Plin. l. 36. c. 4.

said the Son whom this Princess was to bring forth, would be the Cause of the Desolation of *Priam's* Kingdom. Thus the Queen being delivered, he was exposed upon Mount *Ida*, where some Shepherds brought him up. *Alexander*, this is the Name he went by at first (a), being grown up, distinguished himself among his Companions, and fell in Love with a Shepherdess named *Oenone*, the Daughter of the River *Cedrenus*; that is, of a petty King of that Country, who gave his Name to that River, and by her he had a Son exquisitely beautiful, named *Corythus*. *Oenone* jealous of *Paris* who had carried off *Helen*, as shall be said immediately, sent this Son to *Troy*, enjoining him to visit her Rival constantly; and the young Man discharged this Commission so well, that *Paris* took Umbrage at him; and having one Day entered his Wife's Apartment, and finding him sitting by her, slew him in a Transport of Passion (b). *Oenone*, incensed at this new Insult, poured out a thousand Imprecations upon her Lover; and as she had the Gift of Prediction, and some Skill in Plants, and their Use in Medicine, Talents which she was said to have received from *Apollo* who had been in Love with her, she foretold that the perfidious *Paris* would one Day be wounded, and have Recourse to her in vain, as I observe elsewhere.

In the mean while, an Adventure happened which brought *Alexander* to be known: One of *Priam's* Sons having carried off one of his Bulls, to give to him who should win the Prize at the Funeral Games that were to be celebrated at *Troy*, he went thither himself, entered the Lists with his Brothers, and vanquished them (1):

Z 3

Deiphobus,

(a) This Name, which is derived from a *Greek* Word that signifies, *to defend, to succour*, was given him by the Shepherds of Mount *Ida*, upon Account of the Courage he had shewed in defending his Flocks. He is thought to have been called *Efacus* before.

(b) *Conon. nar. 23.* gives this Account of young *Corythus's* Death; nor is he the only one of the Ancients who speaks of this Son of *Paris* and *Oenone*. *Parthenias*, who cites to this Purpose the *Troicks* of *Hellanicus*, *Lycophron*, and his Commentator *Tzetzes*, make also mention of him.

(1) *Hygin. Fab. 91.*

Deiphobus, or, according to others, *Hector*, was going to have killed him; but *Alexander* having shewed the swadling Cloaths in which he had been exposed (1), was known by *Priam*, and received by him with great Joy; and believing the Oracle which foretold him that his Son would bring about the Ruin of his Kingdom, before he came to the Age of thirty Years, to be false, since he was now full thirty, he was conducted to the Palace, and had the Name of *Paris* given him.

Some Time after, his Father having sent him into *Greece*, under Pretext of sacrificing to *Apollo* of *Delphi*, but in Reality to take Possession of his Aunt *Hesione's* Estate, he fell in Love with *Helen*, carried her off, and drew upon his Party that Bloody War which we have been speaking of, wherein he lost his Life. *Oenone* is said to have foretold all the Circumstances of his Life, and that he would come one Day and die in her Arms; which accordingly happened: For finding himself wounded, he gave Orders to carry him to Mount *Ida* to apply to her for a Cure; but all her Remedies were ineffectual; the Wound he had received from *Philoctetes* by one of *Hercules's* poisoned Arrows, proved mortal. The unhappy *Oenone* died of Grief for the Loss of this faithless Lover.

To conclude, *Paris*, as we learn from *Dares* the *Phrygian*, who had seen him (a), was a very handsome Man; he had a fair Complexion, fine Eyes, a sweet Voice, and graceful Stature; besides, he was forward, bold, valiant and courageous, as *Homer* says in several Places. He wounded *Diomedes*, *Machaon*, *Menelaus*, *Antilochus*, *Palamedes*, and slew *Achilles*; and if he,
and

(1) *Servius* upon the fifth of the *Eneid*.

(a) Destruction of *Troy*, *Corn. Nep.* & *Dion. Chrysost.* say the same Thing.

I would have it observed once for all, that when in this History of the taking of *Troy*, and of the Circumstances that accompanied this Event, I cite *Dares* the *Phrygian* and *Diclys* of *Crete*, 'tis not that I believe they were present at the taking of that City, as they themselves say. Never did two Authors appear with more Marks of Imposture; but as they are incontestably ancient; that is, of the third or fourth Century, and as they seem to have read Works now lost, I thought their Authority was not to be despised.

and some other of the *Grecian* Captains sometimes throw up his Beauty to him, and tell him that he was more proper for the Feats of Love than War, it is owing to their Passion. Let us now say something of *Helen*.

The History of Helen. *Helen* was the Daughter of *Tyndarus* King of *Sparta*, and of *Leda*: I have said already what we are to think of her Birth, and of the Fable that made her pass for *Jupiter's* Daughter. As this Princess was exquisitely beautiful, *Theseus* ravished her at the Age of seven Years, according to some Authors, or of ten according to others, and put her into the Hands of his Mother *Æthra*, at *Aphidnes*. Her Brothers having received her, she was courted by several Princes who assembled at *Sparta*, that is, by all the Nobility of the Country, in an Age so fruitful in Heroism: *Ulysses* the Son of *Laertes*, *Dio- mede* the Son of *Tydeus*, *Antilochus* the Son of *Nestor*, *Agapenor* the Son of *Anceus*, *Sthenelus* the Son of *Capaneus*, *Amphilochus*, *Thalpius*, *Mnestheus*, *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus*, *Ascalaphus* the Son of *Mars*, *Elpenor*, *Eumelus* the Son of *Admetus*, *Polypetes* the Son of *Pyrithous*, *Podalirius* and *Machaon* the Sons of *Esculapius*, *Philoctetes*, *Eurypilus*, *Protefilaus*, *Ajax* and *Teucer* the Sons of *Tela- mon*, *Patroclus* the Son of *Menæti*us, and *Menelaus* the Son of *Atreus*; in a Word, almost all the Princes who were afterwards at the Siege of *Troy*, and who were the Children of those who had joined in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, or in the *Theban* War, contended, according to *Apollodorus* (1), for this great Beauty, who was one Day to give the Crown of *Sparta* to him who gained her.

Tyndarus, amazed to see so many Competitors for his Daughter, was afraid lest if he gave the Preference to any one of them, the rest should raise an Insurrection; but *Ulysses*, who thought not himself powerful enough to get the better of the rest, and who was come to *Sparta* more out of Policy than Love, assured him that he would extricate him from his Difficulty, if he would contribute his Endeavours to get him *Penelope*.

(1) L. 3.

to Wife: That Prince having promised to do as he desired, *Ulysses* said his best Way was to take an Oath of all those Rivals, that when he had given one of them his Daughter they would join in Defence of him whom he should choose against those who should claim her from him. When *Tyndarus* had followed the Advice of the wife *Ulysses*, he determined in Favour of *Mene-laus*, the Brother of *Agamemnon*, who had already married *Clytemnestra* his other Daughter.

The Beginnings of this Marriage were very happy; and even her Adventure with *Paris*, which we have before related, did not quite extinguish the Passion of *Mene-laus* for her, since after the Ruin of *Troy*, this Traitors having basely given up to him *Deiphobus*, whom she had wedded after *Paris*'s Death, he was so good natured as to construe this Sacrifice to be a Mark of her Affection to him (a), and was reconciled to her, tho' this is what all Authors are not agreed in (b).

After the Death of this Prince, or if we may believe *Pausanias* (1), while he was still abroad, *Megapenthes* and *Nicostratus* his natural Sons banished her, and she was forced, according to *Herodotus* (2), to repair to the Island of *Rhodes*, where *Polixos*, to revenge the Death of her Husband *Tlepolemus* slain at the Siege of *Troy*, sent to her in the Bath two Chamber-maids, who hanged her upon a Tree. The *Rhodians*, says *Pausanias*, erected a Temple to her under the Title of *Helen Entitris*, that is, *hanging from a Branch*, and decreed to her divine Honours.

This was not the only Temple that was raised to the Honour of this Princess. The *Lacedemonians* had built one to her in a Place of their City, called *Terapne*, above that of *Apollo*; and this Temple, we are told, had a

Quality

(a) *Egregia inter conjux arma omnia tectis
Amovet, & fidum capiti subduxerat enssem.
Intra tecta vocat Menelaum, & limina pandit;
Scili et id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
Et famam veterum extinguere sic posse malorum.*

(b) *Pausanias* l. 5. makes mention of a Statue of *Menelaus*, pursuing *Helen* with Sword in Hand; and *Euripides*, in his *Troas*, represents her Husband inveighing bitterly against her.

(1) In Lacon. (2) Lib. 2.

Quality of giving Charms to ugly Women; at least *Herodotus* (1) tells us that a *Spartan* Lady extremely rich, being delivered of a very ugly Daughter, a Person unknown appeared to the Nurse, who counselled her to carry her often into the Temple of *Helen*, in Consequence of which she became so handsome, that being married to *Agetes* Secretary to *Ariston* King of *Sparta*, this Prince fell in Love with her himself, and took her to Wife. If this pretended Miracle had been well attested, and the officious Nurse not substituted another Child, sure I am there had not been in all *Greece* a Temple more frequented than that of *Helen*.

As the *Greeks* had turned the Island *Leucé* into a kind of *Elysian* Fields, as has been said in the History of *Achilles*, there it was, say they, that *Helen's* Shade resided; and we read in *Conon* (2) that when *Autoleon* went thither to be cured of a Wound he had received in fighting against the *Opuntians* (3), *Helen* still resenting, even in that happy Region, the Aspersions *Stesichorus* had thrown upon her in his Verses, gave him to understand that if that Poet would recover his Sight, he must advise him to retract, and to write a Recantation.

To conclude, we must not forget that there occur vast Difficulties as to the Age of this Princess. 'Tis commonly thought that she was Twin-Sister to *Castor*, who joined in the Conquest of the *Golden Fleece*, that happened about thirty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*; we cannot allow this Prince less than fifteen Years when he made this Expedition with the *Argonauts*; thus it would follow that she was at least fifteen when *Theseus* ravished her, and sixty about the End of the Siege of *Troy*. If so, must not the Determination of *Priam's* Counsellors appear ridiculous, when being consulted (4) if they were for making Peace by giving up *Helen*, and she having appeared before them in that very Moment, they gravely declared, that so fine a Woman was well worth the Suffering all the Calamities of War to enjoy her. If with *Eusebius* we reckon

(1) L. 6. (2) Nar. 16. (3) *Iliad*. l. 3. (4) *Ibid*.

kon the Conquest of the *Argonauts* to have been upwards of sixty Years before the Destruction of *Troy*, in that case *Helen* must have been above eighty Years; accordingly *Lucian* represents her at that Time as a decrepit old Woman.

It may indeed be said, that some Women preserve their Beauty longer than others. Thus we see that *Sarab* was fourscore Years when *Abimelech*, smitten with her Beauty, was going to have ravished her; but we have no need of all these Suppositions. It belongs to those who set the Events of that Age at too great a Distance to have recourse to them.

In the System that I have followed, all these Difficulties vanish. I even suppose, that *Helen* was Twin-Sister to one of the *Tyndaride*, which we might absolutely deny, and make her several Years younger. *Castor* and *Pollux* might have joined in the Expedition of the *Argonauts* when they were but fifteen or sixteen Years of Age. 'Tis no Wonder that two young Princes who saw all the Flower of *Greece* setting out in an Expedition wherein so great Glory was to be reaped, obtained leave from their Father to make their first Campaign with them. This Expedition happened about thirty-five Years before the taking of *Troy*, when *Helen* must of consequence have been but fifty Years. We may still cut off some of these Years, since the Ancients inform us that when *Theseus* carried her off, he was full fifty, and she but seven or ten Years at most. Now *Theseus* having died about the first Year of the Siege of *Troy*, or in the preceding one, at the Age of about seventy, in that Case, at the time of taking the City, only thirty Years would have intervened from her being ravished by that Heroe, which added to seven or ten, make but thirty-seven or forty for her Age when the City was taken. 'Tis true, upon this Supposition, it must be granted that *Helen* was not Twin-Sister to the *Tyndaridæ*. Now there is nothing extraordinary in either of these Conclusions; a Woman may still be lovely at that Age; and we need

not

not be in the least surprized that *Deiphobus* married her after the Death of his Brother *Paris*.

If it be objected that *Pausanias* (1) delivers the Opinion of three of the Ancients, who alledge, as has been said in the History of *Theseus*, that this Heroe had a Daughter by her, then I shall allow her to have been thirteen or fourteen Years when she was ravished, which will be no great Addition to her Age. In fine, those who, with *Scaliger*, reckon only twenty Years between the *Argonautic* Expedition and the taking of *Troy*, are still less embarrassed with this Difficulty.

Be this as it will, I have followed the most common Opinion with relation to *Paris* and *Helen*, and the Causes of the *Trojan* War; for in short, how would I perplex my Readers, should I lay before them all the Variety that is to be found among the Ancients upon this Head. Should I tell them that some contend (2) that *Helen* never was married to *Menelaus*; that being courted by all the Princes of her Time, she preferred *Paris* to all the rest; that *Menelaus*, who was in love with her, raised an Army against *Troy*; and that *Achilles* having been slain in a Combat, *Ulysses* advised the *Greeks* to desist from the Enterprize, and also to leave upon the Shore a gilded wooden Horse, as an *ex voto*, that *Minerva* might favour their Return. Should I add farther what has been already hinted at in the History of *Proteus*, that *Paris*, as he was carrying off *Helen*, had been driven by Storm upon the Coasts of *Egypt*; where, according to the Report which *Herodotus* had from the Priests of that Country, this Princess was detained till *Menelaus* came for her; that none of all these Circumstances, according to the same *Herodotus*, were unknown to *Homer*; but that he had adapted his Fable to the Taste of the *Greeks*, whom he was desirous to please; that according to other Authors of no less Credit (3) *Helen* was not ravished by *Theseus*, nor carried by him to *Aphidnes*, as is commonly thought, but to *Egypt*, where he engaged *Pro-*
teus

(1) In *Corinth*. (2) *Dion. Prax.* (3) See *Servius* upon the 5th of the *Eneid*.

teus to keep her till his Return, and that this Prince gave her up to *Menelaus*, who came and demanded her; in fine, that the *Trojan* War, which I have been speaking of, was not undertaken for the sake of *Helen*, but upon Account of the old Quarrel between *Hercules* and *Laomedon*, and the Rape of *Hesione*, whom *Priam* wanted to recover. To which purpose spoke *Dion Chrysostom* in the middle of *Troy* itself, in the Harangue I have already mentioned: If the *Greeks*, said he, took and sack'd *Troy*, whence came it that they returning home victorious and triumphant, were so ill received, some of them assassinated, while most of the rest were shamefully banished, and forced to go to remote Countries in quest of Settlements? Again, whence came it that the *Trojans*, vanquished and subdued, instead of retiring into different Countries of *Asia*, where they had Friends and Allies, crossed the Seas and passed near the Coasts of *Greece*, to go and found Cities and Kingdoms in *Italy*, some of them, as *Helenus*, having settled even in the Heart of *Greece*? In all this there is no Probability; and we must give up with the common Tradition.

C H A P. XI.

The History of Protefilaus, Calchas, and Philocetusa.

P*rotefilaus* deserves a Place among the first Heroes of that Age, for having devoted himself to certain Death, in behalf of the *Greeks*, and for abandoning, the Day after his Marriage, a lovely Spouse whom he fondly doated upon. *Hyginus* says (1) he was called *Jolans* (a), and that having quitted his Spouse from the first Day of his Marriage, and join'd the other *Greeks*, tho' an Oracle had declared that he who first landed upon the Enemy's Shore was to lose his Life,

(1) Fab. 103.

(a) This Action was the Occasion of changing his Name to *Protefilaus*.

Life, finding others durst not venture, he sacrificed his Life for the Preservation of his Companions, and no sooner set his Foot a-shore than he was slain by *Hector* (a). His Wife *Laodamia* the Daughter of *Acastus*, to comfort herself for this Loss, got a Statue made that resembled her Husband, and kept it always by her. A Servant having seen it in *Laodamia's* Bed, went and told *Acastus* that his Daughter was in Bed with a Man; upon which he run up to her, and finding nothing but this Statue, ordered it to be burnt, that he might remove this sad Spectacle from his Daughter's Sight; but *Laodamia* making up to the Fire, threw herself into it, and so perished in the Flames; and this is what gave occasion to the Poets to say, that the Gods had restored *Protesilaus* to Life for three Hours, and that finding himself obliged after that Time to re-enter *Pluto's* Kingdom, he had persuaded his Wife to follow him.

Strabo (1), who in three or four Places of his Geography, speaks of *Protesilaus*, says his Dominions were in *Thessaly*, extended from *Pthiotis* where *Peleus* reigned, as far as the Sea, and that his chief Towns were *Antrona*, *Phyla*, &c. and this in conformity to *Homer*, who in the second Book of the *Iliad*, says he had brought with him in forty Ships the Inhabitants of *Philucé*, *Pyrrhesa*, *Icona*, *Antrona*, and *Pholea*.

To proceed, I know not if what *Conon* (2) says of *Protesilaus* relates to another Prince of the same Name, or if, as is frequently his Case, he recedes from the Tradition followed by *Homer* and all the Ancients, since he says he survived the taking of *Troy*, and that having been overtaken with a Storm between *Mendes* and *Scione*, *Ætilla* *Laomedon's* Daughter, and *Priam's* Sister, who was of the Number of his Slaves, persuaded her Companions to set fire to his Ships, that they might not be carried into *Greece*; which having been executed,

(a) *Homer*, l. 2. says only he was slain by a *Dardanian*.

(1) L. 9. (2) *Nar.* 13.

executed, he was obliged to stay at *Scione*, where he built a City of the same Name.

Calchas. As in all their Expeditions the Ancients always employed Religion, they never undertook any without taking Priests and Prophets along with them; and Sacrifices, with the other Acts of public Worship, were as regularly performed in a Camp, as in the best governed City. Thus was *Calchas* employed during the Siege of *Troy*. He was consulted as a Prophet, and as High-Priest he offered Sacrifices and Oblations. *Homer*, who speaks of him in several Places of the *Iliad*, gives us every where to understand that he was in high Esteem and Regard. It was he that ordered the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, to obtain a favourable Wind; and that foretold, by the Omen of a Serpent that devoured a Bird with her nine young, that *Troy* would not be taken till after ten Years Siege.

When the Army was overtaken with the Plague, *Calchas* was consulted, who, without troubling himself about the Interests of the Generals who had carried off *Chryseis*, pronounced that she must be returned to her Father (1): Before the funeral Pile was lighted to burn the Body of *Ajax*, who had killed himself upon Account of his being disappointed of *Achilles's* Armour, *Calchas*, whose Opinion was asked to know if that Heroe was worthy of this Honour, decided that he was not. In the general Pillage of *Troy*, the same High-Priest orders the House of *Eneas* not to be touched, and he was accordingly obeyed. Is the Question about sacrificing *Pelicea* to the incensed Manes of *Achilles*, *Calchas* must be consulted, and he appears in Person at the barbarous Sacrifice that is made of this Princess, who is offered up to *Pyrrhus's* Resentment; and if he gives her not the mortal Blow, it is because she prevents him, as *Ovid* so elegantly describes in the fourteenth Book of his *Metamorphoses*. In a Word, nothing of Importance was transacted in the Army, without first consulting him. He was the Son of *Thestor*, and is therefore frequently siled by the Poets *Thestorides*.
After

(1) *Iliad*. l. 1. See the *Illustr.* Table.

After the taking of *Troy* not being inclined to embark with the *Grecian* Captains, he travelled by Land in Company with *Amphilochus* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, to *Colophon* a City of *Ionia*, where, as he was one Day in a Grove sacred to *Apollo*, he met with *Mopsus*, another celebrated Diviner of those Times, who having proposed to him a Question, namely, how many young a Sow that happened to be passing by carried in her Belly ; and he not being able to resolve it (1), while *Mopsus* did, it cut him so to the Heart that he died.

This is the Account of this Diviner's Death, as related by *Pherecides*. *Hesiod* says, *Mopsus* challenged him to divine how many Figs were upon a Fig-Tree which he pointed to him, and relates the rest of the Adventure as above ; but *Sophocles*, such Uncertainty is there in these Sorts of Histories, had followed a Tradition quite different from these two. According to him, it was not at *Colophon* in *Ionia*, but in *Cilicia* that *Calchas* died. Lastly, *Conon* (2), who agrees with *Pherecides* as to the Place where this Prophet ended his Days, gives a quite different Account of his Death. *Amphimachus* King of *Colophon*, was preparing for an Expedition at the time that *Calchas* arrived at his Court, where *Mopsus* had distinguished himself of a long Time, not only by the prophetical Talent he possessed, but also by his Courage and Valour. The King consulted both of them. *Calchas* foretold him a signal Victory, while *Mopsus* denounced against him nothing but Disaster. The King having followed the Council of the former, was totally routed, and the Prophet died for Anger and Vexation.

Philoctetes was one of the most celebrated Heroes of that Age. He was the Son of *Pæan*, and Companion of *Hercules*, who at his Death left him his Arrows, whereof one prov'd fatal to him afterwards. For having bound himself by Oath, not to reveal the Place where he deposited that Heroe's Body, and after this the *Greeks*, when just ready to set out for *Troy*, having learned from an Oracle that before they

Philoctetes.

(1) *Pherecides.* (2) *Apud Phot. Nar. 6.*

they could become Masters of that City, it was necessary they should be in Possession of *Hercules's* Arrows, they sent Deputies to *Philoctetes* to get Notice where they were hid. *Philoctetes*, who was neither willing to violate his Oath, nor yet to deprive the *Greeks* of the Benefit they were to reap from those Arrows, after some Resistance, pointed with his Foot to the Place where *Hercules* was buried, and owned that he had his Arrows in his Custody. This Indiscretion cost him dear afterwards ; for while they were carrying him to *Troy*, one of these Arrows having fallen upon the same Foot with which he had pointed to the Place of *Hercules's* Burial, it grew to an Ulcer which sent forth such a noisome Smell, that at *Ulysses's* Entreaty, they left him in *Lemnos*, where for the Space of ten Months he suffered all those Pains and Agonies, which the illustrious Author of *Telemachus* describes so eloquently after *Euripides* (1) and *Ovid* (2). In the mean Time after the Death of *Achilles*, the *Greeks* finding it was impossible to take the City without the Arrows he had carried with him to *Lemnos*, *Ulysses*, tho' *Philoctetes's* mortal Enemy, undertook to go and bring him, which accordingly he did. 'Tis this Voyage and Negotiation, to mention it by the Way, that make the Subject of one of the finest Tragedies left us by Antiquity.

Philoctetes was no sooner arrived in the *Grecian* Camp, than *Paris* challenged him to a Duel ; but the *Grecian* Heroe having wounded him mortally with one of his Arrows, he went and died in the Arms of his dear *Oenone*. As his Ulcer was not yet cured, not daring after the taking of *Troy* to return to his own Country, he went to *Calabria* where he built *Petilia*, and was at last cured by Means of *Machaon*, as we learn from *Propertius* (3) and *Ovid* (a).

Philoctetes having been one of the most famous of the *Argonauts*, as has been said in their History ; and yet having survived the Destruction of *Troy*, this is a
new

(1) In *Philoct.* (2) *Met.* l. 14. (3) *L.* 2. *Eleg.* 2.

(a) *Tarda Philoetæ sanavit crura Machaon,*

new Argument to prove the Proximity of these two Events.

C H A P. XII.

The History of Idomeneus and Merion.

I*domeneus* the King of *Crete*, was the Son of *Deucalion*, and Grandson to *Minos* II. whose Father was *Lycaſtus* the Son of *Minos* I. who was conſequently *Idomeneus's* Great Grandfather. This Prince, according to *Homer*, accompanied by *Merion* his Couſin-German (*a*), conducted to the Siege of *Troy* the Troops of *Crete* with a Fleet of twenty-four Ships (*b*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by ſome glorious Exploits. The Poet now named, deſcribes the Combat of this Prince with *Olbryoneus*, who in hope of marrying *Cassandra Priam's* Daughter, had come to his Aſſiſtance from *Cabeſus*, a Town in *Cappadocia* (*c*), whom he ſlew, even inſulting him after his Death, according to the bad Practice of that Age, for having flattered himſelf with the hope of carrying away with him that Princeſs. *Aſius* the Leader of the Troops raiſed from *Percote*, *Sestus* and *Abydos*, Cities ſituated upon the Coaſts of the *Propontis*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Phrygia*, as he was ſeeking to revenge *Olbryoneus*, received the ſame Fate with him; while *Merion*, not ſo fortunate, or not ſo brave as his Couſin, ſhot an Arrow at *Deiphobus* who attack'd him, and miſs'd him. The *Iliac* Table represents theſe three Combats much in the ſame Manner as *Homer* deſcribes them, and the reſt of the Ancients are agreed with that Poet.

After the taking of the City, *Idomeneus* and *Merion*, loaded with the Spoils of the *Trojans*, were returning to *Crete*, when they were overtaken with a Storm by which they were like to have periſhed. While the

VOL. IV.

A a

Fleet

(*a*) *Merion*, according to *Diod. Siculus*, l. 5. was the Son of *Molus* the ſecond Son of *Minos*, and Brother to *Deucalion*.

(*b*) *Diod. Siculus*, l. 5. makes the Number of them amount to 90, but the Text of that Author is thought to be vitiated in this Place:

(*c*) *Steph.* in *Cabeſo*.

Fleet was in this pressing Danger, *Idomeneus* made a Vow to *Neptune*, that if he returned to his own Kingdom he would sacrifice to him the first thing that met him. The Tempest ceased, and he arrived happily at the Port of *Crete*, where his Son, hearing of his Father's Arrival, was the first Object that presented to his View. 'Tis easy to imagine what Surprize and Distress *Idomeneus* must have been in at the Sight of him. In vain did the Sentiments of paternal Affection plead in his behalf; Religion, or rather Superstition prevailed; and he resolved to sacrifice his Son to the God of the Sea.

Some Ancients will have it that this Sacrifice was accomplished; but others believe, with more Reason, that the People, undertaking the Defence of that Prince, carried him off from the Altar. Be that as it will, a general Conspiracy was formed against *Idomeneus*, who finding himself not safe in his own Dominions, set sail for *Italy*, where he built, soon after his Arrival, the Town of *Salentum*, which M. de *Fenelon* has rendered very famous by the fine Episode which this Event furnishes him with.

Those who are of Opinion that the Origine of most of the ancient Fables is to be found in Scripture, which the Pagans, who are alledged to have been acquainted with it, had perverted, have not been wanting to tell us that *Idomeneus's* rash Vow was but a Copy of that of *Jephthé*. This is actually the Account given of it by *Huetius* (1), *F. Thomassin* (2), and some others: 'Tis in vain to object to them, that Motives equally strong might have induced both *Jephthé* and *Idomeneus* to make the same Vow; that to the one his Daughter presented herself first, and to the other his only Son, and a thousand other Reasons which 'tis easy to imagine, they still persist in their Opinion, and the smallest Resemblance they think a sufficient Foundation for pursuing Parallels to great length. But I have fully refuted elsewhere these Parallels always overstrained (3).
But

(1) *Demonst. Evang.* p. 4. (2) *Lect. des Poetes.* (3) See the 14th Source of Fables, V. 1. B. 1.

But perhaps after all this Vow of *Idomeneus* is a mere Chimera of late Invention, at least *Diodorus Siculus* (1) following another Tradition, makes no mention of it, he who lived near enough to *Crete*, to be able to inform himself of a Fact so notorious as this I am now speaking of, and who together with this cites his Vouchers, as *Epimenides* the Theologue, *Soficrates*, and *Dosiades*, who according to *Atheneus*, wrote the History of *Crete*. He says on the contrary, that this Prince and *Merion* his Cousin, after the taking of *Troy*, returned happily to their own Country, where after their Death, a magnificent Tomb was erected to them, at which they received divine Honours. This Tomb was still to be seen in the Time of *Diodorus* in the City *Gnossus*, with this Inscription :

Here lies Merion by the Side of Idomeneus.

The *Cretans* sacrificed to them as to Heroes, and in their Wars invoked them as their Protectors. Hence it appears that the Vow I have mentioned, the Expulsion of *Idomeneus*, his Voyage to *Italy*, and the Building of *Salentum*, were at least Facts very much controverted.

Perhaps it will be said, that this Prince having distinguished himself in the City he is supposed to have built in *Italy*, and having established there the wise Laws of *Minos* the First his Great Grandfather, the *Salentines* paid him divine Honours, and instituted to him religious Worship, which was afterwards adopted by the *Cretans* ; but what probability is there that those Islanders would honour as a God, and invoke upon the most important Occasions, a Man whom they had expelled for his Impiety and Rashness.

We may conclude that there is at least a great deal of Uncertainty with relation to the Founder of *Salentum*, and that it is very possible that City was built by another *Idomeneus*, who came to be confounded with the King of *Crete*.



PART SECOND.

TO make this System of *Mythology* compleat, I have still two Articles to be considered. The first relates to some particular Fables that have not any Connection with the Events of the fabulous Age, which have hitherto been the Subject of this Volume; for I have hardly omitted any that have a Reference to them.

The second concerns the Games of the *Greeks*; not those of Amusement, whereof *Meursius* and some others have given us the History; but those public Exercises which made a Part of their Religion, and that had been mostly instituted in the heroic Age. These two Articles shall be the Subject of the two following Books.



BOOK VII.

*The Explanation of some particular Fables
that occur in the Books of Mythology.*

THESE Fables have a Relation only to particular Facts upon which they were founded. This was commonly the Marriage of some Prince, or the Birth of some famous Child, or the amorous Despair of some Princess: For upon these Occasions, the Wits of the Age were not wanting to compose some Epithalamium or Elegy, where giving a Loose to the Sallies of their Genius, they almost always

ways made the Gods interpose in these Adventures ; thus intermixing the supernatural and sublime with Facts that were often not worthy of it.

We find of these Fables in *Apollodorus*, *Hyginus*, *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Conon*, *Menander of Colophon*, *Planciades-Lactantius*, and others, chiefly in *Ovid*, who of all the Ancients has made the most ample Collection of them ; and I must own, that with respect to the last, having explained them along with his *Metamorphoses*, I shall be often obliged to copy myself. For as they mostly allude to a particular Fact, when once we are come at that, there is little or nothing more to be added. But judicious Persons have given me to understand that I ought not to make any Scruple of this ; that a *Mythology*, such as this which I now offer to the Public, ought to contain whatever Readers have a Right to expect, and which they would frequently neither have Inclination nor Opportunity to consult in other Works.

C H A P. I.

The History of Tereus, Pandion, Progne, Philomela, the Daughters of Pandareus, and Erechtheus.

OVID (1) and *Hyginus* (2) relate this History at very great Length, tho' with some Variation : History I call it, because *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and several other Ancients, are agreed that the Event which gave rise to the Fictions, with which it is embellished, are true.

Pandion, the second of the Name, King of *Athens*, had two Daughters exceedingly handsome, their Names *Philomela* and *Progne*. He having no Male Issue, looked out for a Son-in-law who was powerful, and near his own Dominions. *Tereus*, a Prince whose Kingdom was not far from *Attica*, was the Person he made Choice of, and to him he gave his Daughter *Progne* in Marriage, hoping to get some Assistance from him

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in

(1) L. 6. (2) Fab. 45.

in the War he had with the *Thebens*: but the Brutality of his Son-in-law reduced him, thro' time, to such a Habit of Melancholy, that he died. In fact, some Years after the Marriage, whether *Progne* was dead, as *Hyginus* will have it; or at the Solicitation of that Princess who was desirous to see her Sister, as we are told by *Ovid*, *Tereus* came to *Athens*, and demanded *Philomela* of her Father, with a Design to carry her to *Thrace*, where her Sister was impatiently desirous to see her. *Pandion* refused a long Time to gratify the Importunity of his Son-in-law, as if he had actually foreseen that this Expedition would prove fatal to his Daughter; but at last he yielded her up to him, giving the young Princess Guards to take Care of her. So soon as *Tereus* saw himself in Possession of this Beauty, whom he was desperately in Love with, he was wholly bent upon gratifying his Passion; and no sooner came ashore, than he put to death the Guards which *Pandion* had put on Board with him, and carrying *Philomela* either to a Mountain, as *Hyginus* has it, or to an old Castle which belonged to him, as we read in *Ovid*, he ravished her; and stung with the cruel Reproaches she loaded him with, cut out her Tongue, and left her imprisoned in the Castle under a Guard of some Persons in whom he confided.

In the mean time *Philomela* delineated her Misfortune in a Piece of Needle-work, and by that means made known what had befallen her to her Sister, who taking Advantage of one of the Feasts of *Bacchus*, during which the Women were allowed to run thro' the Fields, she came directly to the Castle where her Sister was, carried her off with her, shut her up secretly in the Palace, slew her Son *Itys* (a), cut him in Pieces, and having boiled him, had him served up at the Feast she prepared for her Husband upon Occasion of the Festival now mentioned. *Philomela* appearing at the End of the Repast, threw upon the Table the Head of the Child, the King in a desperate
Rage

(a) *Pausanias* lays this Murder to the Charge of the *Thracian* Women, which is more probable.

Rage and Fury put his Hand to his Sword to kill his Wife and Sister-in-law ; but these two Princesses having got to a Ship which they had prepared for their Purpose, arrived at *Athens* before he could overtake them.

Thus far all is natural ; but the Poets hardly ever fail to add to such Events the Intervention of the Gods : Thus it was given out that *Progne* had been transformed into a Swallow, *Philomela* into a Nightingale, *Itys* into a Pheasant or Goldfinch, and *Tereus* into a Lapwing. The Mythologists find Reasons corresponding to these Metamorphoses : They will have it that these symbolical Transformations were designed to figure the Characters of these several Persons. As the Lapwing is a Bird that delights in Filth, they will have this to be an Emblem of *Tereus's* impure Morals ; because the Flight of that Bird is very slow, it signifies at the same time that he was not able to overtake the Princesses, his Ship not being so good a Sailor as theirs. A Verse of *Aristophanes*, in the first Act of his Comedy of the Birds, where *Tereus*, to abate the Astonishment of *Eulpis*, surprized to see that Prince under so hideous a Figure, gives us sufficiently to understand these ancient Fictions were often invented, or at least improved by the tragic Poets, and especially this one, since *Tereus* says : *Sophocles has thought fit to put me into this Disguise (a)*. The Nightingale that hides itself in Woods and Thickets, seems as it were industrious to cover *Philomela's* Shame and Misfortunes ; and the Swallow that frequents Houses, sets forth the Disquietude of *Progne*, who in vain seeks after her Son whom she inhumanely murdered.

All this is very ingenious, but unluckily other Authors of greater Antiquity have demolished the very Foundation of all these fine Reflections ; thus *Anacreon*, and after him *Apollodorus*, tell us that *Philomela* was transformed into a Swallow, and *Progne* into a Nightingale. Be that as it will, 'tis alledged that this Event happened at *Daulis*, a City of *Phocis*, where *Tereus* had taken up his Residence ; which may be true, since

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(a) This Tragedy of *Sophocles* is not now extant.

that Prince intending to assist *Pandion* his Father-in-law, who was at War with the *Thebans*, might have come with his Court to *Phocis*, to be in a better Capacity to help him.

We may fix the Date of this Event to about the Year 1440. before the Christian Æra, under the Reign of *Pandion* II. King of *Athens*. *Eusebius* sets it farther back, since he is of Opinion that *Progne* and *Philomela* were the Daughters of *Pandion* the first of the Name, who succeeded *Erichonius*. To conclude, 'tis probable that *Tereus* perished in Pursuit of his Wife and Sister-in-law, since *Pausanias* (1) informs us that his Tomb was to be seen at *Megara*.

Homer (2), whose Authority is of so great Weight in these Matters, follows another Tradition. What he says of her is to this Effect, in that Passage where he gives Account of *Penelope's* Woes:

*The Day (ne'er brighten'd with a Beam of Joy!)
My Menials, and domestic Cares employ:
And, unattended by sincere Repose,
The Night assists my ever-waking Woes;
When Nature's busb'd beneath her brooding Shade,
My echoing Griefs the starry Vault invade.*

*As When the Months are clad in flowry Green,
Sad Philomel, * in bow'ry Shades unseen,
To vernal Airs attunes her varied Strains;
And Itylus sounds warbling o'er the Plains:
Young Itylus his Parents darling Joy!
Whom Chance misled the Mother to destroy;
Now doom'd a wakeful Bird to wail the beautiful Boy.* }
Pope's *Odyss.* 19. 599.

It would seem from this Comparison that *Homer* knew neither *Progne* nor *Tereus*, and that he followed the Tradition I am going to relate.

Pandareus the Son of *Merops*, had three Daughters, *Merope*, *Cleotbera*, and *Ædo*; this last, being the
eldest

(1) In *Attic*. (2) *Odyss* l. 19.

* He calls her the Daughter of *Pandareus*.

eldest, was married to *Zethus*, *Amphion's* Brother, by whom she had but one Son, named *Itylus*. Envyng the numerous Progeny of her Sister-in-law *Niobe*, she resolved to kill the eldest of her Nephews; and as her Son was brought up with her Cousin, and lay with him, she gave him Notice to change his Bed the Night she was to commit this Crime. The young *Itylus*, forgetting his Mother's Orders, was slain by his Mother instead of the Nephew: *Homer* in the following Book (1), resumes the same History, and adds that after the Gods had made *Ædo's* two Sisters, *Merope* and *Cleothera* Orphans, by cutting off their Father and Mother, they were carried away by the *Harpies*, who delivered them up to the Furies at the Time they were to have been married.

To obviate some Difficulties before hand, that may arise from the History now given, 'tis necessary to distinguish with *Thucydides* (2), the *Thrace* where *Tereus* resided, from *Thrace* properly so called. The latter was very remote from *Greece*, in Comparison of the former, which bordered upon *Thessaly*. The Capital where *Tereus* dwelt, was called *Daulis*; this Canton, adds that judicious Writer, and not *Thrace* proper, was really the Scene of the tragical Adventure of young *Itys* murdered by his Mother and Aunt; and 'tis probable, he says farther, that the King of *Athens* had given his Daughter to a neighbouring Prince, in hope of getting speedy Succour from him against his Enemy. A convincing Proof, concludes the same Author, that it was at *Daulis* this Adventure happened, is, that the Poets commonly give the Nightingale, or *Philomela*, the Epithet of *Daulias*.

Antoninus Liberalis, upon the Authority of *Nicander*, in his *Ornithologia*, relates an Adventure not unlike this we have now read. *Pandareus* of *Ephesus*, says he, had two Daughters, the one named *Ædon*, whom he married to *Polytechnus*, of the City *Colophon* in *Lydia*, the other called *Chelidonia*. The new Spouses were happy while they revered the Gods; but having boasted

(1) *Odyss.* l. 20. (2) *Lib.* 2.

boasted one Day that they loved one another better than *Jupiter* and *Juno*, this Goddess provoked at their Language sent Discord to them, who very soon set them together by the Ears. *Polytechnus* went to the Court of his Father-in-law to ask of him *Chelidonia*, whom her Sister longed to see, and having led her into a Wood, ravished her. She in Revenge informed *Ædon* of the Insult he had offered to her, and both of them resolved to make the Husband eat his only Son *Itys*. *Polytechnus* being apprized of this horrid Design, pursued his Wife and Sister-in-law to the Court of *Pandareus* their Father, whither they had repaired, and having clap'd him in Chains, and rub'd over his whole Body with Honey, threw him out to the open Fields. *Ædon* having conveyed herself to the Place where her Father was, strove to keep off the Flies and other Insects that annoyed him; and an Action so laudable being contrued by her Husband as a Crime, he was going to have put her to Death, when *Jupiter*, moved with the Misfortunes of that Family, transformed them all into Birds of the same kind with those above mentioned.

Lastly, there is another Fable to be explained in the same Family of *Pandion*. *Erechtheus* his Son had four Daughters (1), who, from I know not what Whim, bound themselves by Oath not to survive one another, and that if one happened to die, the rest would die with her. In the mean time, *Eumolpus* declared War upon the *Athenians*, pretending that *Attica* belonged to his Father; but he was vanquished in the Battle fought upon that Occasion. *Neptune* his Father, to cut off from *Erechtheus* all Ground of Joy for this Victory, required that *Othonee* the Daughter of that Prince might be sacrificed to him, which accordingly was put in Execution. His Sisters upon this killed themselves, and *Erechtheus* was killed with a Thunder-bolt which *Jupiter* hurled against him, at the Request of the same *Neptune*.

C H A P.

(1) Hygn. Fab. 146.

C H A P. II.

The History of Lycaon.

TH O' I have said something of this Prince in the History of *Jupiter*, the *Greek* Historians have signalized both him and some of his Descendants too much for me not to enlarge more upon this Article. First, I would premise that the Ancients distinguish two Princes of this Name. The first was the Son of *Pboroneus*, and reigned in that Part of *Greece*, which was afterwards called *Arcadia*, and to which he communicated the Name of *Lycaonia*, about 250 Years after *Ce-crops*.

The second, who is the Subject of the Fable I am to explain, succeeded him, and was a Prince equally polite and religious; but by an Inhumanity which was but too common in those rude Ages, he polluted the Feasts of the *Lupercalia*, whereof he was the Founder, according to the *Arundel* Marbles, by sacrificing human Victims. This Feast, after having been interrupted for some Ages, was re-established at *Athens*, in the Time of *Pandion*, as we learn from the tenth *Æra* of the same Marbles. *Lycurgus* abolished at *Lacedemon* the barbarous Custom of offering there human Victims. And *Evander* some time after introduced the same Feast into *Italy*.

Lycaon built upon the Mountains of *Arcadia* the City *Lycosura*, which is reckoned the most ancient City of all *Greece*; and it was upon the Altar he erected there in Honour of *Jupiter Lyceus*, that he began to offer the barbarous Sacrifices I have been speaking of. This is the Foundation of the Fable in *Ovid*, and what made the Poets say he had given *Jupiter* an Entertainment, at which he had served up to him the Members of a Slave whose Throat he cut; for thus it is explained by *Pausanias* in his *Arcadicks*. His Cruelty, and his Name, which in *Greek* imports a *Wolf*, made it be said he was transformed into that fierce and ravenous Animal. *Lycaon* had been at first very much beloved
by

by his People, whom he taught to lead a less savage Life than they had done before.

Suidas relates the Fable of the Repast we have been speaking of, according to a Tradition which appears itself a new Fable. *Lycaon*, says that Author, to incline his Subjects to the Observance of the Laws which he had enacted, gave out that *Jupiter* made him frequent Visits in his Palace, under the Figure of a Stranger. His Children, in order to find out the Truth of this, when their Father was going to offer Sacrifice to that God, mixed among the Flesh of the Victims that of a young Child whose Throat they cut, being persuaded that none but *Jupiter* could discover it: But a violent Tempest having arose with an impetuous Wind, Flashes of Lightning reduced to Ashes all the Authors of this Crime; and it was upon this Occasion, we are told, that *Lycaon* instituted the *Lupercalia*.

According to *Pausanias*, *Lycaon's* Posterity settled in *Arcadia* and the neighbouring Provinces, where they built several Cities; but of them I have already spoke in the Beginning of this Volume, upon Occasion of the *Grecian* Colonies. The Author now quoted, appears to me too credulous as to the Article of *Lycaon's* Transformation into a Wolf.

“ The Thing, says he, is not incredible; for be-
 “ sides that the Fact passes current among the *Arcadi-*
 “ *ans*, there is nothing in it against Probability; and
 “ indeed, the first Inhabitants of that Country often
 “ entertained the Gods in their Houses, and at their
 “ Tables: this was the Reward of their Justice and
 “ Piety: The Good were honoured with the Society
 “ of the Gods, while the Bad were visited with im-
 “ mediate Tokens of their Anger. Hence some were
 “ then exalted to a divine Nature; and for the con-
 “ trary Reason we may presume that *Lycaon* was de-
 “ bascd to a Brute, and *Niobe* turned to a Rock.”

After the Death of *Lycaon*, *Nyctimus* the eldest of his Sons succeeded him, while his Brothers went and sought their Fortunes in different Parts of the World, as has been said in the Passage I have already quoted.

As

As *Arcas* the Son of *Calisto* ascended the Throne after *Nyctimus*, and had a numerous Posterity, 'tis probable that the History of *Arcadia* made no mention of the Fable related by *Ovid*, which says that Prince, when very young, was caught up to Heaven with his Mother, whom *Juno* had transformed into a Bear, just as he was going to shoot her with an Arrow.

*Arcas and
Calisto.*

C H A P. III.

The History of Narcissus, Echo, Pyramus and Thisbe.

NARCISSUS, born at *Thespia*, a City in *Beotia*, as we learn from *Conon* (1), was a Youth of exquisite Beauty, and passed for the Son of *Cepheus*; that is, no doubt, of the Prince who gave his Name to that River. Falling in love with his own Figure, which he saw in a Well, he dwelt so long in contemplating it, not knowing that what he saw was nothing but his own Shadow, that he pined away with Love and Desire: Thus it is that *Ovid* relates this Fable; but *Pausanias* (2), tho' in other respects credulous enough, says this is a Story composed for Amusement. "For what probability, says he, is there that a young Man should be so senseless as to be taken with himself, as one is with another; and not be able to distinguish a Shadow from a Substance? Accordingly there is another Tradition, less known indeed, but which wants not however its Partisans and Authors. We are told that *Narcissus* had a Twin-Sister who perfectly resembled him; she had the same Air of Face, the same Hair, they often dressed like one another, and hunted together. *Narcissus* fell in love with his Sister, but had the Misfortune to lose her. After this Disaster, abandoning himself to Melancholy, he frequented the Banks of a Fountain, whose Water was like a Mirrour, and there he took Pleasure

(1) Narr. 24. (2) In Beot.

“ sure in contemplating himself, not but he knew it
 “ was his Shadow, but in seeing it he thought he saw
 “ his Sister, which gave him some Consolation. As
 “ for the Flowers which are called *Narcisses*, if we believe
 “ *Pamphus*, they are older than this Adventure, for long
 “ before *Narcissus* the *Thespian* was born, according to
 “ that Poet, the Daughter of *Ceres* was gathering Flowers
 “ in a Meadow, when she was ravished by *Pluto*; and
 “ the Flowers, he says, she was gathering, and which
 “ *Pluto* made use of to seduce her, were *Narcisses*
 “ and not *Violets*.”

Perhaps after all, the Manner of *Narcissus*’s Death
 has no other Foundation but his Name, which is de-
 rived from a *Greek* Word that signifies, *to be benumbed,*
without Sensation, whence soporifick Druggs are called
Narcotic. I say, the Manner of his Death, for the
 Ground of the Story is true. As this young Man had
 shewed nothing but disdain to all Persons who con-
 ceived an Affection for him, *Love* himself is said to have
 taken Vengeance upon him for his Indifference, by
 making him in love with himself; and *Ovid*, whose Turn
 is always to the Marvellous, has considered this Story
 in a Light that best answered that End. It is related
 more naturally by *Conon*, as also by *Pausanias*. We
 are told, that after this Adventure the *Thespians* ho-
 noured *Love* with a particular Worship.

Echo. This Youth it seems was destined to have
 none but Phantoms the Objects of his Passions,
 and of those which he inspired, since *Ovid* adds to
 what has been now said, that the Nymph *Echo* fell in
 love with him, and that his Disdain obliged her to re-
 tire into Caves and Rocks, where she retained no-
 thing but the Voice; a physical Fable that requires no
 Regard.

Pyramus and
 Thisbe. That of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, which
Ovid relates in the fourth Book of his *Me-*
tamorphoses, contains one of those parti-
 cular Facts which the Passions too often produce. We
 are told that those two Lovers, to whose Amour their
 Parents were averse, appointed to meet together under
 a Mul-

a Mulberry-tree that was without the City. *Thisbe* arrived there first, and being forced to hide herself at sight of a Lion, her Scarf which she drop'd, was besmear'd with Blood by that Animal, whereby *Pyramus* who arrived soon after, being led to believe she was devoured by the Lion, killed himself for Grief. *Thisbe* immediately returning, and being fully convinced by the Sight of the Scarf, that her Lover had killed himself from a false Persuasion that she was dead, stabb'd herself to the Heart with the same Sword. This Fact, in short, is no where to be met with but in *Ovid* and *Hyginus* (1).

Ovid sometimes cursorily mentions several similar Stories that seem to stand by themselves. That of one *Daphnis*, to whom he gives no other Designation, transformed into a Rock for having been insensible to the Charms of a young Shepherdess, is said however to be founded upon this, that his Wife, to make him love her, gave him some Potion that made him stupid and insensible.

Daphnis transformed to a Rock.

The Transformation of *Hemus* King of *Thrace*, and his Wife, into Mountains, for having affected to be adored under the Names of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, intimates to us, that the Impiety of this Prince and his Wife was punished, and that they both perished perhaps in the Mountains, whither the People, incensed to see them compare themselves to Gods, had obliged them to retire.

Hemus and Rhodope transformed to Mountains.

The same Poet tells us, that the Nymph of the Fountain *Salmacis*, having attempted to embrace *Hermaphroditus*, the Son of *Mercury* and *Venus* (a), was the Occasion of his changing Sex; upon which the Mythologists have vented many idle Notions: What had given rise to the Fable was this. There was in *Caria*, near the City of *Halicarnassus*, as we learn from *Vitruvius*, a Fountain which had effect

to

(1) Fab. 242.

(a) *Hermaphroditus* is a Word compounded of *Hermes*, which in Greek signifies *Mercury*, and *Aphrodite*, the Name of *Venus*.

to civilize some Barbarians, who having been expelled by the Colony which the *Argives* planted in that City, were obliged to come thither to draw Water ; and this Intercourse with the *Greeks* not only refined their Manners, but by Degrees infected them with the Luxury of that voluptuous Nation ; and this is what gave that Fountain the Character of having Virtue to change the Sex. We may also suppose that the Water of this Fountain enervated the Mind, and rendered those effeminate who drank of it, as there are others that make People stupid or furious. *Lyllo Giraldi* (1) will have the Foundation of the Fable to be, that this Fountain being inclosed with Walls, Adventures used to happen there from time to time which gave it this Character ; but as that Mythologist proves not his Conjecture, it is better to adopt *Strabo's* Reflection, who says he knows not why that Fountain was under so bad Fame, since Effeminacy proceeds much less from the Air or Water, than from Riches and Luxury. This Fable is written by our Poet, in a Manner that sets forth but too plainly the Effects of Voluptuousness.

To these Metamorphoses the same Poet Celmis. subjoins that of *Celmis*, who, we are told (2), being faithful to *Jupiter* during his Infancy, became at last so indiscreet, as to deserve to be transformed into an Adamant. *Pliny*, who considers this Fable as a Piece of History, says *Celmis* was a young Man of great Wisdom and Moderation, and over whom the Passions had no Influence ; and that this is the Reason of his being transformed into an Adamant. Some of the Ancients will have it that *Celmis*, for having revealed *Jupiter*, to whom he was Foster-father, to be Mortal, was shut up in an impenetrable Tower, which was therefore called the Adamant. Others in fine alledge, that he was always faithful to *Jupiter*, and that this God, by way of Recompence, heap'd Wealth and Riches upon him.

CHAP.

(1) Synt. 5. (2) Met. l. 4.

C H A P. IV.

The History of the Pygmies, and of Pygas their Queen; of their Battles with the Cranes and Partridges; where we examine what is meant by the Pygmies, whereof the Prophet Ezekiel speaks.

THERE are few Fables in Antiquity *The Pygmies.* more celebrated than that of the *Pygmies.* Homer, the first who has mentioned them, employs this Fiction only in a Simile; but that same Simile comprehends the most considerable Part of it:

*Thus by their Leader's Care each martial Band
Moves into Ranks, and stretches o'er the Land.
With Shouts the Trojans rushing from afar,
Proclaim their Motions, and provoke the War:
So when inclement Winters vex the Plain
With piercing Frosts, or thick-descending Rain,
To warmer Seas the Cranes embody'd fly,
With Noise and Order thro' the mid-way Sky;
To Pygmy-Nations Wounds and Death they bring,
And all the War descends upon the Wing.*

Pope's Iliad. iii. 1.

Several Poets who are later than *Homer*, (for we have not now among the Works of *Hesiod*, what *Strabo* says he wrote of them) have mostly spoke of the *Pygmies* in the same manner. *Nonnus* has used the same Simile, in speaking of *Bacchus's* Army: *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoses*, and in his *Fastes* (1): *Antoninus Liberalis*, *Juvenal*, in a Word almost all the Poets, have copied *Homer*; *Statius* (2) adds to this Tradition that the *Pygmies* have all the Advantage in the Battles they wage with the *Cranes*. *Claudian* describes the Return of these Fowls after having fought with the *Pygmies*. But other Authors more adventurous have attempted to refine upon *Homer's* Ideas. *Juvenal* (3) speaking of the Stature of the *Pygmies*, says they were but one Foot

B b high.

(1) Met. l. 6. & Fast. l. 6. (2) L. 1. Sylv. 6. (3) Sat. 13.

high. According to others, they were Dwarfs, who being mounted on Horses and Rams of a Size proportional to their own, armed themselves compleatly to go out to battle against Fowls, which came every Year from *Scythia* to attack them, as we learn from *Pliny* after *Aristotle*; or who had their Chariots drawn by Partridges, as we are told of *Basilis* in *Athenæus* (1). According to others, their Wives bore Children at the Age of three or five Years, and were superannuated at eight. Their Cities and Houses, as *Pliny* tells us (2), were only built of Egg-shells, and those who dwelt in the Country, according to *Aristotle* and *Philostratus*, had no other Retreat but Holes which they wrought in the Earth, whence they came out in the time of Harvest, to cut down their Corn with Axes, as if it had been to fell a Wood. We see in *Ovid* (3) and *Eliau* (4), a Queen of the *Pygmies* who is so vain of her Beauty as to despise *Juno*, who transforms her into a Crane; and in *Philostratus*, an Army of these little Men, that attacking *Hercules* when asleep, after the Defeat of *Antæus*, and taking all the same Precautions for the Conquest of him, as we would for forming a Siege. The two Wings of this little Army fall upon the right Hand of that Heroe, and while the main Body attacks the left, and the Archers lay close Siege to his Feet, the King, with the bravest of his Subjects, assaults the Head. *Hercules* awakes, and smiling at the Enterprize of these Myrmidons, folds them up in the Skin of the Lion of *Nemea*, and carries them to *Eurystheus*.

What is particular in this Fable, is that the Historians speak of it in the same manner with the Poets, without any softening or Restriction; and they who often help out the Mythologists, when the Question is to reduce these ancient Fictions to Probability, serve only in this Occasion to encrease their Difficulty. In fact, *Ctesias*, *Noanesus* (5), *Pliny* (6), *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela* (7), *Basilis* in *Athenæus* (8), *Onesicritus*, *Aristæus*

(1) L. 9. (2) L. 9. (3) Met. l. 6. (4) Hist. Anim. (5) Phot. Narr. 40. (6) Loc. cit. (7) L. 3. (8) L. 9. c. 4.

ristæus, and *Egesias* in *Aulus Gellius*; even the Fathers of the Church, *Saint Augustin* (1), *Saint Jerome* (2); all are agreed as to the Existence of *Pygmies*, their little Stature, and their Battles with the *Cranes*. *Aristotle* especially seems fully persuaded thereof: *What we are told of the Pygmies*, says he; *is not a Fable, but Matter of fact*.

There is not such Uniformity among the Historians, when they speak of the Country of the *Pygmies*. *Philostratus* and *Pliny* place them in the *Indies*, towards the Sources of the *Ganges*, and the latter, who compiled different Relations; makes them inhabit sometimes towards the northern Extremities of *Europe*, sometimes towards the Banks of the *Strymon* or *Hebrus*. *Stephen of Byzantium* gives them a *Greek* Original; but the most ancient Authors place them in *Ethiopia*; and there it is we are actually to seek for them, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Modern Authors are still more divided than the Ancients, concerning this little People and the Country which they inhabited. Some make them dwell in *Lapland*, others in *Thuringia*, &c. But I refer those who want to be more fully acquainted with their Opinions, to the Dissertation I have made upon this Subject, which is printed in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres* (3). But of all the Opinions of the Learned, the most singular is that of a *German* Professor, named *Wonderart* (a). According to this Author, the Fable of the *Pygmies* and *Cranes* contains the History of two People who inhabited *Megaritis*, namely, the *Pageans* and *Geranians*. After long Wars the *Geranians* got the better, and gave Laws to the *Pageans*. *Homer*, he adds, going upon the Similitude of Names, alludes to this History, representing it under the Emblem of the *Cranes* and *Pygmies*; this is the whole Mystery. The Poets, to give their Readers Variety,

B b 2

made

(1) *De Civ. Dei*. (2) *In Ezek.* (3) *Tom. 5. p. 101.*

(a) The Work wherein that Author advances this Opinion is entitled: *Hermanni Wonderart detecta Mythologia Græcorum, in decantato Pygmæorum, Græum & Perdicæ bello, Lipsiæ, 1714.*

made frequent Use of such Figures; and the whole Art of Poetry consisted in transferring the History of neighbouring and known Nations, to Countries remote. When *Ovid* and *Antoninus Liberalis*, says this Author, tell us that the *Pygmies* were governed by a Woman, this imports that the *Pageans* fell under the Dominion of the *Geranians*, who had always been inferior to them before; and when *Eliau* asserts that the *Pygmies* paid divine Honours to their new Queen, 'tis that the *Pageans* truckled to their new Masters; and if 'tis fabled that this same Queen was transformed into a Crane, and that she was obliged to fly away to avoid the Repentment of her Subjects, the Meaning in short is, that the *Pageans* shook off the Yoke, and forced the *Geranians* to betake themselves to the Mountains, where their City stood.

When once we are entered into the Field of Conjectures, 'tis no difficult Matter to make Conquests therein. In the time of their Prosperity, adds the *German* Professor, the *Geranians* grew so insolent as to contemn their Neighbours; the Cities of *Corinth*, *Athens*, *Thermus*, *Oropus*, they looked upon as Rivals with which they might dispute the Empire of *Greece*. This is what makes *Eliau* say, that *Gerane* had preferred her Beauty to that of *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Diana* and *Venus*, who represented the four Cities now named; and whereas *Ovid* adds that *Juno* had transformed her into a Crane, he means that the *Corinthians*, with the Assistance of other Cities, having vanquished the *Geranians*, writ a bloody Satyr against them, wherein *Corinth*, or *Ephire*, was represented under the Name of *Juno*, Ἥρα; *Athens* under that of *Minerva*, Ἀθήνη; *Thermus* under that of *Diana* Ἄρτεμις; and *Oropus* under that of *Venus*, Ἀφροδίτη. The *Pageans* and *Geranians*, in this ingenious Writer, were only a despicable Race of Mortals, whose Vanity was justly the Jest of their Neighbours; and, according to the Analogy of their Names, they were called *Cranes* and *Pygmies*.

But what Arguments can be brought in Support of so singular an Opinion? 'Tis true these Towns were in
Greece

Greece which the learned Author speaks of; but no where is Mention made of their Wars, far less of that *Corinthian* Satire, which will never pass for any thing but a mere Fiction of the Author. Where is *Corinth* represented under the Name of *Juno*, *Thermus* under that of *Diana*, and *Oropus* under that of *Venus*? But, says he, the Poets to disguise their Subjects, often transported the Scenes of them into remote Countries. This is his great Principle, which he repeats in every Page; and yet nothing is more contrary to Truth. *Homer* is so exact in not changing the Places which his Heroes had travelled thro', that he has always been reckoned an excellent Geographer, and *Strabo* often fixes the Situation of those Places from his Descriptions: *Virgil* and the other Poets have followed the same Method. If we read *Ovid's* *Metamorphoses* those especially that have a plain Connection with History, we shall see that he has scrupulously preserved the Names of Countries where the Events he describes had happened.

But, not to dwell upon the Refutation of an Opinion which falls to the Ground of itself, I ask if there would be any Hazard in following, with Relation to the *Pygmies*, a Tradition which relies upon so great a Number of Testimonies? May not one, under the Protection of so great Authority, adopt all that has been delivered upon this Subject? Perhaps, in an Age less enlightened, and where Criticism would prescribe less severe Limitations, we might follow an Opinion which seems at first Sight to be so well supported; but Number of Votes is not always a Test of Truth; Authors often copy one another; and 'tis surprizing that after a long List, the Authority of the first is frequently the only one that needs to be examined. Now *Homer*, who is at the Head of the Catalogue now given, is a Poet who upon all Occasions intermixes ingenious Fictions with uncertain Traditions. *Aristotle*, a graver Author, speaks indeed in the Affirmative; and because the most authentic Relations give us no Account of the pretended Battles of the *Cranes* and *Pygmies*, *Pomponius Mela* is forced to say that the Reason why that little

People is not to be found now a Days, is that they were destroyed by the *Cranes*: *Contra Grues dimicando defecit*. A Solution more becoming a tragic Poet, than an Historian.

Before I give my own Opinion, I would remark in the first Place, that the *Greeks*, transported with the Marvellous, employed it upon all Occasions; always exaggerating whatever came to them from foreign Countries. They had heard of some Men of an extraordinary Stature; and they wanted no more to form their Giants capable of plucking up the highest Mountains by the Roots. In like manner they had heard that there was in *Ethiopia* a People extraordinary little in Proportion to other Men: Being fond of contrasting them with the Giants, they imagined their *Pygmies*, that is, according to the Etymology of the Word, Men who were but a Cubit high; as if Nature deviated so far from the order she follows in her Works. For my Part, therefore, I am of Opinion that the *Pechinians* are the true *Pygmies* of *Homer*: and indeed, there is all the Probability in the World, that it was the Resemblance of the Name, and the small Stature of that People, gave the *Greeks* a Handle to call them *Pygmies*, from the Word *πυγμή*, *the Fist*, or rather from *πυγών*, which signifies *a Cubit*, and bears such Conformity to the Name of the *Pechinians*, that there seems to be a perfect Analogy between them. The Poets did not always seek after so remarkable a Resemblance, to found their Fables upon. They had heard from the Relations of some Travellers, that the *Pechinians* were of a little Stature; that the *Cranes* removed in Winter to their Country, and that those People assembled together to destroy them; what excellent Materials has a *Greek* Poet here out of which to form so pretty a Fable as that which I am explaining!

But it is not mere Conjecture which I advance in Support of my Opinion; I shall make it appear that whatever has been fabled of the *Pygmies* agrees to the *Pechinians*. First, the Ancients assure us that there were in *Ethiopia* Men of a very little Size, and *Hera-*
dotus

dotus (1) relates that some young *Nasamones*, having a Mind, from a Spirit of Curiosity, to penetrate into the Deserts of *Afric*, had found Men extremely little, who inhabited a City thro' which a River passed, which *Etearchus* King of the Country, who told the Story, believed to be the *Nile*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, not to mention others, are also agreed that there were such little Men in diverse Countries of *Africa*; and *Aristotle* adds, that the same Littleness was to be seen also in the Animals.

In like manner, *Nonnosus*, as we read in *Photius*, found in the same Country Men of a little Stature; and *Ctesias* had said the same long before him (2). Modern Travellers, whose Authority here is of great Weight, are agreed with the Ancients, as to the little Stature of the *Ethiopians*. *Bergier* and *Alvares* (3) say so expressly of the *Nubians*: *Job Ludolphus* (4) says these People are generally very little, and 'tis from among them, if we may believe *Thevenot* (5), that almost all the little Men are got, who are sent to the Courts of the Princes of the *Levant*. All these Relations are conformable to *Hesychius* who confounds the *Pygmies* with the *Nubians*, Νέβα Πυγμαίοι. But what still further confirms this Opinion, we must look for the *Pygmies* in the Country to which the *Cranes* retire at the Approach of Winter. Now 'tis certain that this is *Ethiopia*, as we read in *Aristotle* (6); and if *Homer* and *Nonnus* say it is near the Ocean, it is because in Reality the *Nile*, anciently called the Ocean, runs there. Now there it was precisely that the *Peckinians* dwelt, and that M. *Delisle*, in his Map of *Africa*, places the *Bakkes*, who, according to the Analogy of their Name, can be no other but the *Peckinians* of *Ptolomy*.

As for the Fables about them which I have delivered, they are to be looked upon as poetical Imaginations; amongst others, that of the little Stature, which *Juvenal* ascribes to them; for tho' it may be true,

B b 4

as

(1) Lib. 2. (2) Phot. bib. n. 3. (3) See the Travels of that Author. (4) Comm. upon the History of *Ethiopia*. (5) Collection of Travels. (6) Hist. Anim. l. 8. c. 18.

as in Fact it is, that excessive Heat, or excessive cold cramps the Growth of Animals, and that this is the Reason why the *Laplenders* and the other Northern Nations, as also those in the torrid Zone, are of a smaller Size than those in the temperate Zones, yet this never goes to the Excesses which that Poet speaks of. Thus as the tallest Men we know are little more than six Foot high, those of the small Size will be three and a half or four. As for some Examples that may be brought of Dwarfs that are less, 'tis plain no Consequence can be drawn from thence for a whole People, any more than from those of some Giants who have far exceeded the Stature of ordinary Men.

As for the Battle between the *Pygmies* and the *Cranes*, we may suppose the *Pechinians* assembled together in a certain Season of the Year to hunt those Fowls, and to hinder them from breeding there, and from devouring their Crop. Those who will have it that the *Pygmies* dwelt in the Holes of the Earth, have confounded them with the *Troglodytes*, who were in the same Country, and who got that Name because they resided in Caves.

Pygas. The Fable of *Pygas*, whom *Ovid* makes (1) to have been transformed into a *Crane*, and who afterwards waged with her People a bloody War, is easy to be explained, to one who has read *Antoninus Liberalis* (2). For this Author assures us, upon the Faith of *Boëus*, whose *Theogony* he cites upon this Occasion, that there was among the *Pygmies*, that is, no doubt, among the People to whom the *Greeks* gave that Name, a Princess very handsome, named *Oenoe*, who greatly oppressed her People. Having married *Nicostratus*, she had a Son by him named *Mopsus*, whom her Subjects took away from her to educate him after their Manner. The Cruelty of this Queen, her Insolence, or perhaps the bare Name of *Gerané*, the *Greek* Name of a *Crane*, which she bore, according to *Elian*, gave rise to the Fable of her being transformed into that Fowl. The War, which *Ovid* says she waged with her

(1) *Metam.* l. 6. (2) *Met.* l. 10.

her People, probably arose upon Account of the carrying away of the young Prince.

We shall close this Article with a few Words concerning the *Pygmies* which *Ezekiel* speaks of. That Prophet, after he has given a fine Description of the City *Tyre* and its Advantages, says, according to the Vulgate; *but the Pygmies that were upon your Walls, have compleated your Beauty* (a). Interpreters are very much at a Loss how to explain this Passage, and according to them it would seem that the *Pygmies*, forced to give way to the *Cranes* who made continual War upon them, had retired to the Coasts of *Phenicia* to list themselves under the Service of the *Tyrians*, who posted them upon their Turrets; as if such kind of Soldiers could have been any Ornament to a City, which, according to the same Prophet, had among its Troops Soldiers of almost all Nations. 'Tis very true, the *Septuagint* Names these Soldiers, whoever they were, simply *Φύλακες*, *Guards*; and in another reading *Μηδοι*, *Medes*; the *Chaldean* Text has *Gapadin*, the *Cappadocians*, having changed the M into II; but the *Hebrew* uses the Word *Gammadin*; and as *Gomed* signifies a *Cubit*, this is what had given occasion to the Author of the Vulgate, to St. *Jerom* and *Aquila*, to translate this Word by that of *Pygmæi*.

The Source of the Ambiguity is thereby proved; but it still remains to know who were these *Gammadins* who had been put upon the Towers of *Tyre*. Were they real *Pygmies*, as *Schottus*, *Bartholin* and some Interpreters have said after *R. Chimchi*? Or the Inhabitants of *Megiddo*, as other Authors have advanced; or simply *Guards*, as *Forsterus* will have it (1); or lastly, the *Gamaliens*, of whom *Pliny* speaks? For my part, after having carefully examined this Passage, since the Prophet seems to prefer the *Gammadians* to the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, and all the other Nations who had

(a) *Sed & Pygmæi qui erant in turribus tuis Pharetras suas suspenderunt in muris tuis per gyrum, ipsi compleverunt pulchritudinem tuam.*

(1) Lib. 21. 19.

had joined in the Army of the *Tyrians*, and adds that they made the Ornament of their City; I am of Opinion that he means Divinities that had been set upon the Towers with their Arms and Arrows, as the Gods *Pataici* upon the Prows of Ships, whereof they made the principal Ornament; and that both the one and the other were represented by little Idols, as *Herodotus* expressly says of the latter, which *Cambyfes* found in the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Egypt*, and which, according to that Historian, resembled *Pygmies*.

This cuts off the Conjectures of Commentators, who, upon the bare Signification of the Word *Gomed*, set up *Pygmies* upon the Towers of *Tyre*, instead of finding in the Passage of the Prophet, either a People robust and dextrous at handling the Bow, and named after the rest, as the most distinguished; or the tutelar Gods of an idolatrous City which placed all its Confidence in them.

C H A P. V.

The History of Cephalus and Procris.

THE Fable of *Cephalus* and *Procris*, is one of those which *Ovid* describes at greatest Length, and with most Elegance. History informs us that this Prince, the Son of *Deioneus* King of *Phocis*, was one of the most accomplished of his Time. As he had a passionate Love for the Chace, and rose up early every Morning to that Exercise, hence he was said to be enamour'd with *Aurora*. *Procris* his Wife, who was in love with *Pteleon*, as we learn from *Apollodorus*, no doubt propagated this Report, in order to hide or justify her Intrigue. In the mean Time, *Cephalus* who had some Jealousy of her, quitted the Country where he commonly resided, and returned to *Thoricus* where the Queen dwelt. *Procris*, hearing of her Husband's Return, fled to the Court of *Minos* II. who fell in love with her, and at parting with her some time after, made her a Present of an excellent Dog, which he thought would be agreeable to *Cephalus*. Accordingly she

she gave it to him, in order to be reconciled to him. This Dog, which *Ovid* calls *Lelapus*, was given out to be the Work of *Vulcan*; who had given him to *Jupiter*, and he to *Minos*, *Minos* to *Procris*, and she to her Husband, who made him over to *Amphitryo*, to deliver the Confines of *Thebes* from a Fox that made great Havock there, and to which the *Thebans*, from a Superstition no less impious than cruel, exposed every Month one of their Children, believing that this would save the rest from the Fury of that Animal. This Fox, the Instrument of *Bacchus's* Vengeance upon the *Thebans*, laid waste, as *Pausanias* tells us, the Confines of *Teumessus*. *Ovid* adds, that just as *Lelapus* was going to catch him, they were both transformed into Stones; but at bottom this Fable signifies only that the Country was delivered from some Robber, who made great Desolation therein, and who was pursued as far as his Retreat; which gave rise to his Metamorphosis (1).

Cephalus at last was reconciled to his Wife, but having killed her in hunting, tho' by Mischance, it was presumed to be from some Remains of Resentment he still retained against her; and the *Areopagus*, the Judge in this Affair, condemned him to perpetual Exile (2). His Son *Celeus* succeeded him, and reigned in the Island of *Cephalenia*: *Celeus* was the Father of *Acrisius*, Grandfather of *Ulysses*, who led to *Troy* the *Cephalenians* with the *Ithacians*. *Oeneus*, the second Son of *Cephalus*, reigned in *Phocis* after the Death of his Grandfather *Deioneus*. *Cephalus* lived in the Time of *Minos II.* that is, about an hundred Years before the *Trojan War*.

I know none but *Apollodorus* (3), who admits two *Cephalus's*, the one the Son of *Mercury* and *Herse* the Daughter of *Cecrops*, the other the Son of *Deioneus* King of *Phocis*, and *Diomedes* the Daughter of *Xutus* (4). The first was ravished by *Aurora*, and went and dwelt with her in *Syria*, where he had a Son by her named *Tithonus*, the Father of *Phaeton*. The second married

Procris

(1) See Palephatus. (2) Apollod. l. 3. Paus. &c. (3) L. 3.
(4) Idem. l. 1.

Procris the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*. However in the third Book that Author seems to confound the Actions of those two Princes. *Ovid*, and after him all the Ancients, speak only of the Daughter of *Deioneus*; who was ravished by *Aurora*, and who having deserted her, returned to *Procris*.

C H A P. VI.

The History of Ceyx and Alcyone, of Philammon, Autolycus, Kioné, and Thamiras.

Ceyx and Alcyone. THIS is satisfactory to an Author, when as he advances in his Work, he sees his Principles confirmed by new Examples. I have said more than once, after *Lactantius* (1), that the Poets did not invent the Groundwork of their Fables, but only superadded to them the Ornaments of Poetry. Of this the Fable of *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* is a convincing Argument. That Prince, Cotemporary with *Hercules*, on whom he performed the Ceremony of Expiation, is very well known in the *Grecian* History. *Pausanias* tells us, that (2) *Eurystheus* having summoned *Ceyx* to give up to him the Children of *Hercules*, that Prince finding himself not strong enough to maintain a War against so powerful a King, sent those young Princes to *Theseus*, who took them under his Protection. *Ceyx* married *Alcyone*, whose Genealogy is in the first Book of *Apollodorus*. To deliver himself from the Melancholy into which he was plunged by the Death of *Dealion* his Brother, and that of his Niece *Kioné*, *Ceyx* went to *Claros* to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*. He was shipwreck'd in his Return, and *Alcyone* was so afflicted upon that Account, that she died for Grief, or threw herself into the Sea, as we read in *Ovid* and *Hyginus*. It was fabled that they were both transformed into Kings-fishers; a Circumstance which has no other Foundation but the Name of that Princess: Perhaps the Harmony and Affection between those two Spouses made

(1) Div. Inst. l. 1. (2) In Attic.

made them be compared to those Birds, which are accounted the Emblem of conjugal Love. *Apollodorus* (1) gives not so favourable an Idea as *Ovid*, of the Affection of these two Persons. According to that Author, they were ruined by their Pride. *Jupiter* incensed against that Prince for assuming his Name, and against *Alcyone* for taking that of *Juno*, transformed the one into a Didapper, and the other into a Kingfisher. *Alcyone* was the Daughter of *Eolus*, not he who was the God of the Winds, as *Ovid* alledges, but of the Son of *Hellen*, of *Deucalion's* Race.

I shall say nothing farther here about the time when *Ceyx* lived, the *Æra* thereof being sufficiently known from the History of *Hercules*, *Telamon*, and other Heroes who were his Contemporaries.

If we now compare these historical Facts with the magnificent and pompous Description which *Ovid* gives of them (2), we shall see how much a truly poetical Imagination is capable of embellishing Subjects upon which it exercises itself, tho' almost always at the Expence of Truth, which it little regards.

It will not be from the Purpore to subjoin here what Antiquity informs us concerning *Philammon*, *Autolycus* and *Kioné* (a), upon Account of the Connection which their History has with that I have now given. *Philammon* of *Delphos*, the same who composed Poems upon the Birth of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*, that were sung, and who was the first that founded Choirs of Musick in the Temple of *Delphos*, was Twin-Brother to *Autolycus*, *Ulysses's* Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and known by his crafty Pieces of Theft. They were the Sons of the Nymph *Kioné*, whom some call *Philonis*, and whose Father *Deion* or *Dedalion* (3), the Brother of *Ceyx* King of *Trachine*, dwelt in the Con-

fines

(1) L. I. (2) Met. I. II.

(a) See the Remarks of M. Burette upon *Plutarch's* Treatise of Musick, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, Tom. 10. whence I have taken this whole Article Word for Word, being persuaded that nothing could be added to it.

(3) Hygin. Fab. 200.

finer of the *Parnassus*. The Beauty of this Nymph, if we may believe the Poets and Mythologists (1), made *Apollo* and *Mercury* fall in love with her, and that on one and the same Day, and of these Amours at the end of nine Months were born *Autolycus* and *Philammon*, the first of whom was owned for the Son of *Mercury*, and the second of *Apollo*. *Kioné* (2), vain of having pleased these two Divinities, presumed to prefer herself to *Diana*; she was punished by that Goddess who killed her with her Arrows; which has no other Foundation but her hasty Death, according to the Principle I have established in more Places of this Work than one. Her Father, afflicted with the Death of an only Daughter whom he affectionately loved, was transformed into a Hawk; a Fiction which is probably owing to his having quitted the Country, and settled in some remote Place.

Philammon derived from his Father (3) the Talent of Poetry and Musick, improving both by the Melodiousness of his Voice, with which he accompanied the Notes of the Lyre. His Son was the famous *Thamiras* (4). *Tatian* (5) ranks this Poet and Musician among the Writers who flourished before *Homer*, and the Scholiast on *Apollonius Rhodius* (6) after *Pherecydes*, says it was he, and not *Orpheus*, who accompanied the *Argonauts* in their Expedition. *Pausanias* (7) tells us that at the *Pythic Games*, where Prizes were proposed for Poetry and Music, the first who gained them was *Chrysothemis* the Son of *Carmanor*; the second *Philammon*, (whom the learned *French* Translator, misled by the *Latin* Version, makes the Son of *Chrysothemis*) and the third *Thamiris*, or *Thamiras*; that *Orpheus*, and *Museus*, who affected to imitate the latter in every thing, disdained to come upon the Field; and that another Musician, named *Eleutherus*, won the Prize there merely by the Graces of his Voice, tho' he had only sung in

(1) Idem. ibid. Schol. Anonym. Hom. Odyss. 19. v. 432. Ovid. lcc. cit. (2) Ovid, ibid. (3) Ovid, ibid. v. 317. (4) Suidas Vcc. Philammon. (5) Pagl 136. & 139. Edit. Oxon. (6) L. 1. v. 33. (7) L. 10. c. 7.

in honour of *Apollo* the Poems of others. Now this Poetry consisted in Hymns to the Honour of that God, which were sung to the Lyre and Harp.

From this Passage in *Pausanias* we may infer, observes *Fabricius* (1), that in those Games every Poet used to sing his own Verses and not those of others. The same Historian adds (2), that *Philammon* was reckoned to have instituted the *Lernean* Mysteries; but that the Prose and Poetry employed in those Mysteries, both composed in the *Dorick* Dialect, belied so remote Antiquity, since before the Return of the *Heraclidæ* into the *Peloponnesus*, the *Argives* had no other Dialect but the *Attic*, and in the time of *Philammon* the Name of *Dorians* was not so much as known. If we may believe *Plutarch*, *Philammon* composed not only Songs, wherein was celebrated the Birth of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*, but he was the Founder of those Choirs of Music which were sung about the Temple of *Delphos*. These Choirs consisted of Companies of Men and Women, who danced as they sung the Praises of the Gods to the Sound of instrumental Music, which in the Pagan World made a considerable Part of divine Worship.

If Music made *Philammon* one of the most celebrated Men of his Time, it served only to make his Son *Thamiras*, whom he had by *Agiopé*, unfortunate. He, concerning whom the Reader will find Things interesting enough in *Bayle's* Critical Dictionary, and *Fabricius's* *Bibliotheca Græca*, tho' his Father dwelt at *Delphos*, was born at *Brinelas*, a City of the *Edonians*, a People of *Thrace* (3), or at *Odrysus*, a City in the same Country, whither his Mother had fled to conceal her big Belly, upon *Philammon's* refusing to marry her. Educated in the Principles of an Art which his Father possessed in such Perfection, his Knowledge contributed only to his own Ruin. He had the Presumption to challenge the Muses themselves (4); they accepted the Challenge,

on

(1) Bib. Græc. l. 1. c. 26. T. 1. pag. 157. (2) L. 2. c. 37. p. 198. (3) *Suidas* upon the Word *Thamiras*. (4) Schol. Anon. upon *Homer*.

on Condition that if he got the better they would be at his Discretion, and that if he was vanquished he would submit to the Punishment his Arrogance deserved. He had the Misfortune to be worsted in so unequal a Trial, and delivered over to the Vengeance of those incensed Deities, was at once deprived by them of his Sight, his Voice, his Reason, and his Talent of playing upon the Lyre, which in Despair he flung into a River of *Messenia*, that from thence took the Name of *Ballyra* (a).

Homer, speaking of the City *Dorion*, says it was there the Adventure happened of *Thamiras* with the Muses, which, according to *Pausanias*, was represented in the fine Picture of *Polygnotus*, the Subject whereof was *Ulysses's* Descent to Hell. There *Thamiras* appeared sitting near *Pelias*, with his Eyes put out, a forlorn down-cast Air, his Hair and Beard neglected, and his Lyre, whereof the two Branches and the Strings were broke, thrown at his Feet. Tho' the Authority of *Homer*, who mentions *Thamiras's* Trial with the Muses, ought to have great Weight with *Pausanias*, yet he seems persuaded that this celebrated Musician became blind only through bodily Indisposition, and that this Misfortune was common to him with *Homer*, with this Difference, that the latter was not discouraged by it, whereas the former renounced Poetry and Music for the rest of his Days. It was fabled after his Death that his Soul passed into a Nightingale, as that of *Orpheus* into a Swan, Emblems of the soft Airs which those two Musicians sung to the Notes of their Lyre. As *Thamiras* had learned Poetry and Music from *Linus*, whose Disciple he was with *Orpheus* and *Hercules*, 'tis easy to determine the Time when he lived, from that of his two Contemporaries, whose *Æras* I have fixed.

But let us not conceive too highly of this Music, nor of the Instruments that accompany'd it. So many Wonders, no doubt, were fabulously reported of it, only because till the Time of the Persons we have been speaking

(a) From two Greek Words *Βαλλέειν* to throw and *λύρα* a Lyre.

speaking of, nothing had been heard equal nor near to it, tho' at Bottom neither the Instruments nor the Art of Composition were carried at that Time to a great Degree of Perfection; and we may very well apply what *Horace* says of the first Players on the Flute, to the Trumpet, the Lyre and the Harp (a).

C H A P. VII.

The History of Orion.

Orion. **T**HE Fable of *Orion* is one of the most celebrated; and at the same time most obscure in Antiquity. Several modern Authors have strained their utmost to unfold the Meaning of it; and I shall endeavour, by giving their Opinions, to enable the Reader to judge which has succeeded best. There is no Doubt but that it is built upon a historical Bottom; but it is certain likewise that it is interspersed with a great deal of Astronomy. In the first Place, the Birth of *Orion* exhibits a Mystery equally indecent and obscure.

As *Jupiter*, we are told (i), *Neptune* and *Mercury* were travelling on the Earth, they lodged with *Hyrieus*, who, probably thro' a Fault of the Transcriber, is named *Byrseus* in *Hyginus*; and were so well pleased with the Entertainment they met with; that they asked him what he wish'd for most, promising to grant it him. *Hyrieus* answered that having no Children, this was the Thing he desired most; and a little Time after *Arion* was born, in the manner related by *Hyginus* (b);

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and

(a) *Tibia non ut nunc Orichalco vineta, Tubæque
Æmula; sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco,
Aspirare & adesse Choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum Spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.*

Art. Poët. 202.

(i) *Enphorinus* and *Hyginus*.

(b) *Jovis, Neptunus, Mercurius in Thraciam ad Byrseum regem in hospitium venerunt: qui cum ab eo liberaliter essent accepti optionem ei dederunt, siquid peteret. Ille liberos optavit. Mercurius de tauro quem Hercules immolarat, corium protulit. Illi in eum urinam fecerunt, & in terram obruerunt, unde natus est Orion.*

The Foundation of this Fiction is that it was after offering Sacrifices to these three Divinities, that *Hyrieus*, and not *Byrseus*, as *Hyginus* calls him, had a Son according to his Desire.

and all the other Mythologists, and from thence he got the Name of *Ourion*, or *Arion*. Afterwards, to deface the Memory of his Birth, the first Letter of his Name was changed, and he was called *Orion*; which *Ovid* expresses in this pentameter Verse.

Perdidit antiquum Littera prima sonum.

Homer, who speaks of *Orion* in more Places than one, says nothing of the Fable of his Birth, which probably was not invented in his time; and *Pbericides*, cited by *Apollodorus*, says only he was the Son of *Euryalus*. *Homer* gives us no further Account of this celebrated Person, but that he was slain by *Diana*, wherein he is followed by all who came after him. This much is certain, that *Orion* signalized himself greatly by his Love of Astronomy, which, no doubt, he had learned from *Atlas*, who, according to *Homer*, dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Tanagrus*, upon a high Mountain from whence he studied the Heavens, or in the Island of *Calypso* his Daughter.

Further, *Orion* was passionately fond of Hunting; which undoubtedly is the Foundation of the Connection of his History with that of *Diana*. He was one of the handsomest Men of his Time, and of so happy a Stature, that by a Hyperbole, overstrained indeed, he was said to be able to walk through the Waves of the Sea, and appear with his whole Head above Water (1); which imports that he was frequently upon the Sea in some Ship. To this Fiction they added, it was while he was thus traversing the Sea, that *Diana* seeing *Orion's* Head, and not knowing what it was, slew him with an Arrow; which signifies that he died in one of his maritime Expeditions.

He first married a Woman named *Fida* (2), whom Vanity destroyed; for having offered to compare her Beauty to that of *Juno*, this Goddess put her to Death. *Orion* having passed into the Island of *Chios*, to return to *Tanagrus* in *Beotia* the Place of his Birth, asked *Oenopion* to give him his Daughter *Merope* in Marriage; but he

(1) *Homer* *Odyss.* l. 1.

(2) *Pbericides* in *Apollod.* l. i.

he having put out his Eyes, after making him drunk, left him upon the Sea-shore (1). *Orion* having got up after his Pain was abated, arrived at a Forge, where having found a young Man, he took him upon his Shoulders, praying he would guide him to the Place where the Sun rises. Upon his Arrival there he recovered his Sight, and went and revenged himself upon *Oenopion* for his Cruelty.

This Circumstance of *Orion's* Life, fabulous as it is, may, I think, be explained by saying that the Wound of his Eyes not being incurable, he was cured perhaps with the Water of the Forge. *Apollodorus* adds that having distinguished himself in *Vulcan's* Art, he made a subterraneous Palace for *Neptune* his Father, and that *Aurora*, whom *Venus* had inspired with Love to him, ravished him and carried him to the Island of *Delos*; a new Fable, a Consequence of what I have now said of his Journey to the Place where the Sun rises, and which may be also explained like that of *Tithonus* and that of *Cephalus*, from his being so passionately fond of Hunting, as to rise very early for that Exercise, and from his going to settle in the Island of *Delos*.

Be that as it will, there it was that *Diana* shot him to Death with her Arrows, either because he had offered Violence to *Opis*, one of those Virgins who came from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, to present their Offerings at *Delos*, as most of the Mythologists say; or, according to another Tradition, because he would needs constrain *Diana* to play at the Coit with him; or, if we may believe *Nicander*, for having dared to touch the Veil of that Goddess with an impure Hand: And as he died at the Time the Sun travels thro' the Sign of the Scorpion, it was fabled that this Animal had killed him with one of its Claws, and that *Diana* had made the Earth produce that Animal, to punish the Insult she had received from him; which, when strip'd of the Marvellous, signifies either that he died of some contagious Distemper, or in the Flower of his Age; for tho' Deaths of this kind were ascribed to *A-*

(1) *Idem. ibid.*

pollo for the Men, as those of the Women were to *Diana*, yet there are Examples of the Death of some Men being attributed to that Goddess.

Pausanias says *Orion's* Tomb was to be seen at *Tanagra* in *Beotia*; but this was probably but a Cenotaph, since he was actually interred in *Delos*. *Homer* is the first who attributes *Orion's* Death to the Jealousy of *Diana*.

*So when Aurora sought Orion's Love,
Her Joys disturb'd your blissful Hours above,
'Till in Ortygia (1), Dian's winged Dart
Had pierc'd the hapless Hunter to the Heart.*

Pope's *Odyss.* 5. 155.

This Poet twice makes Mention of the same *Orion* (2). 1. When speaking of the goodly Mien of the two Sons of *Neptune* and *Tyra*, *Ephialtes* and *Otus*, he says they were inferior in Beauty to none but *Orion*. 2. In saying that in Hell he was incessantly employed in Hunting wild Beasts; intimating thereby that he had been a celebrated Hunter; for in the other World, according to the ancient Theology, every one employed himself in the same Exercises he had loved in his Life-time.

We may easily guess that the Circumstance of the three Divinities who lodge with *Orion's* Father led our *Hebraizers* to believe that this Fable was the same with, or at least a Copy of the Story of *Abraham's* entertaining the three Angels, who came and foretold to him the Birth of a Son, tho' *Sarah* his Wife was then superannuated. *M. le Clerc* (3) had this Notion of it, without insisting however upon the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Etymologies, which might have given some Probability to this Assertion. *Blaeu*, who took the Name of *Cæsius* (4), insinuates also that this same Fable had a great Resemblance to the Story of *Jacob*, so much the more as the Name of *Jacob's* Staff is given to the three brightest Stars

(1) This was the ancient Name of *Delos*. (2) *Odyss.* l. 11.

(3) *Bibl. Univ.* T. 6. (4) *Cæl. Poet. Astr. Art.* of *Orion*.

Stars in the Constellation of *Orion*; and the Name of *Jacob*, which signifies *strong against the Lord*, upon Account of the mysterious Combat he had with an Angel, may have given rise to it. Besides the *Arabians* call the Constellation of *Orion*, *Algebar*, or *Algebao*, *the Strong*, *the Giant*. M. *Michel*, in a Work entitled *Fasciculi Bremenses*, labours to prove the Conformity of this Fable with the History of *Abraham* and his Wife; but the Proofs and Etymologies which he offers for it, are hardly conclusive. In fine, the *Abbé Fourmont*, of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, has given a very large Dissertation to prove that this Story is the same with that of the Patriarch; but as this Dissertation is not yet printed, it is not my Business to pre-possess the Public on this Head.

In general, these Authors have to say in Favour of their Sentiments, that *Orion* being of *Tanagrus*, a City of *Beotia*, the Country where *Cadmus* settled, and having introduced thither the Religion of the *Phenicians*, the History of *Abraham* so celebrated in all the East, might have been known there.

But without entering farther into such Discussions, we shall only observe that *Orion* was placed in the Heavens, where he forms the brightest of the Constellations; and as it occupies a great Space there, this may probably have given the Ancients, and particularly *Pindar*, Occasion to say that he was of a monstrously large Size, which *Manilius* expresses in these Words; *magni pars maxima cæli*. Nothing was more noted among the Ancients than this Constellation. It is even mentioned in several Places of the Bible (1), and both the Septuagint, and the Vulgate call it *Orion*, as well as the *Greeks*. *Lycophron* gives it the Name of *Tripater* for the Reason assigned by *Euphorion*, who also says the *Beotians* called it *Candaor*. The *Arabians* made a Woman of *Orion*, whom they called *Algiauza*, with whom her Husband, called *Sokeil*, was exceedingly enamoured (a).

(1) Job. c. 9. v. 9. Ezek. c. 13. v. 10. Amos c. 5. v. 5.

(a) See *Thomas Hyde's* Religion of the *Persians* from *Onlog-Bsc*.

The Daughters of Orion. The Fable of the Daughters of *Orion*, who, according to *Ovid*, devoted themselves for the Preservation of *Thebes* infested with the Pestilence, and whose Ashes were transformed into young Men, undoubtedly signifies that their Example gave Courage to the young *Thebans*, who having till then led a soft and effeminate Life, had not Resolution to die for the Salvation of their Country.

C H A P. VIII.

An Explanation of the Fables of Byblis, and Caunus; of Iphis and Janthe, and Anaxarete; of Arion, &c.

Byblis and Caunus. HUMAN Nature often exhibits Scenes, which Passions not check'd in their Rise render equally criminal and dangerous. Such was the mad Passion of *Byblis* for her Brother *Caunus*, whereof we have the History in *Antoninus Liberalis* and *Ovid* (1) which they have embellished with a Circumstance that is only the Product of their own Imagination. They make this Maid travel over Countries in Quest of her Brother who fled from her, and at length bring her to *Caria*, where, according to the former, she was transformed into a *Hamadryad*, just as she was going to throw herself down from a Mountain; and according to the second, into a Fountain, which from that time bore her Name. They ought to have said on the contrary, that this Adventure happened in *Caria* itself, since it is certain, as we read in *Apollodorus* (2), and *Pausanias* (3), that *Miletus* their Father came from *Crete*, and planted a Colony in *Caria*, where he conquered a City, which he embellished and enlarged, and called it after his own Name: *Pausanias* adds that all the Men of that City having been slain during the Siege, the Conquerors married their Wives and Daughters. *Miletus* had for his Lot *Cranea*, the Daughter of *Micander*; and the Issue of this Marriage were *Caunus* and *Byblis*. This Princess having entertained a criminal Passion for her Brother, had

(1) Met. l. 9. (2) Lib. 3. (3) In 4.

had Recourse to all Means whereby to captivate his Heart; *Caunus* requited all his Sister's Solicitations with nothing but Scorn and Indifference, and seeing himself incessantly persecuted, travelled into distant Countries in Quest of that Tranquillity which he found not in his Father's House. *Byblis* not being able to live without him, nor to enjoy the Place where she was no longer blest with her Brother's Presence, retired into the Mountains, where she grieved herself to Death. *Ovid*, who did not let slip Occasions of painting the Weaknesses and Disorders of the Heart, has enlarged a great deal upon this History, for the Adventure is but too true. *Byblis* was transformed into a Fountain; an Emblem of the Flood of Tears she shed; and 'tis true there was a Fountain near *Miletus* that bore her Name.

Pausanias (1), who as an Historian says nothing of the Metamorphosis, informs us only that in the Country of the *Milefians* was a Fountain of *Byblis*, near which happened the celebrated Adventure of the Amours of that Princess. *Conon* (2), who is not always consonant to *Ovid* and the other Mythologists, says it was *Caunus* was in Love with his Sister, and tho' she had a mutual Affection for him, yet she never discovered any Thing but virtuous Sentiments. *Caunus* reduced to Despair by her Obstinacy, sought to remedy his Passion by Flight; and *Byblis*, unable to live without him, retired, as has been said, into the Heart of a Wood, where after shedding a Flood of Tears, she fastned her Girdle to a Walnut Tree and hanged herself.

In the mean Time *Caunus* arrived in *Lycia*, and there a *Naiad* ascending from the Bottom of a River (3), strove to console him, and offered him the Sovereignty of that Country, which was at her Disposal. *Caunus* believed her, took her to Wife, and had by her *Egialus*, who succeeded him, and who in order to draw together the People who were Subject to him, and who till then had led an erratic and vagabond Life, built a City which he called *Caunus*, after the

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Name

(1) Loc. cit. (2) In Phot. Narr. 2. (3) Her Name was *Protoë*.

Name of his Father. *Ovid*, who in his *Metamorphoses* follows the common Tradition, grants in his *Art of Love* that *Byblis* hanged herself.

Arsit, & est laqueo fortiter ulta nefas.

Miletus lived in the Time of *Minos* the First, and, according to some Authors, he married *Acacallide* his Daughter; but having quarrelled with his Father-in-law, he was obliged to quit the Island of *Crete*, and retire into *Caria*. Thus the *Æra* of *Minos's* Reign, which I have fixed elsewhere, will determine the Time to which the History now given refers.

Ovid has writ this Fable with all the Art of one who was thoroughly acquainted with the Weaknesses of the human Heart; but he enters into Details which chaste Ears can hardly bear.

Iphis and Ianthe. The Adventure of *Iphis*, who changes Sex by the Power of *Isis* (1), in order to gain a Mistress whom he fondly loved, is one of those Facts for which Medicine may challenge History; and therefore all I shall say is, that I find nothing in fabulous Antiquity, that has the least Conformity to this Adventure; but the Reader may consult *Ovid*, who has described it with a great deal of Art.

Iphis and Anaxarete. The same Poet, who had a Mind to collect all Fictions, relates also the Adventure of another *Iphis*, whom the Insensibility of *Anaxarete* his Mistress, reduced to hang himself in Despair, while *Anaxarete* was transformed into a Rock; an Emblem of the Hardness of her Heart.

Arion. But these are Trifles on which we insist not; let us come to the Fable of *Arion*, which exhibits a Fact more interesting and historical. *Arion*, according to *Hyginus* and *Probus*, was of the City *Metbymna* in the Island of *Lesbos*; he was a *Lyrick* Poet, and a skilful Player upon the Lute. Having gone into *Italy* along with *Periander* King of *Corinth*, his Friend and Protector, he there gained a deal of Wealth during the Stay he made there. In his Return, the Seamen who

(1) *Ovid. Met. l. 9.*

who managed the Ship where he was, having a Mind to kill him for the sake of his Riches, he begg'd to be allowed, before he died, to play some Tune, hoping perhaps to be able to subdue them by the Sweetness of his Melody. We are told that several Dolphins having gathered about the Ship, he flung himself into the Sea, and that one of them receiving him upon its Back, carried him as far as the Cape of *Tenarus*, whence having gone to *Periander's* Court, he informed him of his Adventure. That Prince having taken the Seamen, ordered them all to be crucified.

Pliny (1) and *Aulus Gellius* (2) affirm, after *Herodotus*, this to be the true Account of the Fact, and they enlarge very much upon the Love which Dolphins bear to Men, as to which 'tis so far true, that they follow Ships without being frightened (*a*); but 'tis more probable that *Arion*, to escape Death from the Seamen, threw himself into the Sea pretty near the Coast, and saved himself by swimming, and that he himself propagated the Fable of the Dolphin for the sake of Fame. Be that as it will, this Dolphin of *Arion* is believed to be that which is placed among the Stars. *Arion* lived in the Time of *Periander*, and about the twenty-eight Olympiad.

I ought however to add, that some Authors tell us the Sign of the *Dolphin* is composed of one *Delphinus*, who made *Amphitrite* consent to marry *Neptune*; others of one of those Mariners whom *Bacchus* transformed into *Dolphins*.

But now that I have been speaking of *Lesbos*, I shall subjoin here the Fable of *Nyctimene* the Daughter of *Epopeus* King of that Island (3), whom *Ovid* and the other Mythologists call *Nycteus*, who was transformed into an Owl. The Fact is, that her Father had entertained a criminal Passion for her, and that she went and hid herself from him in the Recesses of the Woods; which gave rise to

Nyctimene and Epopeus.

(1) L. 9. (2) Noct. Att. l. 16.

(a) See *Lucian* in the Dialogue of *Neptune*.

(3) *Hygin. Fab.* 204.

to her Transformation. *Laëtantius* (1) transports the Scene of this Incident into *Ethiopia*, whereof, according to him, *Nycteus* was King.

Harpalice. The Fable of *Harpalice* (2) offers to us a Fact no less shocking, and far more tragical, but unluckily not so well vouched in History : But I ought to draw a Veil over these Obscenities.

Dryope. That of *Dryope* is more moving, and not so hideous. As she was one Day in a Wood with her Child (3), she would needs pull a Branch of the Tree called *Lotos*, and was in an Instant transformed into a Tree ; as *Ovid* describes it in a very affecting Manner. But this is one of those uninteresting Facts which has no Foundation, but the Conformity between the Name of that Nymph, and that of the Oak which the *Greeks* called *Drys*, and which has a great Resemblance to the *Lote* Tree. But if we would reduce it to History, we might say that this Princess was punished for having offered to profane a Tree of some Wood consecrated to the Gods.

Olenus and his Wife Lethæa. That of *Olenus*, transformed into a Rock, presents us with such another Adventure. We are told, that in order to secure his Wife *Lethæa* from the Chastisement which she had incurred by her Impiety, he was willing to substitute himself in her stead ; but it was not in his Power to save her (4), and all he obtained was to share in her Punishment, and to be transformed into a Rock with her. This Adventure, doubtless, has no other Foundation, but that this Prince perished with his Wife, among the Rocks where they had taken shelter from the Pursuit of the Priests, who accused *Lethæa* of some Profanation.

The Cerastræ and the Propetides. The *Cerastræ*, whom *Ovid* speaks of in his *Metamorphoses* (5), a People of *Cyprus*, are said to have been transformed into *Bulls*, only to denote the barbarous and rude Manners of those Islanders, who stained Altars with the Blood of Strangers.

(1) *Ad. 3. Theb. v. 507.* (2) *Hygin. Fab. 206.* (3) *Ovid. Met. l. 10.* (4) *Met. l. 10.* (5) *Met. l. 11.*

Strangers. A mere Quibble gave rise to this Fable; for *Cerasta* imports a *Horn*.

Unde etiam nomen traxere Cerastæ (1);

And the Reason why they had this Name given them, is because the Island of *Cyprus* is surrounded with Promontories which project into the Sea, and exhibit pointed Rocks at a Distance; whence it got the Name of *Cerasta*, or *Horned*: This is the Source of the Fable (2).

The *Prophetides*, who dwelt in the same Island, were very debauched Women. *Justin* and several other Authors, give us amazing Accounts of a Custom which prevailed in that Island, of prostituting young Virgins, in the same Temple of the Goddess *Venus*. And how could they better do Honour to a married Goddess, whom all the Gods had surprized in Adultery? *Ovid* says (3) *Venus* had turned them to Prostitutes, to punish their Contempt of her. It was probably the neglect which those Women had of their Honour, that gave the Poets a Handle to transform them into Rocks (4).

It was much the same as to the Metamorphosis of the *Cercopes* into *Apes*: *The Cercopes into Monkies.*

- - - - - *Ut iidem*

Dissimiles homini possentque similesque videri (5).

The Fable having no other Foundation, but that there was upon a Mountain in *Sicily*, a Nest of crafty and tricking Robbers, who were called *Cercopes*, which is the *Greek* Name for a kind of *Monkey*.

Much the same Account is to be given of that Shepherd, whom *Ovid* makes to have been transformed into a *wild Olive-tree*, for having insulted Nymphs as they were dancing; because, probably, he was punished for his Insolence: His symbolical Transformation denotes the Character of that Savage:

- - - - - *Succoque licet cognoscere mores (6).*

C H A P.

(1) *Ovid. ib.* (2) *Bochart. Chan. l. 1. c. 3.* (3) *Met. l. 11.*
(4) *Idem. l. 10.* (5) *Ovid. Met. l. 14.* (6) *Ovid. ibid.*

C H A P. IX.

The Continuation of the Fables taken from Ovid:

THIS Poet, conformably to the Historians (1), relates the Adventure of *Cyppus* the Roman Captain, on whose Forehead Horns appeared upon his Return from a Conquest, or at going out of *Rome*, according to *Valerius Maximus*; upon which Occasion the Soothsayers and Augurs whom he consulted, unanimously predicted that if he entered *Rome*, he would be declared King thereof; and as he knew the Aversion the *Romans* had to the bare Name of King, he chose rather to go into voluntary Exile. The *Romans*, charmed with so generous Behaviour, set up a Head in Bronze with Horns upon the Gate through which he had passed, and it was called *Raudusculana*, because anciently Brass or Bronze was called *Raudera*.

To this Recital I shall subjoin some Remarks. First, that *Valerius Maximus* is mistaken in saying that this Portent happened when *Cyppus* came from *Rome*: It was in returning from the War, and after having brought a Reinforcement to the Consul *Valerius*; wherein *Ovid* is more consonant to History than *Valerius Maximus*. Secondly, that the Senate decreed Lands to *Cyppus*, who built a Country-house upon the Ground given him by the Public; which our Author says not. Thirdly, that this Event fell out in the third Year of the 135 Olympiad, in the Year of *Rome* 525, and 137 Years before *Jesus Christ*.

As to the Truth of this History, Authors are divided; and *Pliny* himself (2), who has been often accused of adopting the most incredible Things, says the Horns of *Cyppus* are as fabulous as those of *Acteon*. There are Naturalists however, who alledge that a strong and lively Imagination may operate such Prodigies, and it must be owned that Excrescences have sometimes been seen pretty like Horns. *Bayle* in his

News

(1) Met. l. 15. (2) Lib. 11. c. 37.

News from the Republic of Letters (1), says there appeared not long ago at *Palermo*, a Girl who had Horns all over her Body, not unlike those of a Calf. Farther, *Valerius Maximus*, as credulous as he is, says not they were real Horns, but somewhat like them: *In capite ejus subito veluti cornua emerferunt*. Notwithstanding all this, I am of Opinion, that *Cyppus* on his Return to *Rome*, having fancied he had Horns growing in his Head, consulted the *Augurs*, who having replied to him that he would be King if he entered the City, he chose rather voluntarily to submit to perpetual banishment.

In fine, the same Poet transiently touches upon some Metamorphoses still less important, which he endeavours to connect with his Subject as well as he is able. Such are those of the aged *Cerambus*, who is said to have been transformed into a Bird at the Time of the Deluge; a Fiction which signifies that he happily escaped some Inundation. He was, we are told, transformed into that kind of Beetle which has Horns; and it is the Etymology of his Name had given rise to the Transformation (a).

That of the Women of the Island of *Cos* transformed into *Heifers*, has no other Foundation, but that the Companions of *Hercules* slew some of them to offer them in Sacrifice to the Gods. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Rhodes* were said to be transformed into *Rocks*, because most of them perished in a great Inundation, which drowned almost the whole Island, and especially the City *Talisus*, the Inhabitants whereof were called *Telchines*, a Name given them by the *Greeks* upon Account of their Sorceries. For, according to *Diodorus*, they were mostly Sorcerers and Enchanters, whose Business it was by all kinds of evil Arts to injure their Neighbours. Thus the Inundation wherein they perished, was construed a Judgment from Heaven, and gave

(1) July 1686.

(a) The *Greeks* call the Beetle, *κέραμβον* upon Account of its Horns.

gave Occasion to fable that they had been transformed into *Rocks*.

The same Author says the Daughter of *Alcidas*, was transformed into a *Pigeon*, to denote her Fruitfulness. *Hirie* into a *Pond*,

because upon the Death of her Son *Cygnus*, she threw herself into a Pond which went from that Time by her Name: *Combe* into a *Bird*, be-

cause he dextrously made his Escape, against all Probability, from a Conspiracy of his Sons, who were going to have put him to death:

Mera into a *Bitch*, an Emblem of her Rage and Despair, *Diana* having banished her from her Company upon Account of her Gallantries: *Me-*

Menephron into a *Brute*, to denote the Abhorrence which all Nature had to his infamous Passion; his Mother is thought to have put him

to death before he executed his Design: *Arne* into an *Owl*, because having sold his Country, his Avarice was signified by the Symbol of that Bird, which, according to popular Opinion, loves Money.

Phillyra, the Mother of the Centaur *Chiron*, into a *Linden-tree*, because the Name of that Woman was the same in *Greek* with that of this Tree.

That of *Metra*, the Daughter of *Erisichthon*, deserves a little more Attention:

'Tis *Achelous* who relates it to *Theseus* (1). *Erisichthon* having cut a Tree consecrated to *Ceres*, that Goddess revenged herself upon him by making him so famished, that he eat up himself at last. In vain had his Daughter *Metra*, to whom *Neptune*, who loved her, communicated the Power of transforming herself into several Shapes, sold herself to several Masters to procure her Father Sustenance; all was to no Purpose, he died in a miserable Manner, as has been said. *Ovid* describes the canine Hunger of *Erisichthon*, with all the Ornaments of Poetry; but, after all, it is thought that

(1) Met. l. 8.

that the various Transformations of that Maid, conceal her Debaucheries.

Our Poet adds, that she married *Autolycus*, that famous Robber, so noted for having stole the Oxen of *Eurytus*. *Callymachus* in his Hymn to *Ceres*, describes the Fable of *Erisichthon* at length, and gives him for his Father *Triopas* the Son of *Neptune* and *Canuce* the Daughter of *Eolus*. *Julius Scaliger* (1) endeavours to reconcile *Ovid*'s Narration with that of the Greek Poet, by means of the Relations of *Erisichthon*, whom Antiquity reckons an Atheist, and especially by means of his Son-in-law *Autolycus*, the Grandfather of *Ulysses*: We find that he lived forty or fifty Years before the taking of *Troy*.

That of *Æsacus* deserves also some Attention: I shall take the Account of it from *Apollodorus* (2), and *Ovid* (3), who are agreed in the first Place that he was the Son of *Priam*, and that he was transformed into a *Didapper*, but they differ as to the other Circumstances of this History. The latter of these Authors, as we have seen elsewhere, says the Mother of *Æsacus* was named *Alixothoe*, and that she was the Daughter of the River *Cebrenus*, or as it is in some Authors, of the *Granicus*. He adds, that *Æsacus* pursuing *Hesperis*, with whom he was in Love, that Nymph had been stung by a Serpent; and that young Prince not being able to support the Death of one he loved so dearly, had thrown himself into the Sea, and been transformed into a *Didapper*. *Apollodorus* says *Æsacus* was the Son of *Priam* and *Arisba* the Daughter of *Merope*, his first Wife; that his Father made him marry *Sterope*, who having died very young, he was so afflicted therewith that he flung himself into the Sea. That Author adds, that *Priam* having divorced *Arisba* to marry *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus*, *Æsacus* finding his Mother-in-law with Child of her second Son, had foretold his Father that that Child would one Day prove the Author of a bloody War, which would bring about the Ruin of *Troy*, and that

(1) Poet. l. 5. c. 8. (2) Lib. 3. (3) Met. l. 11.

that from this Prediction the Child was exposed on Mount *Ida*. *Tzetzes* adds, that *Esacus* had told his Father that he must put to Death the Mother and the Child who was to be born that Day ; and that *Priam* being informed that *Cilla* the Wife of *Timoetes* was that Day delivered of a Son, he put her to Death with her Child ; presuming thereby to be able to elude the Prediction. *Servius*, upon the Authority of *Euphron*, relates the Story in the same Manner ; but an ancient Poet, cited by *Cicero* in his first Book of *Divination*, says it was the Oracle of *Zelia*, a little Town at the Foot of Mount *Ida*, that had delivered this Response, as the Interpretation of *Hecuba's* Dream. *Pausanias* in his *Phocics*, alledges it was the Sibyl *Herophyle* who interpreted this Dream, and several other Authors give the Honour thereof to *Cassandra*. Be that as it will, *Apollodorus* informs us further, that *Æsacus* had learned the Art of Prediction from his Grandfather *Meropus*. Probably he left the Principles thereof in his Family, since we see that *Cassandra* and *Helenus* practised it afterwards. The Transformation of *Æsacus* into a *Didapper*, is one of those Episodes that was invented to console the Parents ; a Key which ought often to serve as a Principle, for explaining most of these sorts of Events.

Phillis and Demopheon. *Phillis* was the Daughter of *Lycurgus*, King of the *Daulians*, 'a People of *Thrace*. *Demopheon* King of *Athens*, the Son and Successor of *Theseus*, having taken *Daulis* in his Way, captivated her Affections ; but having learned that *Minestheus* had died in his Return from the *Trojan War*, he was obliged to set out for *Athens* in order to take Possession of that Kingdom, which that Prince had usurped from *Theseus*. He promised to *Phillis* to return so soon as his Affairs were ended, and signified the Time to her pretty near. The Day that she expected him being arrived, she run nine Times to the Shore where he was to have landed, and hearing no Account of him, she hanged herself in Despair, or according to others, threw herself into the Sea. The Place

Place where she ended her Days was called *The nine Ways, Novem Viæ*, in Memory of that Race nine times repeated; this was also the first Name of *Amphipolis*, built in the same Place, which *Antipater* in an Epigram of the Anthology calls *Phillis's Tomb*. We have in *Ovid* a fine Epistle from this Princess to *Demophoon*, where she expresses to him all her Love, and her ardent Desire to see him again, in which it appears that *Demophoon* had promised to return at the End of four Months. This is the true History of *Phillis*; but to give an Air of the Marvellous to this Adventure, it was given out that the Gods had transformed her into an *Almond-tree*, because in Fact that Tree is called in *Greek Philla*. *Hyginus* (1) says nothing of this Metamorphosis: He only says there grew Trees upon that Virgin's Tomb, whose Leaves at a certain Season of the Year appear moist, as if they were shedding Tears for her. In those ancient Times, a small Resemblance was a sufficient Foundation for tacking a Metamorphosis to the End of a true History. But if I be asked the Reason why, at the Return of *Demophoon*, the *Almond-tree* flourished? I answer this Circumstance is only the Play of some Poet's Imagination; or it implies, some Stroke of Physiology of no great Importance. We are told that as the *Almond-tree* flourishes while the *Zephyr* blows, which Wind blows in *Thrace* towards *Athens*, it was said that this was *Phillis's* Lover come to visit her, and that she expressed her Joy at his Return by expanding her Blossoms.

Egesta, the Daughter of *Hippotas* a noble *Trojan*, was sent to *Sicily* by

Crinifus transformed into a Bear.

her Father, to prevent her being exposed to the Monster which *Neptune* had raised up to punish *Laomedon*: The River *Crinifus* fell in love with her, and transformed himself into a Bear to seduce her, as we learn from *Virgil* (a). This Fable includes a Piece of His-

VOL. IV.

D d

tory

(1) Fab. 59.

(a) *Troia Criniso conceptum flumine mater.*

Quem genuit - - - occurrit Acestes.

Horridus in jaculis & pelle Libystidis ursæ.

tory veiled, as all the rest, under poetical Fictions ; and we have only to divest it of them, or rather to explain two Circumstances therein : That of the River *Crinifus*, which is to be understood of the King, who was afterwards confounded with the River of the same Name ; and that of his Transformation, which may be explained by saying that *Crinifus* hid himself in Rocks and Caves to lie in wait for *Egesta*, or rather that he went on board a Ship named *the Bear*, to pursue her.

Whatever be in this Fable, *Egesta* became the Mother of the famous *Acestes* King of *Sicily*, so noted in the *Eneid* for giving a magnificent Entertainment to *Eneas* and his Companions, as his Allies. After this manner is the Story related by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, strip'd of its poetical Dress. *Laomedon*, disobliged at a noble *Trojan*, put him to Death, as also all his Sons, and sold his Daughters to some Merchants, on Condition that they would transport them into foreign Countries. In the mean Time, a young Man of Quality being in the Ship that carried them, fell in love with one of those Virgins, and having bought her, conveyed her into the Island of *Sicily*, where he married her. Some Time after she bore *Acestes*, who upon the Death of *Laomedon*, obtained *Priam's* Permission to return to *Troy*, where he was during the War : But seeing his Country ruined by the *Greeks*, he returned to *Sicily* in one of the Ships that *Achilles* left near some Rocks which they had touched upon. *Eneas* arriving there some time after, assisted him in building two Cities, and there left the most useless of his Crew.

Such are the Fables of *Ovid*, that remained for me to explain ; and if I omit some of them, 'tis that I may not tire the Patience of my Readers, by enlarging upon Subjects that deserve no Regard, and have no Connection with the History of the World.

C H A P. X.

Fables collected by Conon *and* Antoninus Liberalis.

CONON lived in the Time of *Archelaus Philopater*, the last King of *Cappadocia*, to whom he dedicated a small Work, containing Fifty Narrations or Pieces of History, taken from ancient Authors; and *Archelaus* having obtained that Kingdom from *Marc Antony*, about Forty Years before the Christian Æra, we see thereby at what Time *Conon* lived, who from hence appears different from the Astronomer of the same Name, who flourished under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. As *Photius* had copied him, it is in him his Work is preserved.

Conon had often followed Traditions different from those of other Mythologists, without informing us whence he took them. I believe I have quoted, upon Occasions that offered, such of that Author's Narrations, as had Connection with the Fables I have explained in the Course of this Work: As to those whereof I have made no Mention, they are mostly little Stories, in which there is nothing now interesting.

Antoninus Liberalis, whom Authors take to be the same mentioned by *Suetonius*, who reckons him in the Number of the most illustrious Grammarians, and of whom *Eusebius* also makes mention in his Chronicle, composed a Work upon the Metamorphoses; but he takes Care to inform us that he had taken them, either from *Nicander's* Book intitled *Ἑτεροίεμνον*, *The Transformations of Figures*, or from *Boeus's* Ornithology, or from some other Ancients, whose Works are lost. I have also quoted most of them occasionally; and shall only give the Reader Notice, that most of the rest contain only Facts that stand by themselves, and that almost all the Metamorphoses mentioned by this Author, of Persons transformed either into Beasts or Birds, or into whatever Form it is, answer almost always

to their Names: Thus the Rules I have laid down in the first Volume, are sufficient for understanding and explaining them.

C H A P. XI.

Fables taken from Hyginus.

Icarus and Erigone. **I** Begin with that of *Icarus*, the Son of *Oebalus*, who (1) having given Wine to some Shepherds of *Attica*, they intoxicated themselves, and believing he had made them drink Poison, slew him and cast him into a Well. A Bitch discovered him to his Daughter *Erigone*, who hanged herself for Grief. Upon this, the Pestilence laying waste *Athens*, the Oracle being consulted, let them know that *Bacchus* was avenging the Death of *Icarus*, who had taught them to plant the Vine. The Murderers were sought out, and put to Death. A Festival was even instituted in honour of *Icarus* and *Erigone*, at which Wine and Grapes were offered to them in Sacrifice, in acknowledgement of the Blessing they had received from them, in being taught by them to cultivate the Vine. This was not all, they fabled afterwards that the Gods had placed them in the Heavens, where *Icarus* formed the Constellation of *Bootes*, *Erigone* the Sign of the *Virgin*, *Mera*, *Icarus's* Bitch, that of the *Dog-Star* or *Canicula*.

There is nothing extraordinary in all this but the Apotheosis, the rest needs no Explication. *Apollodorus* (2) tells us, that *Icarus* had by his Wife *Periba* five Sons, *Troas*, *Damessippus*, *Imensinus*, *Aletes* and *Perilaus*, and another Daughter *Penelope*, who was married to *Ulysses* (a).

Theonea. The History of *Theonea*, related by *Hyginus* (3), furnishes a very moving Adventure. This Princess was the Daughter of *Thestor*, and Sister to

(1) Fab. 130. (2) L. 3.

(a) See what has been said of this Marriage in the History of *Ulysses*.

(3) Fab. 90.

to *Leucippe*: Pyrates finding her upon the Sea-shore as she was walking, carried her off, and sold her to *Icarus* King of *Caria*. Her Father, who loved her passionately, fitted out a Ship in haste to pursue the Ravishers; but having suffered Shipwreck upon the Coasts of *Caria*, he was taken and brought to the Court of the King, who ordered him to be laid in Prison. *Leucippe* not hearing of her Father, went and consulted the Oracle to know what she should do to find him, and the Answer given her was, that she was to cut her Hair, and go in quest of him under the Habit of a Priest of *Apollo*, until she had found him out. This young Virgin set out forthwith, and arrived in *Caria* in the Equipage the Oracle had ordered her to take. *Theonea*, struck with the Beauty of the young Priest, fell in love with him; and he refusing to gratify her Passion, she clap'd him in Chains, and ordered *Thestor* to put him secretly to death. He having entered the Prison with the Sword which *Theonea* had given him, told the pretended Priest, whose sad Fate probably affected him, that he was still more unhappy than he, since having lost his two Daughters, *Leucippe* and *Theonea*, he was also put upon this cruel Action; he added that he chose rather to die than perpetrate it, and thereupon was going to have stabb'd himself to the Heart. *Leucippe*, knowing her Father, snatched the Poniard from him, run to the Apartment of *Theonea* to put her to death, and called her Father *Thestor* to her Assistance; at this Name *Theonea* cried out that she was his Daughter. *Icarus* hearing of so extraordinary an Event, loaded all the three with Presents and Caresses, and sent them home to their own Country. This in short is the same *Thestor*, who was the Father of *Calchas* so noted at the Siege of *Troy*, as *Hyginus* remarks, so that we see the Time when this Incident happened.

Alope the Daughter of *Cercyon*, who claimed *Vulcan* for his Father (1), was so beautiful, that she kindled love in the God of the

Alope transformed into a Fountain.

(1) Hygin. Fab. 287.

Sea, who had a Son by her whom she secretly exposed, to prevent her Father's coming to the Knowledge of her Frailty. When she exposed him, she covered him with a Part of her Robe, which she had torn for that End. A Mare strayed from the Herd was giving her suck, when a Shepherd, who was seeking for her, seeing this Prodigy, took up the Child, and carried him to his Hut. His Companion, charmed with the goodly Mein of the Child, demanded him from him, and got him quite naked; he to whom he was given, demanded also the Robe, which was refused him; whereupon the two Shepherds quarreling with one another, they tabled their Complaint before *Cercyon*, who knew his Daughter's Robe, ordered the Mother to be put to Death, and the Child to be exposed once more; and as another Mare took care to nurse him, the Shepherds who discovered him, presuming that he was under the Protection of the Gods, brought him up, and gave him the Name of *Hippothous*. *Theseus*, as has been said in his History, having slain the cruel *Cercyon*, gave that Tyrant's Dominions to *Hippothous*, who was descended with him from *Neptune*.

*Argé transformed
into a Stag.*

The Transformation of *Argé* into a Stag by the *Sun* (1), provoked at her for having said of a Stag that was flying before her, that tho' he went as swift at that Luminary, she would overtake him, conceals the Adventure of a Virgin, otherwise unknown, who was very fond of hunting, and perished in the Woods. *Borchart* (2) derives the Name of *Argé* from the *Hebrew* Word *Arga*, which signifies the Cry of Stags; and if so, we may well say she had no fine Voice.

To these Fables, which I ought to explain, as I have done others in the Course of this Work, the same Author has subjoined another Mythological Work, to which he gives the Name of *Cælum Poetico-Astronomicum*, wherein he shews, that almost all the Signs and Constellations bear the Name of some Heroe; their Souls, according to the ancient Theology of *Paganism*, having

(1) Hygin. Fab. 205. (2) Hier. part. first col. 883.

having taken Possession of them after their Deification : Thus it is that *Cepheus*, *Cassiopeia*, *Andromeda* and *Perseus*, form the Constellations that bear their Names ; *Calisto* that of the *Greater Bear* ; her Son *Arcas* the *Artophylax* ; *Castor* and *Pollux*, the Sign of the *Twins* ; *Chiron*, that of the *Centaur* ; *Medea*, the *Cup* ; *Amalthea*, the *Goat* ; *Cygnus*, the *Swan* ; *Pegasus*, the *Horse* ; the *Dragon* of the *Hesperides*, the *Serpent* ; the *Bull* and *Eagle*, whose Figures *Jupiter* assumed to carry off *Europa* and *Ganymede*, the two Signs that bear their Names ; *Ariadne's Crown*, that which is in the Heavens ; the *Lyre*, that of *Mercury* or *Orpheus* ; *Erichthonius* the Charioteer, called *Heniochus* or *Auriga* ; *Hercules*, who slew near the River *Sangar* in *Lydia*, a frightful *Serpent*, or, according to others, *Lyncus* who was going to put *Triptolemus* to death, the Sign of *Serpentarius* ; the *Arrow* is that which the same *Hercules* made use of to slay the *Eagle*, that preyed upon *Prometheus's* Liver ; the *Ram* which saved *Phryxus*, the Sign *Aries* ; the *Crab*, that which *Juno* raised up to bite *Hercules*, while he was employed in killing the *Hydra* of *Lerna* ; the *Lion*, that of *Nemea* ; *Astrea*, or, according to others, *Erigone*, that of the *Virgin* ; the *Scorpion*, that which *Diana* produced from the Earth, to be avenged of *Orion* for his Insolence ; the *Centaur*, or according to many Authors, *Creton*, Foster-father to the Muses, *Sagittarius* ; *Pan*, or *Ægipan*, *Capricornus* ; *Aquarius*, *Ganymede* ; *Venus* and her Son the *Fishes*, because it was under the Figure of *Fishes*, that they saved themselves in *Syria* from the Pursuit of *Typhon* ; the Monster which *Neptune* raised up to devour *Andromeda*, the *Whale* ; the *Nile*, or the *Ocean* (for both these Names were given to that River) the *Eridanus*, or *Canopus* ; *Orion* the Constellation that bears his Name ; as the celestial *Hare* is that which was pursued by that famous Hunter's Dog, as he seems still to do on our Globes.

There are other Authors however who give us another History on this Occasion, *Hares* say they had never been seen in the Island of *Lero*, or rather of *Hiero*, when a young Man who was passionately desirous

that there should be some there for the Pleasure of hunting them, brought one thither, and took so great Care of its young, that in a little time the whole Island was stocked with them, and they multiplied there afterwards to such a Degree, that they consumed all, and occasioned a Famine there; insomuch that it was found necessary to exterminate them. The Gods, they add, placed one of them in the Heavens, to teach Men that the things they most ardently desire are often the most pernicious to us. The Dog which *Jupiter* gave to *Europa* to guard her, and whereof *Minos* made a Present to *Procris*, and she to *Cephalus* her Husband, forms the Sign which bears that Name, tho' 'tis alledged that this too is that of *Erigone*. *Procyon* (1), the Constellation so called, because it rises before the great Dog, represents that of the celebrated *Orion*; *Argo* is formed of the Ship of the *Argonauts*; the *Centaur* represents the famous *Chiron*; the Altar, the Work of the *Cyclops*, that upon which the Gods sacrificed before they gave Battle to the *Titans*; the *Hydra*, above which is the Raven, with an antique Horn, is either that Bird itself, or *Coronis* the Mother of *Esculapius*, transformed into a Crow; the Fish, that which procured Water to *Iris*, or according to other Authors, to *Derceto*, while she was oppressed with extreme Thirst, also appears in the Heavens fetching Water from *Aquarius*. The Mythologists, to mention it by the by, consider this Fish as the Father of two others, which form in the Zodiac the Sign which bears their Name; the *Dolphin* again that which saved *Arion*.

We say nothing here of the five Planets which bear the Name of so many Divinities; nor of the *Hyades*, whereof we have spoke in the History of *Atlas*; nor of the milky Way, the Fable whereof has been given in the History of *Hercules*; nor in fine, of some other Signs or Constellations, that I might not repeat what has been said of them already.

BOOK

(1) That is, *Antecanis*.



B O O K VIII.

Of the Games of the Greeks.

BY these Games, as has been already said, I understand that Sort of Shows which Religion had consecrated, and which were exhibited in *Greece*, and afterwards at *Rome*, either in a *Circus*, or in the *Stadium*, or in the *Amphitheatres*, or in other Places destined to that Use. I say, which Religion had consecrated, for besides that there was none of them but was dedicated either to some God in particular, or to several, the Solemnization of them never commenced, as we learn from *Tertullian*, till after having offered Sacrifices, and performed other religious Ceremonies (a); and afterwards when the *Romans* adopted those Games, the Senate made an Act bearing that they should always be dedicated to some Divinity. If we would trace the Origine of those Games, the same *Tertullian* tells us that the *Lydians* were the first Inventors of them, and that *Tyrrhenus*, obliged to resign to his Brother the Part which he claimed in the Dominions their Father, had left them, having planted a Colony in that Part of *Italy*, which from that Time was called *Tyrrhenia*, introduced thither the Use of those Sorts of Shows. *Herodotus* (1), and after him *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, had said (2) the same thing long before, and the former of these Authors informs us it was during a Famine which raged in *Lydia* in the Time of *Atys* the Son of *Menes*, that the *Lydians*, to redress their Grievances, finding the Ground when cultivated, did not answer the Expectation of the Labourer, invented for their Amusement several Sorts of Games; but, to say the Truth,

(a) *In ludis quanta sacra, quanta sacrificia præcedunt, intercedunt, succedunt.* De Spect.

(1) L. 11. (2) L. 2.

Truth, those which *Herodotus* speaks of were rather Games of Recreation than Shows of Religion.

I know not whether it was from the *Lydians* that the *Greeks* formed the Idea of them ; but 'tis certain that their Use was known in *Greece* in the heroic Age. These Games of the *Greeks*, for 'tis theirs and some of those of the *Romans* that I intend to speak of in this Book, were instituted on different Occasions, and Religion or pious Duties were always the Motives of their Institution.

They may be considered, either as destined to be celebrated at set Times, such as the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian* Games ; or as simple Vows immediately executed ; or as Duties paid to the illustrious Dead, such as those which *Acastus* appointed to be celebrated at the Death of his Father *Pelias*, the *Greeks* in Honour of *Achilles*, and *Aeneas* at the Anniversary of the Death of *Anchises* his Father ; or as public or private. The former were celebrated in Honour of the Gods to whom they were consecrated ; the others were ordered at *Rome* by the Magistrates, especially while they were *Ediles* or *Pretors*. According to *Lactantius*, the Games were Festivals dedicated to the Gods, either to celebrate their Birth, or the Dedication of their Temples (a) ; and their Celebration consisted in different Sorts of Exercises or Combats, as shall be said afterwards.

Ausonius had observed that among the four principal Games of *Greece*, namely the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian*, two were consecrated to Gods, and two to Heroes ; but his Remark is not accurate ; for 'tis certain that the first were dedicated to *Jupiter*, the second to *Apollo*, the fourth to *Neptune*, and the third alone to *Archemorus* the Son of *Lycurgus*. 'Tis also certain that the *Equestrian* or *Curule* Games were dedicated to the Sun and to *Neptune*, the *Agonalia* and the *Gymnica* to *Mars* and *Diana* ; the *Scenic*, the *Poetic* Games,

(a) *Ludorum celebrationes Deorum festa erant, qui quidem ob natalis eorum, vel Templorum novorum dedicationes sunt constituti.*

Divin. Instit. lib. 6. c. 3.

Games, and those of Singing and Music to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and *Venus*, to the rest.

As most of those Games, at least in *Greece*, had been instituted by Heroes, upon important Occasions, they made no Scruple to enter the Lists themselves, and it was fabled that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, had formerly disputed the Victory. In after Ages, when all Comers were permitted to enter the Lists, these Sorts of Exercises were divided: The Grandees and Kings themselves appeared there either in the Horse or Chariot Races; while the less noble Trials of Skill, such as Wrestling, Fencing and others, were reserved for the Populace, and for the Gladiators, who held the last Rank of all, and at the same Time the most despicable.

Nothing, in short, was more celebrated in *Greece*, than these Games, especially those of *Olympia*: It was upon them that the whole Chronology of *Greece* rested, and its principal Events were dated from the Time of their Celebration. The *Greeks* made those Games often the Subjects of their whole Conversation and their sole Employment; and as they were celebrated in different Times and Places, they were always careful to be prepared for them. Oftentimes too the Time from one *Olympiad* to another, that is, a Revolution of four Years, was not sufficient for that Effect. Those who were disposed to combat therein, chose the best Horses, and took particular Care of the Beauty and Lightness of their Chariots: In a Word, these Games engaged the chief Attention and were the most ordinary Employment of People, distinguished either by their Birth, or by their Actions; especially among the Youth. Multitudes flock'd to them not only from all Quarters of *Greece*, but also from the neighbouring Countries, and nothing was so magnificent as those Sorts of Assemblies.

What made the *Greeks* so ardent on this Head was the Honour that accrued to the Conquerors, and the Fame which they got thro' all *Greece*, and even in other Countries, by Victories gained in those Games; they

they were distinguished on all Occasions, and had every where the most honourable Places. The greatest Poets thought it their Honour to celebrate those Victories, and it is to their Triumphs we owe the Odes of *Pindar*. It was not, doubtless, from a Motive of Avarice that those Competitors strove to carry the Victory from one another: A mere Wreath of Laurel, Olive, Poplar, or of some Plant, and Statues raised in Honour of the Conquerors, were all the Rewards allotted to them. 'Tis true other Marks of Distinction were annexed to the Victory afterwards; those who won it having commonly the chief Places in the public Assemblies, and often a Breach was made in the Walls; to receive as in Triumph those who conquer'd at *Olympia*; but still it is certain that at first Glory was the sole Motive that animated those who entered the Lists in those Games. I say, Avarice was not the usual Motive of the Combatants, tho' it may have been so in the Funeral Games, where the Prize was either Slaves, or Moveables, or even Money; but these Games were commonly celebrated but once.

C H A P. I.

The Motives for the Institution of those Games, and their different Kinds.

I Said Religion often gave Rise to the Institution of those Games; but I ought to add that Policy had likewise a good Share therein; and that Policy had two principal Objects; one that thereby the *Greeks* acquired from their Youth a martial Genius, and qualified themselves for Battles and other military Expeditions; the other, that they became thereby more nimble, more alert and robust; these Exercises being very proper, according to the most skilful Physicians, to promote bodily Strength and a vigorous State of Health. Further, we may easily conceive, that such a Subject has escaped neither the Ancients nor Moderns; both have written upon it; even the Fathers of the Church, *Tertullian*,

tullian, Clement of Alexandria, S. Cyprian, S. Augustine, have made Mention of it in their Works. But no Ancient has enlarged more fully, especially as to the *Olympic Games*, than *Pausanias*, who has given a very full and curious Description of them.

These Sorts of Exercises were commonly divided into three Classes; into Races, Combats, and Shows. The first, which were denominated *Ludi Equestres, si-ve Curules*, consisted in Races that were performed in the *Circus*, dedicated to the Sun, or to *Neptune*. The second were called *Agonales* or *Gymnici*, whence the Name *Gymnastic* was derived, which was employed to signify all in general, and which consisted of Combats and Wrestling, partly of Men, and partly of wild Beasts trained for that Purpose; and it was in the *Amphitheater* consecrated to *Mars* and *Diana*, that these Exercises were performed. The third, in short, were *Scenici, Poetici, Musici*, consisting of Tragedies, Comedies and Satyrs that were represented upon the *Theater*, in Honour of *Bacchus, Venus, Apollo* and *Minerva*.

Under these general Classes were included all the Games of *Greece* and *Rome*; such were the *Pythian*, the *Nemean*, the *Isthmic*, the *Olympic*, the *Pyrrhic*, the *Megale-sian*, the *Aetiac*, the *Apollinarian*, the *Capitoline Games*, those of *Ceres*, the *Equestrian*, the *Floral*, the *Iselastie*, the *Juvenal*, the *Hieronie*, those of the Youth, those of the married Men, the *Neronian*, the *Plebeian*, the *Roman*, the *Secular*, the *Trojan*, and several others; in fine, the Funeral Games, such as those I mentioned a little while ago.

These last were commonly celebrated but once, and returned not, like the rest, at set Times. I say commonly, for some of them, tho' Funeral in their Original, as the *Nemean*, instituted on Occasion of the Death of *Archemorus*, and some others, became perpetual, and were resumed regularly at certain Times.

Among those that were renewed, there were some whose Celebration was fixed and stated, and were therefore called *Stativi*; others that depended upon the Ap-
point-

pointment of the Magistrate, *Indictivi*; others, in short; that were the Consequence of a Vow made on important Occasions, *Votivi*; lastly, there were of them *annual, triennial, decennial, Secular, &c.*

We are only to remark that all these Games were not peculiar to *Greece*, since several of them, as is obvious, were of *Roman* Institution.

CHAP. II.

Of the Founders of those Games.

H*yginius* in the 273 Fable names fifteen Founders of Games, until *Eneas* who was the fifteenth; but the Names of the four first are not now to be found, neither in the Manuscripts of that Author, nor in the printed Copies, while neither *Kunius* nor his other Commentators have given themselves the Trouble to fill up this Blank. This Chapter of *Hyginus* begins therefore with the fifth Founder of Games. *Danaus*, says he, the Son of *Belus*, instituted Games at *Argos* in Honour of the Marriage of his Daughters; and as *Epithalamiums* were sung there, for those Games consisted of no other Trials of Skill but those of Music, they got the Name of *Hymenean*; *Lynceus* his Son-in-law, the Son of *Egyptus*, whom our Author makes the sixth, founded of them in the same City in Honour of *Juno Argian* (a). The Conquerors in those Games, instead of a Crown, received a Buckler, because *Lynceus* having escaped the general Massacre of the other Sons of *Egyptus*, took from the Temple of that Goddess the Buckler which *Danaus* had consecrated there, to give it to his Son *Abas*, who had it after the Death of his Father-in-law. These Games were renewed at stated Times. The seventh Founder, according to the same Author, was *Perseus*, who solemnized them at the Funerals of *Polydectes*, who had taken Care of his Education; and *Perseus* combating there himself, had the Misfortune to slay his Grand-father *Acrisius*, with the Blow of a Coit. The

(a) These Games were called ἀσπιτομαχίαι, from a Word compounded of ἀσπίς or, Ἀσπίς, &c.

The eighth was *Hercules*, who instituted the *Gymnic Games* at *Olympia* in Honour of *Pelops*, the Son of *Tantalus*; and this Heroe won the Prize there of the *Pancratia*, that is, according to *Aristotle*, of the boxing and wrestling Matches, or to speak more accurately, of the single Wrestling, and the compound Wrestling. The seven *Chieftains* who led the Army to *Thebes*, instituted the *Nemean Games* in Honour of *Archemorus*, the Son of *Lycurgus* and *Eurydice*, as has been said in speaking of the *Theban War*, and they are reckoned by *Hyginus* the ninth Founders; *Eratocles*, or rather *Theseus*, is the tenth, who instituted Games in the *Isthmus of Corinth*, in Honour of *Melicerta* the Son of *Athamas* and *Ino*, which got the Name of *Isthmic*: these two last were renewed also at stated Times. The *Argonauts*, whom the same Author reckons the Eleventh, celebrated Funeral Games in Honour of *Cyzicus*, whom *Jason* had slain by Accident: Jumping, Wrestling, and throwing the Javelin, were the Three Combats there exhibited. *Acastus* the Son of *Pelias*, after the Return of the *Argonauts*, appointed the Celebration of Funerals in Honour of his Father, where most of those Heroes disputed the Prize. *Zethus* the Son of *Aquilo*, was Conqueror there, as also *Calais* his Brother, in the *Diakulus* or double Course (a). *Castor* in that of the *Stadium*, and *Pollux* his Brother in the Gauntlet Fight; *Telamon* in that of the Coit; *Pelias* in the Wrestling Match; *Hercules* in all the Combats; *Meleager* in that of the Javelin; *Cygnus* the Son of *Mars* slew therein *Diodotus* in a desperate Fight; *Bellerophon* was victorious in the Horse-Race; *Iolaus* the Son of *Iphichus*, in the Chariot-Race, where he outstripped *Glaucus* the Son of *Sisyphus*, whose Horses turned head-strong. *Eurithus* the Son of *Mercury* gained the Victory in shooting the Bow; *Cephalus* in Slinging; *Olympus*, the Disciple of *Marsyas*, in blowing the Trumpet; *Orpheus* the Son of *Oeagrus*, gained the Prize of the Harp; *Linus*, the Son of *Apollo*, that of Singing; *Eumolpus*

(a) This is what was called *Dolichodromos*. See the Treatise of *Mercurialis*, l. 2. p. 159.

Eumolpus that of the Voice, in Concert with the Trumpet.

These Games, as we may easily see, were very solemn, and almost all sorts of Trials of Skill were exhibited therein, which were frequently but in Part in most of the other Games.

Priam is the Thirteenth, who after having exposed his Son *Paris*, appointed Games to be celebrated several Years after, near a Cenotaph which he had raised in Honour of him, wherein contended *Neleus* the Son of *Nereus*, *Helenus*, *Deiphobus*, and *Polytesus*, all three Sons of *Priam*; *Telephus* the Son of *Hercules*, *Cygnus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Paris* himself, who having vanquished his Brothers, was acknowledged by his Father.

Achilles is the Fourteenth in this List, who celebrated Funeral Games in Honour of *Patroclus*, which are so elegantly described in the Twenty fourth Book of the *Iliad*. In fine, *Eneas* is the last, who celebrated Games at the Court of *Acestes* his Host, in Honour of *Anchises* his Father, dead a Year before, for which I refer to the Fifth Book of the *Eneid*.

As this Author makes no mention of the *Pythian* Games, celebrated in Honour of *Apollo*, nor of some others of much the same Antiquity, I make no doubt but that their Institutors were those whom he had mentioned in the Place of that Chapter which is lost.

All these Games had each their Combats and particular Ceremonies; and it was these Combats and Exercises that made up the *Gymnastic* of the Ancients; but as I am not to treat of this Subject thoroughly, it having no Connection with Mythology, I refer the Curious to the Treatise of *Jerom Mercurialis*, to that of *Peter Faustus*, and to the learned Dissertations of *M. Burette*, dispersed thro' almost all the Volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles-Lettres*.

However, to instruct such as have no Access to those Authors, I shall give here a general Notion of this *Gymnastic*.

C H A P. III.

Wherein we explain what the Gymnastic was.

THE Word *Gymnastic* comes from a *Greek* Word, that signifies *naked*, because it was in that Attitude the *Athletes* fought, at least from the Time of the Accident that befel *Orcippus*, whose Drawers being untied, embarrassed him, and hindered him from gaining the Victory; which happened in the Thirty second *Olympiad*. There were in the Games of *Greece* different Kinds of Exercises, all proper for exerting Strength, Agility, and Address; and when they were not carried to Excess, very serviceable to Health. *Offman*, in his Dictionary (1), makes the Number of these Exercises amount to Fifty five; but the most common were the Race, Leaping, the *Disc* or *Coit*, the Wrestling Match or *Pancrace*, the Javelin and Boxing Matches; and these Exercises compose what is called the *Pentathlum*. In the Scenic Games there was Singing, Music, and Tragedies, wherein the Musicians and Poets disputed the Prize. This Combat is very ancient, since mention is made of it in the Games celebrated by the *Argonauts*.

I said the Race was one of those Exercises, and I add it was either on Foot or Horseback, or in Chariots drawn by Two or by Four Horses; which is expressed by the Words *Bigæ* or *Quadrigæ*. This Race was single or double; in the latter they run over the *Stadium* or Lifts twice, and it was called *Diaulus*.

The *Coit* was a kind of Square, made either of Wood, or of Stone, or of Iron; and the Victory was adjudged to him who threw it farthest. The Coits were very large and heavy, and sometimes fatal Accidents happened from them: It was with a Blow of one of those Coits that *Apollo*, or some of his Priests, slew the young *Hyacinth*, and *Perseus* his Grandfather *Acrisius*, as has been said. *Menagius*, in his *Origines*, de-

rives the Name for a Coit, *Palet*, from the *Arabic Pa-lat*, which signifies *lapidibus sternere*, to overthrow with Stones; but 'tis probable the Word is not so far fetched, but derives its Original from *Palaestra*.

Boxing was a Match fought with the *Cestus*, which *Cestus* was a kind of Gauntlet made of Ox's Hide. In earlier Times, the Leather of those Gauntlets was softer, more limber, and therefore called *μελιχαι*. Afterwards they were of a harder Leather. The Combatants covered their Hands with them, and their Arms as far as the Elbow, by Means of several Straps; and with those Gauntlets they dealt to one another such terrible Blows, that they often beat out one another's Teeth, and crush'd their Jaws.

The *Bebrycians* especially excelled in this Gauntlet-Fight: Accordingly, *Virgil*, in the Description of *Ancises's* Funeral Games, feigns that *Entellus*, who signalized himself in this Combat, came from that Country, as has been said of *Amycus*, in the History of the *Argonauts*.

Wrestling consisted in a Combat between two Persons Hand to Hand, and he who by Force or Address overthrew his Antagonist, and kept him down, gained the Victory. This Exercise was one of the most common, and was in Use in the Heroic Age, as appears from the Combat between *Hercules* and *Antæus*. The Wrestlers besmeared their Bodies with Oil, the more easily to elude their Adversaries, and they tried all the Feats of Activity they were Masters of to obtain the Victory. When one of the two Champions was thrown down, he strained his utmost to get up again, while his Antagonist squeezed his Throat, trod upon his Belly, and treated him with all possible Inhumanity. The Wrestling Match, whether simple or compound, was called the *Panrace*.

Leaping was performed either over a Ditch, or some determined Spot of Ground, or in jumping up an Eminence: Thus the Ancients distinguish several Sorts of Leaps, as may be seen in *Mercurialis* (1). 'Tis

(1) L. II. c. II.

sufficient to observe, that he who leaped best and farthest, gained the Prize.

The Javelin Match consisted either in throwing a Stone, or a Dart, or some other Thing, with the most Address, and to the greatest Distance. *Plato* (1) admitted two Sorts of *Jaculations*, if I may use this Term, the first he calls *τοξικήν*, the other *ἀκόντισμα*; and *Galen* informs us; that *Apollo* and *Esculapius* were the Inventors of them. The *Latins* translated the first by the Word *Sagittatio*, and the Second by that of *Jaculatio*. In those Exercises they equally employed either a Bow or a Sling, or another Instrument (2); which they made use of for hanging to the Arrow a Thong which they held in their Hand, to take the more steady Aim (a).

As the noblest of all these Matches was the Race (b); especially when it was performed on Horseback, or in Chariots, so the most despicable was that of the Gladiators, who fenced for Life and Death. Their common Weapons were two Swords, wherewith they attack'd and defended equally with both Hands, and then they were called *Dimachæri*, from an old *Latin* Word, which signifies a double Sword. Nothing can parallel the Rage with which these Combatants fought; but the Fury which actuated the *Greeks* and *Romans* in seeing them batter one another with Blood and Wounds, and often kill one another in the midst of the Amphitheatre. In vain did the Emperors make several Edicts to stop this Fury; they were ill obeyed, and hardly was this Combat abolished till after the

E e 2

Establish-

(1) De Leg. l. 8.

(2) Which was called *Amentum*.

(a) These five Exercises were expressed by these *Greek* Words.

Ἄλφα δισχὸς ἀκόντιστον δρόμος καὶ πύλη

Saltus, Discus, Jaculum, Cursus et Lucta.

(b) *Horace* shews sufficiently in his first Ode, what high Esteem it was in.

Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum

Collegisse juvat, metaque fervidis

Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis

Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos.

Establishment of Christianity; nor even then was it laid aside at the same Time, and in all Places where it had been practised.

For each Celebration of Games, Judges were chosen to decide who should have the Victory, and these Judges were named *Hellandices*. They had a Place set apart for them, where they might view and judge best of the Advantage which one Combatant had over the other, and from their Decision there lay no Appeal. The Number of these Judges, especially at *Olympia*, was not always the same: *Iphitus*, the Restorer of the Games that were celebrated there, would needs be the sole Judge of them, and *Oxilus*, as well as his Successors, retained the same Privilege. In later Times, the Number of these Judges encreased to Twelve, and there were several Changes in this Matter, as may be seen in *Pausanias* (1).

Lucian fell upon a very ingenious Contrivance (2), to expose the Fury and Infatuation of most of these Combats, by introducing the *Scythian Anacharsis* thus discoursing of them to *Solon*: “ What would these
 “ young People be at, by putting themselves into such
 “ a Rage, by tripping up one another’s Heels, and
 “ tumbling together in the Dirt like so many Swine,
 “ striving to stifle and stop one another’s Breath?
 “ They anoint their Bodies, and shave one another,
 “ at first, in a peaceable enough Manner; but all of
 “ a sudden sinking their Heads, they run against one
 “ another like Rams; then the one lifting up his Com-
 “ panion, lets him fall to the Ground with a violent
 “ Shock, and throwing himself upon him, hinders
 “ him from rising, pressing his Throat with his El-
 “ bow, and squeezing him with his Legs; insomuch
 “ that I am in Terror lest he stifle him, tho’ the other
 “ taps him on the Shoulder, praying to be released, as
 “ acknowledging himself vanquished. How absurd
 “ is it that they should first anoint themselves with
 “ Oil, and then roll in the Dirt! For my Part, I
 cannot

(1) In *Eliac.* c. 9.
 Body.

(2) Dialogue of the Exercises of the

“ cannot help smiling to see them mock the Grasp of
 “ their Companions, and glide away like Eels from
 “ the Hand that holds them. See some of them do-
 “ ing the same Thing openly, saving that they roll
 “ themselves in the Sand like Pullets, before they en-
 “ gage, that the Hands of their Antagonist may get
 “ the better Hold, and not slip with the Oil and
 “ Sweat. See others, in like Manner, overspread
 “ with Dust, belabour one another with Blows of Feet
 “ and Fists, without striving, like the first, to over-
 “ throw one another; one spits out his Teeth with the
 “ Sand, from a Blow he has received in the Jaws,
 “ while that Man clad in Purple, who presides at these
 “ Exercises, gives himself no Trouble to part them.
 “ Some make the Dust fly about them as they jump
 “ and spring in the Air, like those who dispute the
 “ Prize in the Race, &c.”

C H A P. IV.

*Of Places allotted for the Celebration of Games, and
 of the principal Cities that exhibited the Repre-
 sentations of them.*

THE Exercises and Combats that were exhibited
 in these Games were different, and required some
 more, some less Ground. There were Places built of
 Purpose for the Celebration of them, whose Spacious-
 ness and Conveniency answered to their Magnificence,
 and to the Ornaments that were laid out upon them;
 and these Places, tho' destined for the same Exercises,
 had not every where the same Extent, nor the same
 Form, nor did they bear the same Name.

In the earlier Ages, when Simplicity reigned, it ap-
 pears that for the Games, at least for those that were
 celebrated but once, they contented themselves with
 chusing in the open Fields a commodious Place for the
 Exercises that were to be there performed. Thus
Achilles did, for the Celebration of *Patroclus's* Funeral
 Games, and *Eneas* for the Anniversary of his Father,

for which no other Preparations were made, but to measure the Space of Ground that was to be taken up, make it clean, and place Boundaries to it. *Adrastus*, and the other Chiefs who instituted the *Nemean Games*, made no other Provision for them, tho' they designed to have them represented at stated Times: But afterwards proper Places were prepared, especially in great Cities, for celebrating them with all possible Magnificence, and these Places bore different Names. At *Pisa*, the Place allotted for the *Olympic Games* was called the *Stadium*, whercof I give a Description in the following Chapter: At *Rome* it was the *Circus*, and at *Constantinople* the *Hippodromos*. As the Races, whether on Foot or Horseback, or in Chariots, required a considerable Space of Ground, these Places were ample and spacious, of greater Length than Breadth, such as they ought to have been for the Races there perform'd.

For the Scenic Games they had public Theatres; and for the fencing Matches and the Gladiators, whether against one another, or against wild Beasts, there were Structures raised on Purpose, that were called *Areas*, or *Colisees*, &c. And in both the one and the other Care was taken to provide a vast Number of Lodges, and other Places to which they got up by little Stairs contrived in the Thickness of the Walls. These Places were allotted for Persons of different Stations. The Concourse of People that frequented them was very great, for the *Greeks* and *Romans* loved those kinds of Shows; the last especially, those of the Gladiators, with a Fury not easy to be expressed.

In those Edifices wherein Animals were combated, there were Cells contrived below wherein the Animals were shut up, and which opened by Means of a sliding Door which drew up when they were to be let out upon the *Amphitheater*, where those who were to fight with them stood ready to receive them. Great Pains were taken to provide the fiercest and at the same Time the rarest Animals, and sometimes they were brought from the Extremity of *Afric* at extraordinary Expence. As Sea-fights were sometimes exhibited in some of those
Places,

Places, Water was conveyed into them in so great Plenty, and the Space that contained it was so large, that several Gallies plied there with Ease; and a real naval Engagement was represented there with all possible Exactness.

Antiquaries have taken great Care to give us Draughts of most of those Edifices: *Onuphrius Panvinus* especially has preserved to us those of the *Circus* of *Rome*, of the *Hippodrome*, and several others. There are even some of them still remaining in that City, and some others, which Time has not destroyed; such as the *Amphitheatres* of *Nismes*, those of *Orange*, and several others; but nothing gives a higher Idea of the Magnificence of those Monuments, than the Remains of the *Colisee* that is still to be seen at *Rome*, and which has something in it that strikes with Astonishment, tho' one of the Popes of the past Age destroyed a great Part of it in order to build a stately Palace.

Having given a general Idea of those Games, and of the Exercises that were therein performed, I shall be somewhat more particular upon the Chief of them; those especially that were instituted by the *Greeks*; but I presume it is necessary to quote first an ancient Inscription (*a*), which the *Megarians* had made, in order to perpetuate the Memory of the Victories of an illustrious Wrestler, because it lets us know the several Places where these Games were celebrated.

The *Olympic* Games were celebrated at *Pisa*, in Honour of *Jupiter*.

The *Pythian* at *Delphi*, in Honour of *Apollo*.

The *Nemean*, at *Argos*.

The *Isthmian*, in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*.

The *Panathenaia*, at *Athens*, in Honour of *Minerva*.

The *Olympian*, also at *Athens*.

The *Pan-Hellenian*, that is of all *Greece*, in the same City.

The *Eleusinian*, also at *Athens*.

The *Heraclian*, in Honour of *Hercules*, at *Thebes*.

E c 4

The

(*a*) *Spon's Travels thro' Greece*, Tom. I. p. 289. and Tom. III. p. 221. where we find much such another in the *Arundel Marbles*.

The *Trophonian*, at *Lebadia*.

The *Eleutherian*, at *Platæa*.

The *Junonian*, at *Argos*.

The *Pythian*, at *Miletus* in *Ionia*.

The same, at *Magnesia*.

The common Games of *Asia*, at *Philadelphia*.

The *Ælian* Games for *Apollo*, at *Nicopolis*.

The *Pythian*, at *Sida*.

The same, at *Perga*.

The same, at *Thessalonica*.

The *Esculapian* Games, in Honour of *Esculapius* at *Epidaurus*.

The *Capitoline*, at *Rome*.

Those which were called *Eusebia*, at *Puzzoli*.

The Games in Honour of the Emperors, at *Naples*.

Among these several Games, *Greece* chiefly distinguished four ancient ones, which it celebrated with high Solemnity; namely the *Olympic*, the *Pythic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Isthmian*, according to this Verse of *Ausonius*:

Quatuor antiquos celebravit Achaia ludos :

of them I shall give an Account in the four subsequent Chapters.

CHAP. V.

Of the Olympic Games.

I Begin with the *Olympic Games*, as the most celebrated, and perhaps the most ancient of *Greece*. Not that the Time of their Institution is precisely known, there being diversity of Opinions as to this among the Ancients. *Diodorus Siculus* will have it that they were instituted by *Hercules* of *Crete*, one of those *Idæi Dædali*, whom I have spoke of in the History of *Jupiter*. But as this Author lets us know nothing else upon this Subject, I shall take for my Guide *Pausanias*, who seems to have been at particular Pains to get Information in his Travels thro' *Greece*, of whatever related to this Solemnity. “ As for the Games
“ of

“ of *Greece*, says he, this is what I have learned con-
“ cerning them from some *Eleans*, who appeared to
“ me profoundly skilled in the Study of Antiquity.
“ According to them, *Saturn* is the first who reigned
“ in Heaven, and in the *Golden Age* he had a Temple
“ at *Olympia*. *Jupiter* being born, *Rhea* his Mother
“ committed the Education of him to the *Daſtyli* of
“ Mount *Ida*, otherwise called *Curetes*. These *Daſtyli*
“ came afterwards from *Crete* to *Elis*, for Mount *Ida*
“ is in *Crete*. They were five Brothers, namely,
“ *Hercules*, *Peoneus*, *Epimedes*, *Jasius* and *Ida*. *Her-*
“ *cules*, as being the eldest, proposed to his Brothers
“ a Running-Match, whereof the Prize was to be a
“ Crown of Olive; for the Olive was then so common,
“ that they took the Leaves of it to strew the Ground,
“ and to sleep upon: *Hercules* was the first who brought
“ that Tree into *Greece*, from among the *Hyperboreans*.
“ It was therefore *Hercules* of *Ida* had the Honour of
“ inventing these Games, and gave them the Name of
“ *Olympian*; and because they were five Brothers, he
“ would have these Games celebrated every fifth Year.
“ Some say that *Jupiter* and *Saturn* fought a wrestling
“ Match together in *Olympia*, and that the Empire of
“ the World was the Prize of the Victory: Others al-
“ ledge, that *Jupiter* having triumphed over the
“ *Titans*, instituted these Games himself, wherein *Apollo*,
“ among others, signalized his Address, and win the
“ Prize of the Race from *Mercury*, and that of Box-
“ ing from *Mars*.”

We must not imagine that these Games, from their first Institution, were celebrated continuedly: They were often interrupted, and even for very considerable Intervals; then renewed again, and again laid aside, till at last they assumed a fixed and durable Form; their Celebration returning regularly every five Years, that is, to speak more accurately, after a Revolution of four Years, and in the first Month of the fifth Year: This is the Reason why they reckoned five Years from one Olympiad to another, tho' at Bottom there were but four Years compleat. But the Author now cited
I will

will instruct us in these Interruptions and Re-establishments.

“ Fifty Years after *Deucalion's* Deluge, says he, *Cly-*
 “ *menes* the Son of *Cardis*, and one of the Descendants
 “ of *Idean Hercules*, having come from *Crete*, cele-
 “ brated those Games at *Olympia*; then he consecrated
 “ an Altar to the *Curetes*, and particularly to *Hercules*,
 “ under the Title of *Hercules* the Protector. *Endymion*
 “ the Son of *Aethlius*. banished *Clymenus* from *Elis*,
 “ seized upon the Kingdom, and proposed it to his
 “ Sons as the Prize of a running Match: But *Pelops*,
 “ who came about thirty Years after *Endymion*, ap-
 “ pointed those Games to be represented in honour of
 “ *Jupiter*, with more Pomp and Apparatus than any
 “ of his Predecessors. His Sons not being able to
 “ maintain themselves in *Elis*, and having dispersed
 “ themselves thro' diverse Places of the *Peloponnesus*,
 “ *Amythaon* the Son of *Cretheus*, and *Endymion's* Cou-
 “ sin-German, (for *Aethlius* is said to have been the
 “ Son of that *Eolus* who was surnamed *Jupiter*) *Amy-*
 “ *thaon*, I say, exhibited these Games to the People.
 “ After him *Pelias* and *Neleus* exhibited them at the
 “ common Charge. *Augeus* also appointed the Cele-
 “ bration of them, and then *Hercules* the Son of *Am-*
 “ *phitryo*, when he had taken *Elis*. The first whom
 “ he crowned was *Iolaus*, who, that he might win the
 “ Chariot-Race, borrowed *Hercules's* own Mares; for
 “ in those Times they borrowed without Ceremony,
 “ Horses that were in Reputation for Swiftmess.”

From *Oxylus*, who as little neglected these Shows, the *Olympic* Games were interrupted until *Iphitus*, who restored them. They had almost lost the Memory of the Exercises and Trials of Skill, that had been exhibited there at their Original; however, they were gradually recovered, and in proportion as any one of those Exercises came to be recollected, it was added to those that were already resumed. During the Interruption we have been speaking of, *Greece* groaned under the Oppression of intestine Wars; and was at the same Time laid waste by Pestilence. *Iphitus* went to
 Delphos,

Delphos, to consult the Oracle about these so pressing Calamities, and the Response given him by the *Pythia*, was that the Renewal of the *Olympic Games* would be the Safety of *Greece*; that he and his *Eleans* should therefore set about it. *Iphitus* forthwith ordered a Sacrifice to *Hercules* to appease that God, and then celebrated the Games.

These Games were again interrupted for the Space of eighty-six Years; then they were resumed, and it was at this first *Olympiad*, *Coræbus* gained the Prize of the Race. This Victory is the more remarkable in Antiquity, as it was by this same Celebration the reckoning by *Olympiads* begun, which were no longer interrupted afterwards; which Event happened 1776 Years before *Jesus Christ*; a famous *Æra* among the *Greeks*, tho' to speak accurately, they never used *Olympiads* for computing Time till about fifty Years before *Alexander* the Great, as I have remarked on another Occasion. But they set out with the *Olympiad* of *Coræbus*, and from that Time these Games served for an *Æra* to all *Greece*, in Contradistinction to all other Games, which were only used for that Purpose in Countries where they were celebrated. Thus the Inhabitants of *Delphos*, and the *Beotians*, employed in their Chronology the *Pythian Games*; those of the *Isthmus* and the *Corinthians* computed their Years by the Celebrations of the *Istmic Games*; and the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, for this Purpose, made use of the *Nemean Games*; for I find none but these four Games whose Celebration served for an *Æra* to the *Greeks*.

The Place where these Games were exhibited was called the *Stadium*; it was a *The Stadium of Olympia.* Space of six hundred Paces, inclosed with Walls, near the City *Elis*, and the River *Alpheus*, and was adorned with proper Embellishments. But being necessitated to take up with Ground which was unequal, this *Stadium* was very irregular, as may be seen from the Plan which Chevalier *Folard* has drawn of it upon *Pausanias's* Description, and which the *Abbé Gedouyn* has got engraved, to insert the Print of it in his Translation of that *Greek Author*.

This

This *Stadium* (1) consisted of two Parts : The first whose Figure pretty much resembled the Prow of a Ship, was called the *Barrier*. There were the Stables and Coach-houses where the Horses and Chariots were kept, and where they were matched. The second was called the *Lists*, and it was within the Space of Ground it contained that the Races were performed, whether on Horseback, or in Chariots. At the Extremity of the *Lists* was the Goal round which they were to turn ; and as he who approached it the nearest, formed a shorter Circle, he was sure, all things else being equal, to come in sooner to the Place whence he set out. It was in this chiefly consisted the Address of those who guided the Chariots, and wherein at the same Time they run the greatest Hazard. For besides the Danger there was of encountering with another Chariot ; if they happened to touch the Goal, the Axle-tree broke in a thousand Pieces, or received at least some fatal Blow which they could not recover. This is what *Horace* expresses in these Words, *Metaque fervidis evitata rotis* (2).

Again, beyond this Goal was another Occasion of Danger. I mean the Figure of the Genius *Taraxippus*, which we have spoke of in the fifth Book of the second Volume, which was framed after such a Fashion as to fright the Horses. We cannot determine whether it was placed there of Purpose to augment the Danger of the Race, or if out of respect to that Genius, it had been left to stand there, as it had done before the Construction of the *Stadium* ; but still this is certain, that it was a Place of very great Danger.

On both sides of these *Lists*, all along were the Places for the Spectators. The principal ones were for the Judges and Persons of Distinction ; the Populace, who flocked thither in Crowds, planted themselves wherever they could ; for nothing equals the Curiosity they had for these Sorts of Exercises.

I said from the *Barrier* the Chariots entered the *Lists*, and I shall add that these two Places were separated

(1) Pausan. in Eliac. (2) Ode 1.

rated by a Rope, which was let down by a kind of Mechanism, the Description whereof is in *Pausanias*; and this was the Signal that gave Notice to enter the *Lists*.

These Games, which were celebrated about the Summer-solstice, lasted five Days; for a single Day would not have sufficed for all the Trials of Skill that were exhibited there. As they were consecrated to *Jupiter*, and made Part of the religious Ceremonies of Paganism, the first Day was destined for the Sacrifices, the second for the *Pentatblum* and the foot Race, the third for the Combat of the *Pancrace*, and the simple wrestling Match; the other two, for the Horse and Chariot Races (*a*).

As the *Athletes* or Wrestlers fought naked in those Games, at least ever since the Accident I have mentioned, Matrons and Maids were prohibited, under pain of Death, to be present there, and even to pass the *Alpheus* during the whole Time of their Celebration (1); and this Prohibition, as the Inhabitants of the Country told *Pausanias*, was so punctually observed, that there never was an Instance of any but one Woman's violating that Law. This Woman, whom some call *Callipatria*, and others *Phivenia*, being a Widow, dressed herself after the Fashion of the Masters of the Exercises, and conducted her own Son *Pisidorus* to *Olympia*. The young Man having been declared Conqueror, the Mother was so transported with Joy, that she threw aside her Man's Habit, and jumped over the *Barrier* where she was planted with the other Masters, and so her Sex was discovered. However, she was pardoned for this Infringement of the Law, out of regard to her Father, her Brothers and Son, who had all been crowned at the same Games; but from that Time the Masters of Exercises were forbid to appear otherwise than naked at these Shows. The Punishment imposed by the Law, was to throw
the

(*a*) There was from Time to Time some Variety as to the Order I speak of, as may be seen in *Pausanias*, in *Eliac*, cap. 9.

(1) *Pausan.* *ibid.* c. 8.

the Women who durst infringe it, headlong from a very steep Rock which was called Mount *Typhæa*, on the other Side of the *Alpheus*.

The Men were also prohibited, under Pain of a considerable Fine, to use the least Fraud towards gaining the Victory; but neither Laws nor Penalties are always a Curb sufficient to confine Ambition within due Bounds. There were Tricks committed; and the severe Punishments inflicted upon them did not deter others from falling now and then into the same Faults. There were, says *Pausanias* (1), in the Way from the Temple of the Mother of the Gods to the *Stadium*, six Statues of *Jupiter*, all six of Bronze, which had been made of the Produce of the Fines to which Wrestlers had been condemned, who had used Fraud to win the Prize, as was signified by the Inscriptions in Elegiac Verse that were inserted there. The Verses inscribed upon the first, set forth that the Prize of the *Olympic* Games was gained, not by Money, but by Swiftnefs of Foot, and Strength of Body. Those of the second bore that this Statue had been erected by *Jupiter* to inspire the Combatants with Dread of the Vengeance of that God, if they durst violate the Laws prescribed to them; and it was much the same as to the rest.

Eumolpus the *Thessalian* is thought to be the first who bribed with Money those who offered themselves with him to the Gauntlet-fight; he was punished for having given this Money, and those to whom he had given it, for having received it. Tho' nothing was more infamous than this Fine, and the Monuments which I have mentioned, yet there was an *Athenian* named *Callipus*, who bought the Prize of the *Pentathlon*. He was condemned to the Fine; and *Hiperides*, the Deputy for *Athens*, having asked his Pardon, and not being able to obtain it, the *Athenians* forbid the Offender to pay this Fine; but the *Elians*, firm to the Maintenance of their Laws, excluded them from the Games, and this Interdiction lasted till upon their consulting the Oracle of *Delphos*, the Priests declared she

had

(a) Pausan. in Eliac. c. 22.

had no Answer to give them till they had made Satisfaction to the *Eleans*. Upon this the *Athenians* submitted to the Fine, whereof the Produce was employed in consecrating to *Jupiter* six other Statues, with Inscriptions containing their History.

The prodigious Concourse of People which the Celebration of those Games drew to *Olympia*, enriched that City and all *Elis*: Accordingly nothing in all *Greece* was comparable to the Temple and Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, whereof I have given some Description in the first Volume of this *Mythology*. About this Temple was a sacred Grove, named *Altis*, wherein besides the Chapels, Altars, and other Monuments consecrated to the Gods, and whereof we have a very full Description in the Author I have quoted so oft, were Statues, all by the Hand of the most celebrated Sculptors, erected in Honour of those who had won the Prizes in these Games; a valuable Reward, which added to the Laurel Crown wherewith they had their Heads incircled in Presence of all the Grandees and Persons of Distinction in *Greece*, and the Honour done them by the Cities in receiving them, were very capable to support that Ardour for Victory which animated the Combatants.

We may remark, before we close this Chapter, that the Descendants of *Helen* having formed a prodigious Number of Families in *Greece*, became so powerful, and gained therein so much Interest, that they made a Law be passed, ordaining that none but those who derived their Origine from those Families should be capable of being admitted to dispute the Prizes at the *Olympic Games*; and *Herodotus* informs us to this Purpose that *Alexander* the Great himself was obliged to prove his being one of the *Hellenes*, before he was received to enter the Lists in those Games. But the Consequence of this was that all the *Greeks* made it out that they were sprung from some one of those Families; so numerous and diffusive had they been in all the Country; and from that Time the Name of *Hellenes*, peculiar to

one single People, became the general Name of all the *Greeks*.

I have insisted at some length upon the Celebration of these Games; but as they were at the same Time, as has been said, the most ancient and most solemn of *Greece*, and as much the same Laws and Regulations were observed in the rest, much the same Exercises, Crowns for Reward, Judges and Combatants, as both the one and the other were bound by Oath to submit to certain Laws, I thought it was necessary to give a full Account of them: I shall be a great deal shorter in the Description of the rest.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Pythic Games:

I Have said in the History of *Apollo* (1), that the Overthrow of the Serpent *Python* gave rise to the Institution of the *Pythic Games*, which makes *Ausonius* say:

Pythia placando Delphi statuere Draconi (1).

I have explained this Fable, and shewed what we are to understand by this Monster which *Ovid* says had been formed of the Mud left upon the Earth by *Deucalion's* Deluge; what remains here is only to relate what particularly relates to these Games. First, 'tis uncertain at what Time they were instituted, and their first Founder is not known; for when *Pausanias* (2) gives the Honour thereof to *Diomedes*, who upon his Return from *Troy* built a Temple in Honour of *Apollo Epibaterius* (a), I am persuaded he is mistaken, since their Institution was a long while before the Time when that Heroe lived. What may be said with more Probability upon this Subject is, that he established in the Place where he erected the Temple now mentioned,

the

(1) Vol. II. B. 1. (2) Eli (3) In *Corinth*.

(a) So called from a *Greek* Word, which signifies *consecrado*, to go on board, to intimate that this God had gone on-board *Diomedes's* Fleet, to avoid the Danger to which he and his Companions were exposed.

the same Games that had been celebrated long before at *Delphos*.

At first, these Games consisted only in singing and Music Matches, as the same *Pausanias* observes; and consequently it would seem that they had been instituted only for celebrating the Praises of the God who had delivered the Earth from a Monster that threatened it with Desolation. The other Exercises were not admitted there 'till afterwards. 'Tis sufficiently plain in fact that the Thing was so, from those who disputed there the first Prizes, since in the first Representation (1) *Chrysothemis* of *Crete* gained the Victory, and next *Thamyris* the Son of *Philammon*. What is singular in this, considering the Veneration that was generally entertained for all those Games which Religion had consecrated, and which were specially dedicated to some Divinity, is, that neither *Orpheus*, who was distinguished by his deep Wisdom and a profound Knowledge of the Mysteries, nor *Museus*, would ever condescend to dispute the Prizes of the *Pythic* Games: One *Eleutherus* was crowned there merely upon Account of his fine Voice, for the Hymn he sung was not his own. We are told that *Hesiod* was not admitted to dispute there for the Prize, because he could not sing in Concert with the Lyre. As for *Homer* (2), we read that he went to *Delphos*; but that being blind, he had made but little Use of his Talent of singing and playing upon the Lyre in Concert. The Painters too were admitted there to dispute the Prize, and *Timagorus* was preferred to *Peaneus* the Brother of *Phidias*.

In later Times Changes were introduced into these Games. In the third Year of the forty eight *Olympiad*, the *Amphictyons*, leaving the Prize of Music and Poetry still to subsist, added two others to them (3), the first for those who sung in concert with the Flute; the other for those who played upon the Flute alone: At length the same Combats and Exercises were admitted at those Games as at *Olympia*: The Race in Chariots drawn by four Horses, after having been a long

Time excluded, was introduced thither in the Time of *Orestes*. Even Children were by an express Law admitted at the Races both of the single and double *Stadium*. Immediately after, these are still *Pausanias's* Words, that is in the *Pythiad* next after that wherein Children were permitted to run, the Prize was abolished, and it was regulated that the Conquerors there should only have Crowns, as in the other Games of *Greece*. By this it appears that there was anciently a Prize in Money or Cloaths, &c. as at the Funeral Games of *Patroclus*, but wherein it precisely consisted is more than we can determine.

From these Games they retrenched afterwards the singing along with the Flute, because there was something mournful in it, which suited only with Elegies; but in Exchange Chariot Races with four Horses were admitted; and *Clisthenes*, the same who afterwards became the Tyrant of *Sicyon*, was crowned at the first of those Races.

To these and some other Exercises which *Pausanias* mentions, the *Panrace* was added at last, in the sixty first *Pythiad*, wherein *Laidus* of *Thebes* gained the Victory. The Laurel Crown was at first the sole Reward of the Conquerors, and the Branches of this Tree were preferred to those of others, from a prevailing Opinion that *Apollo* had been in Love with *Daphné* (1). Afterwards a Reward was given in Money, even in the Places where the Use of Crowns prevailed.

To conclude, we may observe that anciently these Games were celebrated only every eighth Year, but afterwards once in four Years, and they served for an *Æra* to the Inhabitants of *Delphos*, and the Neighbourhood. The Time of their Celebration, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias* and *Plutarch*, regularly coincided with the third Year of each *Olympiad*. This Change was introduced by the *Amphietyons*, for which I refer to *Petavius*, *Scaliger*, and especially to the Cycles of the ingenious *Dodwel*.

The *Romans* were induced by some Verses of *Martius* to

(1) See the History of *Apollo* V. II.

to adopt these Games in the Year of their City 642 (1), and gave them the Name of *Apollinares*. If you would overcome the Enemy, said the Prediction of that Soothsayer, institute Games in Honour of Apollo. At first the Pretor presided in the Representation of these Games, then *Quindecimvirs* were appointed to take Care of them, and to exhibit them after the manner of the *Greeks*.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Nemean Games.

IN the History of the first *Theban Expedition* (2) I have given Account of the Institution of the *Nemean Games* by *Adrastus* and the other Chiefs who accompany'd him, after the sad Adventure that befel the young *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Ophelias* the Son of King *Lycurgus*, whom *Hypsiphile* the Daughter of *Thoas* suckled. This Tradition concerning the Institution of those Games, tho' well vouched by Antiquity, was not however the only one that passed current in *Greece*, and there was another that attributed it to *Hercules*, who founded them after having rid the Forest of *Nemea*, and the Neighbourhood, of that Lion so celebrated in Fable, whereof he always wore the Skin. This is the Opinion of *Tertullian*, who had got it, no doubt, from the *Greek Authors*: *Olympia Jovi, quæ sunt Romæ Capitolina, item Herculi Nemea* (3). Further, these Games, tho' renewed at stated Times, that is, either every three Years, according to some Authors, or rather every fifth Year, were much of the Nature of Funeral Games. This is the Account given of them by *Statius* (a) and *Artemidorus*: *The Crown that is given at Nemea*, says the latter (4), *is one of those that are destined to Funeral Combats*, called *ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους*, in Honour of those who died in some Combat.

F f 2

In

(1) Tit. Liv. l. 25. (2) Above B. 4. (3) De Spect. c. 11.

(a) *Illic et Siculi suteraſsem dona ſepulchri,
Et Nemææ lucum, & Pelopis ſolemnia primi.*

Syl. l. 5.

(4) L. 79.

In these Games the same Exercises were performed as in the others, even those of Vocal and Instrumental Music. 'Tis true, *F. Faur*, who contends that this Trial of Skill was then in Use, quotes for his Opinion a Passage in *Hyginus* (1), which proves nothing for the *Nemean* Games, for there that Mythologist is only speaking of the Games of *Argos*, which he plainly distinguishes from those of *Nemea*, which he treats of in a separate Article; however, the Thing is not the less certain, since we have an express Passage for it from *Pausanias* (2), where it is said that “*Philopemen* joining in the *Nemean* Games, where the Players on the Harp disputed the Prize of Music, *Pylades* of *Megaropolis*, one of the most skilled in that Art, and who had already won the Prize at the *Pythic* Games, began to sing a Song of *Timotheus* of *Miletus*, intitled *the Gates*, which begun with this Verse: *Hero, to whom the Greeks owe their happy Liberty*, presently all turned their Eyes on *Philopemen*, and with one Voice cried out, that nothing could be more applicable to that great Man.”

The Reward of the Conquerors in the *Nemean* Games, was a Crown of green Parsly, in Memory of the Adventure of the young *Archemorus*, whom his Nurse had laid down upon some Sprigs of that Plant, when she left him to guide the Leaders of the *Argive* Army; and their Celebration served for an *Æra* to the *Argives*, and the Inhabitants of that Part of *Arcadia*, which lay next to the Forest of *Nemea*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Isthmic Games.

IT IS necessary, before we discourse of these Games, to resume in a few Words what has been said of *Ixo* and *Melicerta* (3). *Athamas* King of the *Orchomenians*, a People of *Beotia*, having divorced his

(1) Fab. 273.

(2) L. 8 c. 50.

(3) Vol. I. and Vol. II. Hist. of the *Argonauts*.

his former Wife, named *Nephele*, by whom he had two Sons, *Phryxus* and *Hellé*, and having married *Ino* (1) by whom he had also two Sons, *Learchus* and *Melicerta*; the latter persecuted the Children of the former Marriage, so far as to make her Husband believe, that the Oracle of *Delphos* demanded the Blood of *Phryxus*, as the Means of putting a Stop to the Famine, whereof she herself was the Cause; and the too credulous *Athamas* was upon the Point of sacrificing his Son to the Safety of his Subjects; but upon Information of his Wife's whole Management, he slew her Son *Learchus*, and set himself in Pursuit of *Ino* with so much Eagerness, that she was forced to throw herself down with *Melicerta*, whom she held in her Arms, from the Top of the Rock *Moluria*, into the Sea. A Dolphin, we are told, or rather the Waves, carried *Melicerta* into the Isthmus of *Corinth*, and the *Corinthians*, at the Persuasion of *Sisyphus*, the Brother of *Athamas*, after having given him a splendid Funeral, instituted to his Honour Games which got the Name of *Isthmic*, from the Place where they were celebrated the first Time.

These Games, wherein were exhibited the same Trials of Skill as in the others, and chiefly those of Music and Poetry, having been interrupted, probably by some Wars, were afterwards re-established by *Theseus*, who consecrated them to *Neptune*, whose Son he pretended to be, as to the God who peculiarly presided over the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*; and they were renewed so regularly every five Years, about the Middle of the Month *Hecatombion*, that they were not even discontinued after the City *Corinth* had been destroy'd and reduced to Ashes by *Mummius*; the *Sicyonians* having received Orders to celebrate them (2), notwithstanding the public Grief and Desolation. When the City was afterwards rebuilt, the new Inhabitants resumed the Care of these Games, and continued to exhibit them with great Regularity. Some Time after, the

F f 3

Romans

(1) Apollod. l. 1. Ovid. Met. l. 5. &c.

(2) Pausan. In Corinth. l. 2.

Romans were admitted to them, and celebrated them with so much Pomp and Apparatus, that besides the ordinary Exercises, a Hunting Match was there exhibited, wherein were presented the most rare Animals; the City *Corinth* neglecting no Means whereby to please their Conquerors: And what still encreased their Fame is, that they served for an *Æra* to the *Corinthians*, and Inhabitants of the Isthmus. A Crown of Pine-Leaves was the Reward of those who gained the Victory in those Games.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Scenic Games; and the Prizes proposed for the Tragic Poets in the Games of Greece.

AMONG the Scenic Games are ranked, the Trials of Skill of the Tragic Poets, and those of the Musicians and Players on Instruments, who disputed the Prize there. Nothing came up to the excessive Fondness the *Greeks* had for these Shows, but the Ardour of those who were to exhibit them, in making Preparations for them. These Games were, as has been said, consecrated to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*, and never begun till the ordinary Sacrifices had first been offered to the Gods. The Autumn, the Time of Vintage, was the Season made Choice of especially for the Representation of Tragedies, because those Shows were especially consecrated to *Bacchus*. The Tragic Poets, who were willing to dispute the Prize there, were obliged to prepare four Pieces, three Tragedies, and a Satire; this is what was called *Tetralogia*. It was requisite that those Pieces which were hardly represented but upon such Occasions, tho' they sometimes happened to be resumed, should have some Connection with one another; but the Satire was only a Farce, not unlike those that were formerly acted upon our Theatre, as appears from the *Cyclop* of *Euripides*, the only Piece of that Kind we have now extant. 'Tis easy to judge that those Satires were extremely free, and
full

full of Buffoonry, and consequently merely designed to entertain the People, and to gain their Applause. 'Tis surprising that the first Genius's of the *Athenians* should have submitted to degrade the Buskin to so mean and ludicrous a Piece of comic Humour.

It was in this kind, I mean the four Pieces joined together, that *Eschiles* disputed the Prize with his Contemporaries ; but *Suidas* tells us, that *Sophocles* was the first that opposed Tragedy to Tragedy, and 'tis probable that this Custom took Place afterwards. And indeed, it was a Thing pretty singular thus to bring into Competition tragic and comic Pieces, four against four, since it might very well happen that one or two of a Poet's Works might be preferable to an equal Number of those of his Competitor, while at the same Time the other two of the former, might be inferior to those of the latter.

At the End of all these Representations, the Votes, which were exactly collected in the Time of Action, were numbered, and he who had the most Votes was publicly crowned. The Poet on whom this Honour was conferred, took the Title of *Poet Laureat*, because the Crown he received was of Laurel. This Reward, frivolous as it may appear to mercenary Souls, was the Boundary of those great Mens Ambition, and procur'd them the most flattering Distinctions. As to what remains, the Practice of crowning Poets has lasted a long Time, especially in *Italy*, for which I refer to the Dissertation of the *Abbé Reynel*, which is to be published in the Volumes of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, which are printing at present.

As to the Games wherein were proposed Prizes of Poetry and Music, the one not going without the other, there were of them among the *Greeks* in the earliest Periods of Time, and that not a few. These Trials of Skill were admitted in the great Games, that is, in the *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian* ; as for the *Olympic* Games, there is some doubt, at least with respect to the heroic Age. For *Suetonius* (1), from whom we

F.f 4 learn

(1) In Nerone.

learn that *Nero* disputed therein the Prize of Music, adds that this was a Thing new and unusual: *Olympiæ præter consuetudinem Musicum Agona commisit*. But, as *M. Burette* very judiciously remarks (a), perhaps these Words, *contrary to Custom, out of Course*, refers only to the Season, or the Time when that Emperor exhibited those Games. And indeed, if we may believe *Atheneus* (1), *Cleomenes* the Rhapsodist sung there the Poem of *Empedocles*, intitled *The Expiations*, and sung it from his Memory. To this Argument we may add the Remark of *Pausanias* (2), who informs us, that near *Olympia* there was a *Gymnasium*, called *Lalichmian*, open to all who had a Mind to be Competitors in those Trials of Wit and Learning of whatever kind, whence those of musical Poetry were probably not excluded. The learned Academic now named, adds to these Arguments, the Authority of *Eliau* (3), who relates that *Xenocles* and *Euripides* disputed the Prize of dramatic Poetry in those same Games, so early as the eighty first Olympiad; and we find at the End of *Eusebius's* Chronicle, that in the forty fourth there was a Prize proposed for the Players upon the Trumpet, which *Timæus* the *Eliau* won.

However it may have been as to these Combats in the *Olympic* Games, 'tis certain that they were common in the other three I have named, especially in the *Pythic* Games, whereof they made the first and most considerable Part.

But it was not only in the great Games of *Greece*, that those Prizes of Poetry and Music were proposed; they were admitted also into many others that were celebrated in several Cities of *Greece*, such as *Argos* and *Sicyon*, as we learn from *Plutarch* (4); into *Thebes*, as may be gathered from the 25th Chapter of the 15th Book of *Eliau*, who tells us, it was in that City *Pindar* was vanquished in that Sort of Trial by *Corinnus*; and into *Lacedæmon*, in the *Carnian* Games

(a) Remarks upon the Treatise of Music by *Plutarch*.

(1) L. 14. c. 3. (2) L. 6. c. 23. (3) Var. Hist. L. 2. c. 8.

(4) Treatise of Music.

Games (*a*), that were celebrated in Honour of *Apollo*, where *Thersander* was the first who gained the Prize (1). Into *Athens*, during the Feast of the *Presses* (2), and that of the *Panathenaia*; to *Epidaurus*, in those of *Esculapius* (3); to *Ithome*, a City of *Messenia*, during the Feast of *Jupiter*, as *Pausanias* expressly says (4). In like manner *Delos*, *Samos*, *Dion* in *Macedonia*, and several other Cities, exhibited these Games.

In those Trials of Skill the Voice was accompany'd with some Instrument, especially with the Harp; but I believe they sometimes disputed with the Voice alone without any Instrument; as they did with Instruments without the Voice.

Vitruvius (5) observes, that one of the *Ptolemies* consecrated to *Apollo* this Sort of Trial, probably at the Time of its Admission into *Egypt*; but from the earliest Times we can trace, for the Origine thereof is not known, the *Greeks* had dedicated it to the Gods now named. I say from the earliest Times, for we learn from *Pausanias* and *Hyginus*, that this Sort of Combat was exhibited in the Games which *Acastus* instituted in Honour of his Father *Pelias*, after the Return of the *Argonauts*. I have already shewn that *Linus*, *Thamyris*, and some others, had been Conquerors there,

(*a*) I know not if I have given Account of the Origin of those Games elsewhere; however I shall give it here. The Feast *Carnæa* had been instituted at *Sparta* in the 26th Olympiad, the Occasion of which was this, according to *Pausanias*, L. 5. c. 12. An *Acar-nanian* named *Carnus*, a famous Soothsayer, whom *Apollo* himself had inspired, having been slain by *Hippotus* the Son of *Phylax*; *Apollo* infested the whole Camp of the *Dorians* with the Plague. Upon which the Murderer was banished, and the Manes of *Carnus* appeased by Expiations, appointed with that View, under the Name of the *Carnian Feasts*. Others, according to the same Author, assign a quite different Origin of this Feast, and of the Surname of *Carnian* given to *Apollo*, and tell us that the *Greeks*, to build the wooden Horse, having cut down upon Mount *Ida*, a great Quantity of Cornel-trees (*κρῆναι*) in a Wood sacred to *Apollo*, thereby incensed that God against them; and that in order to appease him, they instituted a Worship in his Honour, gave him the Name of *Carnian*, transposing the Letters of the Name of the Tree to which their Disgrace was owing.

(1) Plutarch, *ibid.* (2) *Idem. ibid.* (3) Plato in his *Ion.* (4) L. 4. (5) In *Proem.*

there, in that heroic Age. The Poets and Musicians shewed a great Zeal for these Games, and frequently came from a very great Distance into Places where they were celebrated ; so much were they charmed at that Time with the Glory of Victory. This sort of Trial, in short, must have been very amusing to those who were Witnesses to it.

I must not forget, before I close this Chapter, a Story related by *Conon* (1); for tho' it appears only composed for Amusement, yet it is supported by good Authorities. Two Musicians, of whom the one was of *Locris*, namely *Eunomus*; the other *Aristan* (a) of *Rhegium*, having gone to *Delphos* to dispute the Prize of their Art, it happened that the former having broke a String of his Harp, forthwith a Grasshopper appeared, which alighting upon the Harp, supplied so well the Deficiency of the String by its Singing, that *Eunomus* gained the Victory. The same Author adds, that tho' the two Cities which he Names were only separated by the River *Alex*, the Grasshoppers sung on the Side of *Locris*, and were mute on the Side of *Rhegium*. What is singular herein, is, that this Particularity is attested by *Strabo*, by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny* and *Pausanias*. The first of these Authors gives a very plausible Account of it, namely that *Rhegium* is a woody and moist Country, which makes that Insect languid and dull, while it is dry and open towards *Locris*, which leaves the Grasshopper liberty to sing. When 'tis known, as the thing is now-a-days beyond Question, that the Chirping of the Grasshoppers is nothing but the rapid Motion of their Wings in warm Weather, this makes the Account of that learned and judicious Geographer appear still more rational; to which we may add, that it is undoubtedly this Singularity had given rise to the Fable. The Inhabitants of *Locris*, had represented in Marble *Eunomus*, with a Graf-

(1) Nar. 5.

(a) This Name is not to be found in *Photius*, but *Strabo*, who relates the same Story from *Timæus*, has supplied it.

Grashopper, no doubt with a Design to confirm the Truth of the Adventure.

C H A P. IX.

The Continuation of the same Subject.

AFTER having discoursed at some Length of the Chief of these Games, of those who had instituted them, and of the Time when they were represented, 'tis proper to give at least some Account of the rest, as well those that were celebrated in *Greece*, as those that were adopted, or newly instituted by the *Romans*; which I shall do in this Chapter, with as much Brevity as possible, as their Names shall occur.

Of the Game called Trojan, or the Game of the Youth.

This Game or Exercise, which *Eneas* instituted at the Funeral Games of his Father (1), was for the Youth, who being divided into two Bands shewed therein both their Valour and Address. The *Romans*, who adopted this sort of Combat, represented it in the *Circus*. *Sylla*, as we read in *Plutarch* (2), exhibited this Show; but civil Wars interrupted the Performance thereof until *Cæsar*, who restored it, as we are told by *Suetonius*: *Trojan ludit turma duplex, majorum minorumque puero- rum* (3); and from that Time, the Representations thereof were pretty frequent, since the same Author informs us, that *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*, exhibited it to the *Roman* People; but none of the Emperors did it either with so much Pomp, or so often as *Augustus*, who gave a Representation of it for the first Time after the Victory at *Actium*, in the Year of *Rome* 726. This Prince chose for the Purpose two Companies from among the *Roman* Youth, the one younger, and the other of a more advanced Age; *majorum minorumque delectu*, as it is in *Suetonius*; being persuaded that this Exercise would give the Youth

(1) Virg. *Æn.* 1. 5. (2) In *Syll.* (3) In *Cæs.*

Youth of Quality an Opportunity of forming themselves, and of shewing their Address.

In order to give a just Idea of it, I believe I cannot do better than copy the Description of it from *Virgil*.

*Now call'd the Prince, before the Games were done,
The hoary Guardian of his royal Son,
And gently whispers in his faithful Ear,
To bid Ascanius in his Arms appear,
And with his youthful Band and Courser come,
To pay due Honours at his Grandfire's Tomb.
Next he commands the huge assembled Train
To quit the Ground, and leave an open Plain.
Strait on their bridled Steeds, with Grace Divine,
The beauteous Youths before their Fathers shine.
The blooming Trojans and Sicilians throng,
And gaz'd with Wonder as they march'd along.
Around their Brows a vivid Wreath they wore ;
Two glittering Lances tipt with Steel they bore :
These a light Quiver stor'd with Shafts sustain,
And from their Neck depends a golden Chain.
On sprightly Steeds advance three graceful Bands,
And each a little blooming Chief commands.
Beneath each Chief twelve sprightly Striplings came,
In shining Arms, in Looks and Age the same.
Grac'd with his Grandfire's Name, Polites' Son,
Young Priam, leads the first gay Squadron on ;
A Youth, whose Progeny must Latium grace :
He press'd a dappled Steed of Thracian Race :
Before, white Spots on either Foot appear,
And on his Forehead blaz'd a silver Star.
Atys the next advanc'd, with Looks divine,
Atys the Scarce of the great Attian Line :
Iulus' Friendship grac'd the lovely Boy :
And last Iulus came the Pride of Troy,
In Charms, superior to the blooming Train ;
And scurr'd his Tyrian Courser to the Plain ;
Which Dido gave the princely Youth, to prove
A lasting Pledge, memorial of her Love.*

*Th' inferior Boys on beauteous Coursers ride,
 From great Acestes' Royal Stalls supply'd.
 Now flush'd with Hopes, now pale with anxious Fear,
 Before the shouting Crowds, the Youths appear;
 The shouting Crowds admire their Charms, and trace
 Their Parents Lines in every lovely Face.
 Now round the Ring, before their Fathers, ride
 The Boys in all their Military Pride,
 'Till Periphantes' sounding Lash from far
 Gave the loud Signal of the mimic War;
 Strait, in three Bands distinct, they break away,
 Divide in Order, and their Ranks display:
 Swift at the Summons they return, and throw
 At once their hostile Lances at the Foe:
 Then take a new Excursion on the Plain;
 Round within Round, an endless Course maintain;
 And now advance, and now retreat again;
 With well-dissembled Rage their Rivals dare,
 And please the Crowd with Images of War.
 Alternate now they turn their Backs in Flight,
 Now dart their Lances, and renew the Fight;
 Then in a Moment from the Combat cease,
 Rejoyn their scatter'd Bands, and move in Peace.
 So windes delusive, in a thousand Ways
 Perplext and intricate, the Cretan Maze;
 Round within Round, the blind Mæanders run,
 Untrac'd and dark, and end where they begun.
 The skilful Youths in Sport, alternate ply
 Their shifting Course; by Turns they fight, and fly:
 As Dolphins gambol on the watry Way,
 And, bounding o'er the Tides, in wanton Circles play.*

Pitt's *Eneid* V. ver. 702, &c.

Such was the Order of these Games; and when afterwards *Ascanius* built the City *Alba Longa* (1), he brought this military Diversion again into Repute, and taught that Exercise to the ancient *Latins*. The *Albans* having received it from him, transmitted it down to their Posterity. In fine, *Rome* in Honour of the

(1) *Virg. ibid.*

the Memory of its Founders, resumed the Use of that ancient Carrousel, and the Body of Youths that were prepared for this Exercise, was still called, in the Time of *Virgil*, the *Trojan Band*.

The Games of Augustus.

Tacitus informs us (1) that these Games were instituted in Honour of *Augustus*, at the Request of the *Tribunes* of the People, who asked Liberty to exhibit them at their own Charges, and that the Celebration of them should be mark'd in the public Calendar. But what that Historian advances on this Head, is not accurate, since it was neither on that Occasion those Games were instituted, nor that they were register'd for the first Time in the Calendar, since their Original reaches back to the Year of *Rome* 735. When *Augustus*, after having made the Tower of *Greece* and *Sicily* upon his Return to *Rome*, allowed an Altar to be raised to *Fortune of safe Conduct*, *Fortunæ reduci*; and that Day was mark'd in the Calendar under the Name of *Augustalia* (2); and it was eight Years after, under the Consulship of *Ælius Tubero*, and *Paulus Fabius*, that these Games were instituted by an Act of the Senate, and celebrated for the first Time on the fourth of the Ides of *October* *.

Of the Capitoline Games.

These Games were founded by the *Romans*, according to *Titus Livius*, to thank the Gods for having saved the Capitol, when the *Gauls* plundered *Rome*; and to add to their Magnificence, and at the same Time that they might be renewed at stated Times, a new College of Priests was instituted: *Capitolinos ludos*, says that Author, *Solemnibus aliis addidimus; Collegiumque ad id novum, autore Senatu, condidimus*. In these Games three Sorts of Exercises were commonly exhibited, the Horse Race, the Trial in vocal and instrumental Music, and

(1) *Annal.* l. c. 15. (2) *Diod.* c. 54.

* The eleventh of *October*.

and the *Gymnastic Games*; that is, all those which composed the *Pentathlon* (1).

The Games of Ceres.

Tho' the *Greeks* celebrated the greater and the lesser Mysteries in Honour of *Ceres*, as has been said in the fourth Book of the second Volume, yet no Games were therein represented; thus those I speak of here, owe their Origine to the *Romans*, and, according to *Tacitus*, it was (a) *C. Mummius* while he was Edile, gave the first Representation of them in the *Circus* (b). But he was not their Founder, since we learn from *Titus Livius*, that long before him, even from the second Year of the *Punic War*, under the Dictatorship of *Servilius Geminus*, they had been exhibited. The Celebration of these Games, which lasted eight Days, commenced on the Day before the Ides, or on the twelfth of *April* (2).

As in those Games the Mourning of *Ceres* for the Rape of her Daughter was commemorated, as well as in the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, the *Roman Ladies* appeared there in white Robes, with lighted Torches in their Hands, to represent that Goddess seeking for her dear *Proserpine*; the Men too who joined in them, came thither fasting; for the strictest Abstinence was enjoined before Night, especially from Wine and Women, and most punctually observed too: The smallest Blemish excluded the Spectators from them, and the public Herald took Care to warn all who might profane them, to quit the Assembly. If any one was convicted of having stained his Purity, he was punished with no less than Death. This is confirmed by the unanimous Testimony of all the Historians who have spoke of the Celebration of these Games, and it would be an easy Mat-
ter

(1) Petr. Faber.

(a) *Tandem statuere Circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri celebratur exequi destinata.* Annal. lib. 15.

(b) *Circus erit pompa celebris numeroque Deorum,*

Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.

Hi Cereris ludi, &c.

Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.

(2) Ibid.

ter to quote them. As to what remains the same Shows were exhibited there as in the other Games, especially that of the Horse-Race. I believe they were celebrated every fifth Year; at least it was after such an Interval that the *Sibyllin* Oracles ordained a Day of fasting by Way of Preparation for them; to which was added the Use of the warm Bath, as very conducive to Continency and Purity, with which they were obliged to come up to the Solemnity.

The Actiac Games.

Augustus, according to *Suetonius* (1); after the Victory he gained over *Marc-Antony*, built the City of *Nicopolis*, and there instituted Games in Honour of *Apollo*, to be renewed every fifth Year. *Dion Chrysostom* (2) adds that in their Celebration the *Gymnic* Trials of Skill were admitted, with those of Music, and the Horse-Race; that *Augustus* gave them the Name of *Actiac*, from the Promontory of that Name, where *Apollo*, to whom he believed himself indebted for the Advantage he had gained over the Enemy, was especially honoured; that he committed the Care of them to four Colleges of Priests; namely, the *Pontiffs*, *Augurs*, *Septemvirs*, and *Quindecimvirs*; and that they were celebrated afterwards at *Rome* in the *Stadium* made for that Purpose in the *Campus Martius*. From those two Authors it appears that *Augustus* was the Founder of these Games; but *Strabo*, more exact, informs us that they were celebrated at the Promontory of *Actium* long before him, and that he only renewed them, added to their Solemnity, and ordered them to be repeated every five Years; whereas before they were represented every third Year; there the Conquerors were crowned, as in the other Games.

Of the Agonal and Astyc Games.

These Games, which were celebrated at *Rome* with a great deal of Magnificence, were so called from the Victim that was offered there, which went by the Name of

(1) In August. c. 18 (2) Lib. 51.

of *Agonia*. As the *Tyber* sometimes overflowed the Plain where the *Circus* stood, they were represented near one of the Gates of *Rome*, which from thence was called *Agonal*, as well as the little Hills adjoining.

The *Astic* Games were originally *Greek*, and at the same Time of the *Scenic* Kind: The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Athenians*, and the Emperor *Caligula* appointed them to be celebrated first at *Syracuse*; but the *Neapolitans*, who were the Race of a *Greek* Colony, had represented them before. Authors are divided as to the Signification of the Name of these Games: Some are of Opinion that it answers to *Urbani* in Latin, because they were celebrated in the City, in Opposition to those that were exhibited in the Country, and were therefore termed *Rustici*. *Ausonius* (1), who says the *Romans* had adopted them, seems to confound them with the *Actiac* Games; but perhaps the true Pronunciation of this Word is *Attic*, as it is in some of the Manuscripts of *Suetonius*.

Of the Games celebrated in the Camps.

These Games did not require so much Ceremony and Apparatus as the others; they were celebrated by the Soldiers themselves in their Camps, either for their Exercise or Recreation. And indeed nothing was more proper to keep them in Breath than those Sorts of Combats, among which, besides Wrestling, Running and other Trials of Skill, it seems they fought with the fiercest Animals; this is what we learn from a Passage of *Suetonius*, who says *Tiberius*, to shew that he enjoyed a perfect State of Health, for there was a Surmise to the contrary, not only was present at these Games, but himself attacked a Boar with his Arrows.

Of the Games of Castor and Pollux.

The *Romans*, who conferred upon these two Heroes a particular Worship, as has been said in their History, instituted these Games in the War they had with the *Latins*, who had abandoned the *Romans*, and joined

(1) Idyll. 10.

the *Tarquins*. It was the Dictator *Aulus Posthumius* made a solemn Vow to exhibit these Games in Honour of those two Heroes, if he was successful in that Expedition; and the Senate, in Confirmation of *Aulus Posthumius's* Vow, passed an Act for the Continuation of these Games every Year (1). Nothing exceeded the magnificent Pomp with which they were ushered in and accompanied, as we learn from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (2). After the ordinary Sacrifices, says he, such as presided over those Games set out from the Capitol to march in Order thro' the *Forum* to the *Circus* (3), where this Show was exhibited; they were preceded by their Children, on Horse-back, when they themselves were of the *Equestrian* Order, while the *Plebeians* marched a Foot. The former composed so many Troops, and the latter Companies of Foot Soldiers; that Strangers, who came in Crowds to this Spectacle, and who were received on the Occasion with all possible Regard, might see the Resource which *Rome* had in that illustrious Body of Youth, who were ready to appear soon in the midst of their Armies. This Procession, followed with Chariots, some drawn by two, some by four Horses, and with the other Knights who were to run in the *Circus*, was closed by the *Athletes*, who were also to fight there.

Of the Megaleſian Games celebrated in Honour of Cybele and the other great Gods.

These Games, instituted by the *Greeks*, and adopted by the *Romans*, went by the Name of great Games, *Megaleſes*, from the Goddess in whose Honour they were celebrated, and who was called the Great-Mother. *Cicero* (4), who informs us that a great Concourse of People and Strangers frequented these Games, adds that they were exhibited upon the *Palatine* Mount, near the Temple, in Order to be represented in the
very

(1) Dion. Hal. l. 7. (2) Ibid. (3) Panvinus de Lud. Circ.

(4) De Arusp. c. 12.

very Presence of the Goddess. Their Celebration fell on the Day before the Ides of *April* on which the *Romans* had received her Worship (a).

Some Authors have confounded these Games with those of the other great Gods, who had the same Name; but *Cicero* (1) plainly distinguishes them. The last had been instituted by *Tarquin* the elder; the others not till the *Romans* brought from *Pessinus* the Worship of *Cybele*, in the Year of *Rome* 543. under the Consulship of *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cornelius Tuditanus*. The Day of their Celebration was likewise different, since those of *Cybele* fell on the Day before the Ides of *April*, as has been now said from *Titus Livius*, and those of the great Gods, on the Day before the Calends of *September*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2).

Of the Floral Games.

In Order to understand what I have to say on this Article, we must call to Mind what has been observed elsewhere of the Goddess *Flora*, worshipped at *Rome* from the Foundation of that City, or from the Time even of *Romulus* and *Numa*. She had Priests and Festivals, and was different from a Courtesan of the same Name, who made the Senate and *Roman* People Heirs to an Estate, which she had made by Prostitution.

Further, it was not upon the Estate she had left that the *Floral* Games were instituted, nor upon the Money raised by their Representation, as some Authors will have it; but upon the Fines to which those were condemned who had been convicted of Peculation, as we learn from *Ovid* (3), and more particularly from Medals, on which are represented the Genius of the *Roman* People, with the Figure of a Ram, or of a Sheep, the Symbols of Peculation. These Medals, which are of Silver, were struck during the Edileship of *Publius Malleolus*, and the Institution of the Games falls under the Consulship of *Claudius Centho* and *Marcus Sempromius*,

G g 2

(a) *Pertulere Deam pridie Idus Aprilis: isque dies festus factus fuit: populus frequens dona Deæ in Pallatium tulit, lectisterniumque & ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.* Tit. Liv. 29.

(1) In Vert. l. 5. (2) Loc. cit. (3) Fast. l. 7. v. 279.

nus, in the Year of *Rome* 513 but it was not till the Year 580 that these Games became annual, on Occasion of a Famine which lasted three Years, and which had been ushered in by cold and rainy Springs; the Senate, to appease *Flora*, and obtain better Crops, having passed an Act that Year, appointing the annual Celebration of these Games at the End of *April* (a) in Honour of that Goddess, which was regularly executed for the future (b).

Tho' the Expence of these Games was not defrayed from the Estate of the Courtisan *Flora*, they must needs however have been instituted upon Occasion of her Testament, tho' afterwards they were dedicated to the ancient *Flora*, since therein the Memory of the Gallantries of the former was kept up, by the excessive Liberty, or rather the unbounded Licentiousness and Impudence that prevailed there, as has been said in its proper Place, where I have mentioned a Circumstance of *Cato's* Life, who left them that he might not lay the People under a Restraint by his Presence.

CHAP. X.

Of some other Games.

I Should never have done were I to speak at any length of all the other Games, since there were no considerable Cities in the *Roman* Empire, but valued themselves upon the Celebration of some Games or other, either upon the Arrival of the Magistrates who were to govern them, or upon Occasion of Victories and other Advantages gained by the Common-wealth. The Magistrates also took Care to exhibit Games at their own Expence, when they entered on their Office; and tho' of all Offices the Edileship was the least considerable, it was however during it that the greatest Ex-
pence

(a) The fourth of the Calends of *May*, or the 28th of *April*.

(b) *Convenire Patres, E, si bene floreat annus,
Numinibus nostris annua festa covent.*

*Annuitis votis; Consul cum consule Lænus
Posthumio ludos persolvere mihi.*

Ovid, *Fast.* lib. 5. v. 324.

pence was laid out upon those Games, because the People judged from thence how those who were invested with it were likely to behave when they came to be advanced to more considerable ones. Lastly, others were exhibited at the Birth of great Men, which were called *Natalitii*, and on a thousand other Occasions. However, as among those Games some were very noted tho' commonly not annual, as most of those I have discoursed of hitherto, it will not be amiss to end with a summary Account of them.

Of the Circensian Games.

Tho' by the *Circensian* Games we are to understand only the Combats, the Races, and other Exercises that were performed in the Places known by the Name of *Circus*, which had been raised for the Representation of all Sorts of Games, yet the Antiquaries comprehend under that Name, the Race which was instituted in the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* by *Ænomaus* King of *Pisa*, to rid himself of those who were courting his Daughter *Hippodamia*, and wherein *Pelops* was Conqueror, as has been said in its Place; or that other Race which *Hercules* instituted in *Elis*, wherein he having gained the Victory, received a Crown of Olive from the Hand of the same *Pelops* (a): *Primus Hercules hunc honorem habuit, manibus Pelopis*, as we have in *Lactantius*.

Romulus, after the Rape of the *Sabine* Women, appointed the same Games to be celebrated in the open Fields, for there was no Place then destined for that Purpose. These first Games of the *Romans* went by the Name of *Consualia*; and if *Virgil* gives the Name of *Circensian* Games to those which *Romulus* exhibited on the Occasion now mentioned, it is by Way of Anticipation; for it was only in the Time of *Tarquinius* the Elder that the first *Circus* was built. These Games were also called by the Name of the great Games,

G g 3

Ludi

(a) *Primum Pisæa per arva,*
Hunc pius Alcides Pelopi certavit honorem,
Pulveremque fera crinem deterfit oliva.

Stat. Theb. l. 6,

Ludi magni. I insist no farther on these Edifices, which were proper for the Chariot and Horse-Races, and were very numerous at *Rome* and about it, because their Names and Figures may be seen in *Onuphrius Panvinus*, who has composed a Treatise of Purpose upon the Subject.

The Games of the Cross-ways or Compitales, and others.

Tarquin the elder having observed a Prodigy in the sacred Hearth of the Household-Gods, instituted these Games, that were celebrated afterwards at certain stated Times, that is, during the Winter, and about the Time of the *Saturnalia*.

The *Equestrian* Games were those whose Celebration consisted in Horse-Races, and of them the *Romans* distinguished two Sorts. The *Decumani* were such as they represented every tenth Year, and which the Senate had instituted in Honour of *Augustus*, who every fifth Year, and sometimes every tenth Year, proposed to quit the Reins of Government which he kept however his whole Life-time. The Games of *the Leaves*, were so called either from the Leaves that the Crowns were made of, or because the People threw of them upon the Conquerors (1). Those of the Gladiators took their Names from the desperate Engagement of that Sort of Combatants, who fought therein with inconceivable Fury and Obstinacy, and for which the *Romans* had an inhuman Curiosity. The *Gymnic* Games borrowed theirs from the Nakedness of the Wrestlers, and from the five Sorts of Combats that were exhibited therein, which made up what the Ancients called the *Gymnastic*. The *Instaurative* Games were those that were represented a second Time. The *Lustral*, *Lustrales*, or *Rubigalia*, had been instituted in Honour of *Mars*, and it was during their Celebration that the Arms, the Trumpets, &c. were purified. The Games of *Mars*, which were celebrated on the first of *August*, had been instituted in Honour of that God, to perpetuate the Memory of the Temple built to his Honour in the Time of the Emperor *Claudius* (2).
The

(1) *Ludi foliacei.* (2) *Dion. l. 60.*

The Games named *Novendiles*, were the same with those funeral Games we have discoursed of, and which were exhibited at the Death of great Men, or of the Emperors. The *Palatine* Games, *Palatini*, were instituted by *Augustus* in Honour of *Julius Cæsar*, and got that Name, from the Temple which was upon the *Palatine Mount*, where they were celebrated every Year for eight Days, beginning with the 25th of *December*. Those of the Fishers, *Piscatorii*, were renewed every Year in the Month of *June*, by the Prætor of the City, in Honour of such of the Fishers upon the *Tyber*, whose Gain was carried into the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a Tribute paid to the Dead. The *Plebeian* Games were exhibited in Honour of the People, who had contributed so much to the Extinction of the regal Power. The Pontificals were those exhibited by the Priests at entering on their Office, in Imitation of the Questors, whose Games went by the Name of *Ludi Quæstorii Romani*, or the *Roman* Games had been instituted by *Tarquin* the Elder (1), in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, as we learn from *Cicero* (2). The *Sacerdotal* Games, were those which the People in the Provinces obliged the Priests to present them with. The *Triumphales*, those that were represented upon occasion of some Triumph. The *Votivi* were exhibited in Consequence of some Vow; and those were either public, when it was a public Vow, as was the Case either in public Calamities, or in the Heat of a Battle, or on other momentous Occasions; or private, when some private Person gave a Representation of them. The former were given by the Magistrates in Consequence of an Act of the Senate: We have an Inscription that makes mention of one of these *Votive* and *Public* Games, for the happy Return of *Augustus*. *Ti. Claud. &c. Ludos Votivos pro reditu Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augusti.*

Ludi Sigillares, were so called upon Account of the little Figures, either of Silver or some other Metal, which they sent to one another in Token of Friendship, and that commonly during the *Saturnalia*. *Ludi Taurii*, were instituted to the Honour of the infernal

G g 4 Gods,

(1) Tit. Liv. (2) In Verr. 5.

Gods, on Occasion of a Plague, under the Reign of *Tarquin* the Proud, which Plague arose from the exposing of Bulls Flesh to sale.

Lastly, the *Secular* Games were so called not from their being repeated only once in an hundred Years, as is commonly believed ; but this Name was given to certain Games that were renewed but seldom, or that were represented but once during the same Persons Life. This is the Idea of them given by *Ovid* :

*Jussrat & Phæbo dici ; quo tempore ludos
Fecit, quos ætas aspicit una semel.* Trist. l. 2.

Accordingly their Original, at it is related at very great Length by *Valerius Maximus* (1), and *Zosimus* (2), had no Relation to the Name which they went by afterwards. *Volusius Valerius* says the former of those two Authors, having three Children, two Sons and a Daughter, who were seized by the Plague that wasted the Province where they lived, and finding the Remedies applied by Physicians ineffectual, having addressed himself to the Genius of his Gods *Lares*, heard a Voice enjoining him to carry them to the Banks of the *Tyber*, and to make them drink of the Water of the River. He at first scrupled to obey, considering the Distance he was at from that River ; but at last the Malady and the Danger encreasing, he was determined to set out ; and having arrived near the *Tyber*, at a Place named *Tarentum*, he gave them drink, and they were cured. In Gratitude to the Gods for so signal a Kindness, he offered Sacrifices of black Victims to *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and the other infernal Divinities, for three Nights successively. *Valerius Publicola*, continues the same Author (a), who was made Consul when *Tarquin* was banished, believing the *Romans* had more need than ever of the Protection of the Gods, renewed the Sacrifices of *Volusius* in the Year of *Rome* 245, appointed them to be

(1) Lib. ii. c. 4. (2) Lib. 2.

(a) *Primos ludos seculares, ex ætis Regibus post Romam conditam annos 245. Valerius Publicola instituit.* Antias apud Censor, de die natali, c. 17.

be offered upon the same Altar and to the same Gods, and added Games to them. In fine, we learn from *Varro*, whose Testimony is cited by *Censorinus* (a), that the *Romans*, affrighted by several Prodigies that happened one after another, having consulted, according to Custom, the Books of the Sibyls, learned that they were to renew the Sacrifices and the Games of *Volusus*, and to celebrate them for the future every hundred Years in the *Campus Martius*: This was the Origin of the secular Games.

To proceed, nothing came up to the Solemnity of these Games. First, Heralds were dispatched thro' all *Italy* to invite every Body to them, as to a Solemnity which they would never see again; and when the Time of their Celebration approached, the Consuls, Decemvirs, and at last the Emperors themselves went into different Temples to offer Sacrifices, and ordered a Distribution to be made to the People of such things as were necessary, that every one might set about the expiating of his Sins; such as Torches, Sulphur, and Bitumen, and none were excepted but the Slaves. The People thus furnished with Materials for the Expiation, flock'd to the Temple of *Diana*, which was upon the *Aventine* Mount, and every one gave his Children Barley, Corn and Beans, to offer the whole in Sacrifice to the Destinies in order to appease them. Then upon Arrival of the first Festival consecrated to *Juno*, three Days and three Nights were employed in offering Victims to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, *Mars*, *Diana*, *Vesta*, *Venus*, *Hercules*, *Saturn*, to Divinities of the Fountains, and lastly to the *Parcæ*, *Proserpine*, and *Pluto*; and all this at *Tarentum* itself, a Place not far from the *Campus Martius*, where these Games were to be performed.

On the first Night, at the second Hour, the Consuls in the Time of the Republic, and afterwards the Emperors

(a) *Cum multa portenta fierent*——& ideo libros Sibyllinos Decemviri adiissent, & Diti Patri, & Proserpinæ ludi Tarentini in campo Martis fierent, & hostiæ fuvæ immolarentur; utique ludi centesimo quoque anno fierent. *Varro apud eundem loc. cit.*

perors themselves, accompanied by the Decemvirs who presided at this Solemnity, went to the Banks of the *Tyber*, where they raised three Altars, on which they sacrificed three Lambs; and after sprinkling the Altars with the Blood of those Victims, they ordered the rest of them to be burnt. This Ceremony was illuminated by a great Number of Lamps, and accompanied with singing several Hymns in Honour of the Gods, and terminated by the offering of several black Victims, such as *Volusus* and *Publicola* had formerly offered.

While they were taken up in these religious Functions, Artists erected a Theater, and prepared the Place where the Exercises common to the Games were to be performed; then the next Day in the Morning they went to the Capitol, where after offering a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they returned to the Place now mentioned, and began to celebrate the Games in Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. The next Day the *Roman* Ladies repaired to the same Capitol to sacrifice to *Juno*: Lastly, the Emperor himself, accompany'd by the Decemvirs, went the same Day and offered to each of the foresaid Divinities the Victims that belonged to them.

On the third Day, seven and twenty Youths of the best Families, all in Robes, and as many Virgins, marched in Procession to the *Palatine* Mount to the Temple of *Apollo*, where they vied with one another in singing Hymns and Songs, to make the Gods propitious to the Emperor, the Senate, and the *Roman* People. Lastly, during the three Days and three Nights that the Solemnity of these Games continued, all the Theaters in *Rome*, the Cirques, and the other public Places destined for these Festivals, were employed in Shows that were therein exhibited. Among other things, there were also hunting Matches, Combats with wild Beasts, Sea-fights, &c. The People divided the whole Time between Mirth and Devotion.

Thus it is that the Games of the *Greeks* and *Romans* were intermixed with Religion, and this is what induced me to give the History of them a Place in this *Mythology*.

A C O M P L E A T
I N D E X
O F

P E R S O N S and T H I N G S

Contained in the F O U R V O L U M E S of this
M Y T H O L O G Y.

The Numerals or *Roman* Characters refer to the
Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A.

A B I D I R, the Name of the Stone which *Saturn* swallowed, ii. 189.

Abas, the Son of *Lyncus* King of *Argos*, and his Successor, iii. 364, 414.

Abdabaram, an *Arabian* God, i. 570.

Abellio, a God of the *Gauls*, iii. 275.

Abenauquis, a People in *America*, their Religion, i. 142.

Aborigines, their Country, ii. 262. *Hercules* distributes to his Soldiers a Part of that Country, iv. 90. The *Trojans* unite with the *Aborigines* under the Name of *Latin* People, *ib.* 312.

Abraham, the Founder of *Judaism*, i. 162. Whether *Serug* his Father was the first Author of Idolatry; if *Abraham* himself was an Idolater, *ib.* 172, 173. Idolatry more antient than *Abraham*, *ib.* 169, 192, 193. ii. 2. That he was versed in the Knowledge of the Stars, i. 434. Whether the Expedition of the *Argonauts* was borrowed from the Journeyings of *Abraham* and *Moses*, iv. 3. See *Patriarchs*.

Abfyrthus the Son of *Ætes*, and Brother to *Medea*, assassinated by his Sister, i. 419. iii. 44, 46. This Murder is a Calumny

I N D E X.

- lunmy of the tragic Poets, 62. 'Tis variously related by Authors, *ib.* 49.
- Abydenus*, an antient Author of the *Chaldeans*, a Fragment of his History, i. 80, 85.
- Abyla*. See *Calpe*.
- Acacallide* the Daughter of *Minos* I. married to *Apollo*, iii. 483. Then to *Miletus*, iv. 392. See *Miletus*.
- Acacus*, the Son of *Lycas*, what City he founded, iii. 354.
- Acamas* the Son of *Theseus*, iii. 431.
- Acara* or *Alquibila*, a Tower, an Object of Religion among the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Acarnania*, a Country of *Epirus*, the Origin of that Name, iv. 98. See the Note.
- Acasta*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Acastus*, the Son of *Pelias*, and Coulin to *Jason*, was one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 16. Appoints the Celebration of funeral Games in honour of his Father, 53. Pursues his Sisters for the Murder of their Father, 100. *Astidamia* the Wife of *Acastus*. See *Astidamia*, *Alceges*.
- Acca Laurentia*, Nurse to *Remus* and *Romulus*, ii. 578.
- Acca Laurentia* or *Larentia*, a Courtisan whom the *Romans* worshipped under the Name of *Flora*, ii. 575, &c. See *Floral Games*.
- Accitans* or *Accitanians*, a People in *Spain*, worshipped a God of War, iii. 305.
- Accorn*, that it cannot be the Food of Man, i. 49.
- Accephali*, or Men without the Head, i. 74.
- Accidas* and *Accisus* worshipp'd in *Greece* as Heroes, iii. 433.
- Acerra*, an Instrument for the Sacrifices, iii. 276.
- Acestes* King of *Sicily*, his History, iv. 402.
- Achaia*, a Country of *Greece*. See *Acheus*.
- Achas*, a City of *Egypt*; the Water of the *Nile* was employed there in a religious Ceremony, iii. 114, 116.
- Acheans*, a People of *Greece*. See *Acheus*. They are banished from the *Peloponnesus* by the *Heraclidæ*, iv. 129.
- Achelous*, a River in *Ætolia*; the Combat of the God of that River with *Hercules*, i. 29. *Hercules* tears off one of his Horns; the Explanation of this Fable, ii. 488. iv. 97.
- Acheron*, a River in *Epirus*, the Quality of its Water, iii. 34, 35. This was made one of the Rivers in Hell, *ib.* Other Rivers named *Acherons*, 35.
- Acherusia*, a Lake in *Egypt*, iii. 3. It was from this Lake the *Greeks* derived their Idea of their *Acheron*, iii. 35. Another Lake of this Name in *Thesprotia*, whence the *Acheron* rises, *ib.*

Acheus

I N D E X.

- Acheus*, who gave his Name to *Achaia*, iii. 397. His Genealogy, 398. See the Table.
- Achilles*, his Genealogy, iii. 391. iv. 274. *Thetis* dips him in *Styx*; his Education, *ib.* He is forced to the Siege of *Troy*, 226, 275. He leads thither the *Myrmidons*, 216. His Conquests during the Siege, 276. His Wrath against *Agamemnon*, 223, 232. His Death, 277. He is worshipped as a Demi-God, 278. See *Deidamia*, *Polixena*.
- Achillaea*, Feasts in Honour of *Achilles*, i. 298.
- Achivians*, or *Hevcaans*, a Name given to the *Greeks*, iii. 407. Its Etymology, 408, 413.
- Achlis*, the first Being in the *Pagan System*, i. 119.
- Achor*. See *Myagrus*.
- Acis* transformed into a River, iv. 293.
- Acmon*, the Father of *Cælus* or Heaven, his History, his Death and Apotheosis, i. 120. ii. 171.
- Acmonia*, two Cities of this Name built by *Acmon*, ii. 171.
- Acræus*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 219.
- Acrisius* or *Acrifus*, the Son of *Lynceus*, and Father of *Danae*, iii. 364. His Death, 463. See *Danae* and *Perseus*.
- Æteon*, his Genealogy, iii. 410. His Death, 413. Is ranked among the Demi-Gods, 419. The *Ætia* or *Ætiaca*, Feasts in Honour of *Apollo*, i. 298. *Ætiac Games* instituted by *Augustus*, why, iv. 448. See *Games*.
- Ætica*, a Country of *Greece*, its different Names, iii. 374. See the Note.
- Ætium*, a Promontory of *Epirus*, i. 298. iv. 448.
- Ætor*, the Grandfather of *Achilles*, iii. 391.
- Ætor*, another, an *Argonaut*, iv. 16.
- Adad* and *Benadad*, Names common to the Kings of *Syria*. Their Signification, i. 189.
- Adam*, the Rabbins believed he was created with both Sexes, i. 83.
- Adder*, worshipp'd as representing *Esculapius*, i. 203.
- Adcona* and *Abcona*, two *Roman Divinities*, iii. 195.
- Adephagia*, the Goddess of Gluttony, a Temple which she had in *Sicily*, iii. 179.
- Ades*, the Name of *Pluto*, and of the Infernal Regions, i. 70. iii. 28, 441.
- Adma*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Admetus*, the King of *Pheres*, Spouse to *Alcestes*, his Genealogy, iii. 594. One of the *Argonauts*, iv. 17.
- Adod*, or *Adodus*, King of the Gods among the *Phenicians*, i. 97.
- Adoneus*, the *Arabians* worshipped the Sun under that Name, i. 188.

Adonis

I N D E X.

- Adonis* or *Thammuz*, the Symbol of the Sun among the *Phenicians*, i. 175. ii. 12. The Origin of the Fable of *Venus* and *Adonis*, i. 70. ii. 8. His Birth; his Adventures; his Death, ii. 8. Rank'd among the Gods, why, 7. His Worship in the Provinces adjoining to *Syria*; and from thence in *Greece*; and especially at *Athens*, 15, 18. Feasts established in Honour of him, 14, &c. *Adonis* beloved by *Proserpine* in Hell, 9. *Venus* contends for him, with *Proserpine*, 9, 20. In his Feasts Jollity was made to succeed to Mourning, 14. Why, 20. The Origin of his Worship, 7, 23. His Transformation into the *Anemone*, 23. See *Astarte*.
- Adonis*, a River whose Water turns red at a certain Season, i. 14.
- Adramelech* and *Anamelech*, Gods of *Sepharvaim*, ii. 1. Victims that were offered to them, 61. Who these Divinities were, 62.
- Adramus*, a *Sicilian* God, iii. 175.
- Adrastus* King of *Argos*, his History, iv. 198. Gives his two Daughters in Marriage to *Polynices* and *Tydeus*, 187. He is one of the seven Chiefs in the War of *Thebes*, 188. His Genealogy; his Children, 198, 199. The Fable of *Adrastus's* Horse, 200.
- Adraste*, one of the Nymphs who nursed *Jupiter*, ii. 165.
- Adrastea* or *Adrastia*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Necessity*, iii. 76. The same with *Nemesis*, 93.
- Æa* or *Æea*, the Capital of *Colchis*, iv. 39.
- Æacus*. See *Eacus*.
- Æditui*, Ministers of the Temple, i. 282.
- Ædæ* or *Ædon*, the Daughter of *Pandarus*. See *Pandærus*.
- Ædon*, the Daughter of *Pandareus*. See *Pandareus*.
- Ægeria*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Ægina*. See *Egina*.
- Ægiuchus*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 225.
- Ægipans*. See *Satyrs*.
- Ægle*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Ægobolæ*. See *Egibole*.
- Ægophaga*, a Name given to *Juno*, ii. 244.
- Ægyptius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Æello*, one of the *Harpies*, iv. 34.
- Æneas*. See *Eneas*.
- Æon*, the Name of the first Woman in the Theogony of the *Phenicians*, i. 91.

Ærope,

I N D E X.

- Ærope*, the Wife of *Atreus*, iv. 256. See *Atreus* and *Thyestes*.
- Ærumna* or *Inquietude*, i. 113.
- Æs*, *Æsculanius* and *Æres*, Gods who presided over the Coinage of Brass Money, i. 199. iii. 200.
- Æsculapius*. See *Esculapius*.
- Ætalides*, one of the *Argonauts*, the Son of *Mercury*, iv. 17.
- Æetes*, King of *Colchos*, the Father of *Medea*, i. 117, 189. ii. 380. Kills *Phryxus* his Son-in-law, iv. 7. Designs to destroy the *Argonauts*, 39. See *Jason*, *Phryxus*, the *Argonauts*.
- Æetes* II. of the Name, the Brother of *Circe*, iv. 300.
- Æther*, its Formation according to the *Greeks*, i. 111, 112.
- Æthra*. See *Ethra*.
- Æthlius*, the Son of *Eolus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, iii. 433.
- Ætolia*. See *Etolia*.
- Ætolus*. See *Etolus*.
- Æton* or *Æthon*, one of the Horses of the Sun, ii. 383.
- Africa*, whence it got the Name, i. 60.
- Agamedes*, the Brother of *Trophonius*, his Death, i. 341.
- Agamemnon*, his Genealogy, iii. 422. The hereditary Hatred between the House of *Priam* and that of *Agamemnon*, iv. 214. He is General of the *Grecian* Army against the *Trojans*, 216. Transfers the Kingdom from *Argos* to *Mycenæ*, 257. His Death, 259.
- Aganice*, the Fable of this Maid, i. 46. See the Note.
- Aganippe* or *Hippocrene*, a Fountain of *Beotia*, ii. 436.
- Agapenor*, the Son of *Anceus* King of *Arcadia*, was at the Siege of *Troy*, iii. 356.
- Agathodæmon*, one of the *Egyptian* Gods, i. 493.
- Agatete*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 431.
- Agave*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, i. 117. The Mother of *Pentheus*, her Phrenzy, iii. 412. Receives divine Honours after her Death, 420.
- Agave*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Age*, the Golden Age, in what Period of Time it is placed, ii. 263. The Description of the Golden Age, 270. Whence the Idea of it was formed, 271.
- Agenor*, the Son of *Pleuron*, his Children, iii. 390, 391.
- Agenor*, the King of *Phenicia*, his Genealogy, his Children, iii. 402, 404. See *Europa*.
- Agenoria*, a Goddess of the *Romans*, who inspired with Courage, i. 199. iii. 194.
- Ageronia* or *Angeronia*, the Goddess of *Silence*; a Feast instituted in her Honour; how she was represented, iii. 135. Why joined with the Goddess *Voluptas*, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

- Agefilaus*, a Name of *Pluto*, what it signifies, iii. 44.
- Aglaia*, one of the three Graces, i. 117.
- Aglauros* or *Agraulos*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, her inhuman Worship in the Island of *Cyprus*, iii. 375. She is transformed into a Rock, 376.
- Aglibolus* and *Malachbelus*, Gods of the *Palmyrenians*, how they were represented, ii. 67.
- Agentalia* or *Agonia*, Feasts instituted by *Numa Pompilius*, whence they derived that Name, i. 309.
- Agminis*, a Divinity. See *Agentalia*.
- Agrai* or *Agrus*, or *Agrotes*, also called *Alcton* or *Titans*, i. 92.
- Agrania*, Feasts of the *Greeks*, i. 298.
- Agraulia*, Feasts in Honour of *Agraulos*. See *Aglauros*.
- Agræus* and *Halæus*, the Inventers of Fishing and Hunting, i. 92.
- Agrionia*, Feasts, how they were celebrated, i. 298.
- Agrippa*, one of the Kings of *Alba*, the Time of his Reign, iv. 313.
- Agrius*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, i. 118.
- Agrius*, one of the Giants who attacked *Jupiter*, ii. 169.
- Agrætera*, a Surname of *Diana* of *Athens*; what Sacrifices were offered to her, i. 273.
- Agrotes*, a famous Divinity of the *Phenicians*, i. 92.
- Agrotæ*, a Name given to the Priests of *Cybele*, i. 287.
- Ajax*, the Son of *Oileus*, a Captain at the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 216. Ravished *Cassandra* in *Minerva's* Temple, 242, 243, 281. His Death, *ib.* The Confidence of the *Locræans* in his Valour, even after his Death, 283.
- Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, the Greatness of his Size, ii. 197, 198. A *Grecian* Captain at the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 216. Disputes with *Ulysses* the Armour of *Achilles*; his Character; his Death, 283. Fables relating to him explained, 285, &c.
- Ajæxia* or *Arantia*, Feasts in Honour of *Ajax*, i. 299.
- Aichecra*, a God of the *Arabians*, who he was, i. 570.
- Aidoneus*, King of *Epirus*, often confounded with *Pluto*, iii. 53. Two Kings of this Name, *ibid.*
- Aimene*, a *Trojan* Woman who had a Temple in *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Air*, the Air worshipped under the Name of *Jupiter* and *Esus*, i. 196. Divination by means of the Air, i. 395.
- Aius Locutius*, the God of great Talking, iii. 136. His Temple at *Rome*, *ibid.*
- Alabanus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 430.
- Alabandus*, the Founder of the City *Alabanda* in *Caria*, his Worship, iii. 178.

I N D E X.

Alalcomene, the Daughter of *Ogyges*, Nurse to *Minerva* ; Her Worship, iii. 370, 371.

Alasparus, who was so called in the System of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.

Alba, one of the Kings of *Alba*, the Duration of his Reign, iv. 313.

Alba, a City of *Latium* ; its Founder ; its Kings, and the Duration of that Kingdom, iv. 313.

Albula, the antient Name of the *Tyber*, *ibid.*

Alcathoia, a Feast of the *Greeks*, i. 299.

Alceus, the Father of *Amphitryo*, iii. 365. iv. 74.

Alcestes, the Wife of *Admetus*, pursued for the Murder of her Father *Pelias*, iv. 100. Her generous Resignation for her Husband, *ibid.* See *Admetus*, *Acastus*.

Alcibiades, why he was banished, i. 248.

Alcides, the first Name of *Hercules*, iv. 117.

Alcimus, *Alcimides*, and *Alcinus*, Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433, 434.

Alcinous, King of the *Pheacians*, his Gardens ; receives *Ulysses* at his Court, iv. 302.

Alcippe, the Daughter of *Mars*, had an Adventure which gave rise to the Establishment of the *Areopagus*, ii. 317.

Alcmena, the Mother of *Hercules*, i. 117. ii. 170. Her Genealogy, iii. 365. iv. 74. Her Marriage with *Amphitryo*, 75. The Birth of *Hercules*, 76, &c.

Alcmeon, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, his History and Death, iv. 98, 194.

Alcyone or *Halcyone*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, one of the *Pleiades*, i. 108. ii. 273.

Alcyone, the Wife of *Ceyx*. See *Ceyx*.

Alcyoneus, one of the Giants who attacked *Jupiter*, ii. 168.

Alcyons or King's-Fishers, Birds consecrated to *Thetis*, i. 264.

The Symbols of conjugal Love, iv. 380.

Alea, the Surname of *Minerva*, iii. 354. See *Aleus*.

Aleto, one of the Furies, iii. 78.

Alektor, the Son of *Magnes* King of *Magnesia*, iii. 392.

Aleia or *Aleaia*, a famous Festival in *Arcadia*, i. 299.

Alemannus, King of the *Boians*, and the *Hercules* of their Country, iii. 332.

Aleon, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 434.

Aleto. See *Agrai*.

Aletes, the Son of *Egisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, slain by *Orestes*, iv. 266.

Aletes, one of the *Heraclidæ*, iv. 129. See *Sisyphus*.

I N D E X.

- Aleus*, the Son of *Nyetimus* King of *Arcadia*, built the Temple of *Minerva Alea*, iii. 354. The Son whom he had by *Clesbule* his Wife, iv. 17.
- Alexander* will needs pass for the Son of *Jupiter*, i. 333, 338. iii. 205. How he was admitted to the *Olympic Games*, iv. 431, 432.
- Algonquins*, a People of *America*, their principal Divinity, i. 142.
- Alia*, a Feast of *Apollo* among the *Greeks*, i. 299.
- Alilat*, a Goddess of the *Arabians*, i. 571.
- Alitius*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 224.
- Alladius*, the Tyrant of *Alba*, his Insolence; his Death, iv. 313.
- Allegories*, whether the Fables are mere Allegories, i. 20, &c.
- Allirotius*. See *Alcippe*.
- Almighty*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 217.
- Alsia*, or the Feasts of the Barn-floors, i. 299.
- Alceus*. See *Aloides* and *Iphimedies*.
- Aloides*, the Giants who attacked *Jupiter*, ii. 168. iii. 116. The Explanation of their Fable, iii. 118.
- Alopiis*, transformed into a Fox, i. 77.
- Alorus*, this was the *Adam* of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.
- Aloüs*, the Son of the *Sun* and *Antiope*, iv. 66.
- Alpha* or *Ilpha*, a *Phenician Word*, i. 65. See *Europa*.
- Aiphaga*, another *Phenician Word*. See *Alpheus*.
- Alpheus*, his Pedigree, i. 114. A River of *Elis*. His Amours with the Fountain *Arethusa*, i. 67. iii. 57, 58. See *Arethusa*.
- Alphesibea*, the Daughter of *Phegeus*, marries *Alcmeon*, who divorces her afterwards; how she is avenged for this Affront, iv. 194, 195.
- Alphitomantia*, a kind of Divination, i. 396.
- Alrunæ*, the Superstition of the antient *Germans*.
- Altars*, their Antiquity, i. 233. Their Forms; the Places where they were erected, 234, 235, 236. The Veneration of the *Pagans* for their Altars, 237. No Altars for the infernal Gods, iii. 103.
- Althea*, the Wife of *Oeneus*, the Mother of *Meleager*. Her Genealogy, iii. 391. She devotes her Son to the Furies, iv. 172. Her deep Distress, *ibid*.
- Amalthea*, the She-Goat that nursed *Jupiter*, ii. 207.
- Amathia*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.
- Amenus*, *Omanus*, and *Anandratus*, Divinities of the *Persians* and *Cappadocians*, ii. 128, 131.
- Amasis*, King of *Egypt*; the Temple of one single Stone which he conveyed to *Sais*, i. 222.

Amazons,

I N D E X.

- Amazons*, the Country which they inhabited; the Wars of *Bellerophon*, *Priam*, and *Hercules* against them, iii. 474. Who they were; if there actually were *Amazons*, iv. 101, 102. If there are any at this Day, *ibid.* Temples which they had built, i. 222, 223.
- Ambarvalia*, Feasts of *Ceres*, i. 307.
- Amberthkend*, a Book containing the Doctrines of the *Indians*, i. 138.
- Ambition*, a Divinity, i. 199.
- Amber*, the Place where it grows, ii. 390, 391. See *He-liades*.
- Ambrosia*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278.
- Ambrosia*, Feasts in Honour of *Bacchus*, i. 299.
- Amelon*, who he was in the System of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.
- Amenon*, *ibid.*
- Amenophis*, King of *Egypt*, whether he is the same with *Memnon*, iv. 324.
- Amenthes*, the God of the *Egyptians*, this is the *Ades* of the *Greeks*, iii. 828.
- Americans*, their Religion has a great Deal of Conformity with that of the ancient *Pagans*, i. 140. & seq. There is no Nation in *America* but Worships the Sun, 145, 188.
- Amicleus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 430.
- Amilcar*, a Divinity of the *Carthaginians*, i. 576.
- Amintor*, the Son of *Phrastor* King of *Argos*, iii. 342.
- Amithaon*, the Son of *Cretheus*, his Descendants; iii. 394. iv. 8. The Uncle of *Jason*, iv. 10.
- Ammon*. See *Jupiter*, *Ham*.
- Ammon*, the Father of *Adonis*, and Husband of *Myrrha*, ii. 10. His Death, *ibid.*
- Amphiaraus*, a famous Soothsayer, one of the principal Leaders in the *Theban War*, and one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 17, 193. His Death; his Family, 194, 195. The Worship that was paid to him after his Death, 196.
- Amphiaraia*, Feasts in Honour of *Amphiaraus*, i. 299.
- Amphictyon*, King of *Athens*, iii. 376. The Founder of the Court of *Amphictyons*; what this Court was; 388.
- Amphidamas*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 17.
- Amphilochus*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, iv. 196.
- Amphion*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Antiope*, ii. 170. iii. 415. Why he is said to have built the Walls of *Thebes* by the Musick of his Lyre, *ibid.* See *Zethus*.
- Amphion*, one of the *Argonauts*, the Son of a King of *Arcadia*, iv. 17.
- Amphis*, *Anedophus*, or *Amenpsinus*, who he was among the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.

I N D E X.

Amphithoe, one of the Nymphs, ii. 531.

Amphitrite, the Wife of *Neptune*, her Genealogy, i. 117.
ii. 498. The Etymology of the Name, *ibid.* Two Ne-
reids called by this Name, ii. 508.

Amphitryo, his Birth, iii. 365. iv. 74. Loses the Kingdom
of *Mycenæ*; his Retreat to *Thebes*, where he is received
by *Alcmena*, whom he marries, 75. See *Alcmena*.

Amulius, the *Mars* of the *Latins*, the Father of *Remus* and
Romulus, ii. 316.

Amycleus, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 430.

Amycus, King of *Bebrycia*, *Pollux* puts him to Death, iv. 33.

Amynus and *Magus*, who were so called among the *Chaldeans*,
i. 92.

Anacæa, Feasts in Honour of *Gastor* and *Pollux*, i. 299.

Anaces or *Anactes*, the Etymology of the Name, ii. 84. A
Name given to several Deities, *ibid.* See the *Dioscuri* and
Cabiri.

Anagogia, Feasts in Honour of *Venus*, i. 299.

Anaitis, the Surname of *Diana* or of the *Moon*, among the
Cappadocians and *Armenians*, ii. 128, 424. A Feast in
Honour of her, ii. 128, 129. Her Temple in *Armenia*;
her golden Statue pillaged, 133.

Anaxagoras punished with Death, why, i. 47.

Anaxandra, the Heroine of *Athens*, iii. 434.

Anaxarcte transformed into a Rock, iv. 392. See *Iphis*.

Anaxis, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433.

Anaxo, the Mother of *Alcmena*, iii. 365.

Anceus, the Son of *Neptune* and *Astiphaëa*, one of the *Argo-
nauts*, iv. 18. His singular Death which gave rise to a
Proverb, *ibid.*

Anchises, the Father of *Eneas*, i. 118. His Genealogy, iv.
250, 307. Why he was Thunderstruck, 308. The
Time and Place of his Death, 309.

Ancilia or *Anciles*. See *Sacred Bucklers*.

Anculi or *Anculæ*, Gods of the Servants and Maids, i. 200.
iii. 199.

Androgeos, the Son of *Minos* II. his Death, iii. 493. Funeral
Games instituted in his Honour, 500.

Androgenia or *Androgeonia*, Feasts in Honour of *Androgeos*,
i. 299.

Androgynæ, Man-Monsters, i. 83.

Andromache, the Wife of *Hector*, her Genealogy, iv. 241.
See the Note. The Children she had by *Pyrrhus* and
Helenus, *ibid.* How the Poets have represented her, *ibid.*

Andromeda, the Daughter of *Cepheus* and *Cassiopeia*, is ex-
posed to a Sea-Monster, delivered by *Perseus* whom she
marries,

I N D E X.

- marries, iii. 457. What Truth there is in her Adventure, 458. The Bones of the Monster brought to *Rome*; Their Dimensions, 459. *Andromeda*, a Constellation, i. 195. *Anementus*, one of the Doctors of the *Chaldeans*, i. 85. *Angeronalia*, Feasts in Honour of *Angerona*, i. 309. *Angerona*. See *Ageronia*.
- Angels*, the Worship paid to them, i. 179. The Giants sprung from the Commerce of Angels with the Daughters of Men, 120.
- Animals*, worship ascribed to Animals by the *Egyptians*, i. 542. Of what Nature it was, 547. Those who killed any of them were punished with Death, 543. The Care that was taken of their Interment, 544, 546. The Animals of the Zodiac, 551. The Animals consecrated to each Divinity, 263, 264.
- Anius*, the High Priest of *Apollo* at *Delos*, iv. 310. His Genealogy; his Daughters transformed into Pigeons, iv. 321. See *Oeno*.
- Anna Perenna*, a rural Divinity of the *Latins*, ii. 586. Feasts in her Honour, 587.
- Annedots*, Genii worshipped among the *Chaldeans*, i. 85.
- Antandros*, a City of *Phrygia*, where *Eneas* built his Fleet, iv. 310.
- Anteus*, who he was, i. 532.
- Antenor*, a *Trojan* Prince, his Intelligence with the *Greeks*, iv. 306. He retired to *Italy*; the City which he built there, 307.
- Anteros*, or the Counter-Cupid: His Birth, ii. 341. How he was represented, *ibid*.
- Antesion*. See *Sisamenes*.
- Antheus* the Giant, the Son of the Earth, his Combat with *Hercules*; the City which he built in *Africa*, iv. 92, 93.
- Anthesphoria*, Feasts in Honour of *Proserpine*, i. 299.
- Anthisteria*, Feasts of the *Greeks*, i. 300.
- Anticlea*, the Daughter of *Autolycus*, married to *Sisyphus*, iii. 107.
- Anticlea*, the Daughter of *Sisyphus*, married to *Laertes*, iii. 107. iv. 289.
- Antigone*, the Daughter of *Oedipus*, iv. 182. Her wretched Death, 200.
- Antilibanus*. See *Libanus*.
- Antinous*, the Favourite of *Adrian* the Emperor, iii. 205.
- Antiochus*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Medea*, one of the Heroes Eponymes, iii. 431.
- Antiope*, the Daughter of *Niſteus*, her Adventures, iii. 415, 416, &c.

I N D E X.

- Antiope*, or *Hippolita*, one of the *Amazons*, iii. 101.
Antithei, bad *Genii* invoked by the Magicians, iii. 176.
Antion, the Father of *Ixion*, iii. 526.
Antium, a City in *Italy*, Oracles delivered there, i. 354.
Anxur. See *Axur*.
Aonides, an Epithet given to the *Muses*, ii. 435.
Aonia, one of the Names of *Beotia*, *ibid*.
Apalachites, a People of *Florida*, their Religion, i. 144.
Apathy, a *Greek* Word, its Etymology, i. 134.
Apaturia, Feasts of the *Atheniaas*, what gave rise to them, i. 300.
Aphacite, the Oracle of *Venus Aphacite*, i. 347.
Apbia, a *Grecian* Heroine, iii. 434.
Apbea, a Divinity of the *Eginetes* and *Cretans*, iii. 173, 434, 568.
Aphrodisia, Feasts of *Venus*, i. 301.
Aphrodite, the Name of *Venus*, its signification, i. 68, 98, 113. ii. 328.
Apidas. See *Azan*.
Apis, the God of the *Egyptians*, he is transformed into an Ox, i. 68. The Figure of that Ox, 517. His Funerals; his Successor, 518. That there were two Ox-*Apis*'s, 519. The Oracle of the God *Apis*, 346.
Apis, the King of *Athens*, his Genealogy, iii. 358. This was *Jupiter* the Gallant of *Io* and *Niebe*, i. 499. At what time he lived, ii. 164. *Apis* King of *Sicyon*, his Genealogy and Descendants, iii. 361.
Apobomia, a *Greek* Festival, i. 299.
Apollo, his various Names, i. 16. ii. 156. His Genealogy according to the *Phenicians*, i. 96. According to the *Egyptians*, 105. According to the *Greeks*, 117, 170. How many *Apollos* are distinguished, ii. 392. The *Egyptian Apollo* is the Model of that of the *Greeks*, 395. Who is the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, 396. This God almost always confounded with the Sun, 393. That they must be distinguished, 378, 379. A *Titan* Prince known to the *Greeks* under the Name of *Apollo*, ii. 396. Fables blended with his History explained, 398. That of *Daphne*, *ibid*. That of *Leucothoe*, 399. That of *Hyacinthus*, 401. That of *Cyparissus*, 402. Of *Miaas*, *ibid*. Why said to be banished Heaven, 415. Worship paid to him; Animals consecrated to him, 416, 417. Sudden Deaths attributed to this God, i. 13. ii. 409. Why, *ibid*. How represented, 417. His various Names, *ibid*. &c. Oracles which he had in several Places, i. 333, 334, &c.

I N D E X.

- Apollo Hyperborean*, the Worship ascribed to him by the Hyperboreans, ii. 142.
- Apollonius Tyanæus*, one of the Heroes of Greece, iii. 430.
- Apollonia*, Feasts in Honour of *Apollo*, i. 300.
- Apomyius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 217.
- Apon* or *Aponus*, the Name of a Fountain near *Padua*; the Virtue that was attributed to it, i. 348.
- Apostrophia* or *Averting*, Epithets given to *Venus*, ii. 326.
- Apotheoses*, the Origin of those of Princes and great Men, i. 34, 35. That of the *Roman Emperors*, iii. 204.
- Appearances of the Gods*, or *Theoptia*; the Belief of the *Pagans* as to the Presence of their Gods, ii. 223.
- Appiades*, Goddesses among the *Romans*, iii. 195.
- Apples*, (*Golden*) thrown by *Discord*, i. 154. iv. 208. Of the Garden of the *Hesperides*, i. 30. ii. 274, 275, 279. What those Apples were, ii. 275, 279. iii. 93.
- Aquarius*, one of the Signs of the *Zodiac*, the Origin given of it, i. 195. iv. 213, 214. See the Note.
- Arabians*, their ancient Religion, i. 188, 193, 567. When they embraced *Mahometanism*, 571. The Name which they gave to the Sun, 188.
- Arachne*, transformed into a Spider, i. 70. ii. 307.
- Aratæa*, Feasts in Honour of *Aratus*, i. 301.
- Aratus*, one of the Heroes of Greece, iii. 433.
- Arbitrator*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Arcadia*, its first Inhabitants; its first Kings till the Arrival of the *Egyptian* and *Phenician* Colonies, iii. 352, &c.
- Arcas*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Calisto*, ii. 169. His History, iii. 355. The Constellation which he forms in the Heavens, iv. 407.
- Arcefilaus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Toredia*, ii. 170.
- Arcesius*, the Father of *Laertes*, his Genealogy, iii. 395. iv. 379.
- Arche*, one of the *Muses* according to *Cicero*, ii. 430.
- Archegetes*, an Epithet of *Hercules*, iv. 121.
- Archemorus*, the Son of *Lycurgus* slain by a Serpent, Games instituted in his Honour, iv. 188, 189.
- Archigalli*. See *Galli*.
- Architecture* invented before Sculpture, i. 208.
- Architis*, *Venus Architis*, worshipped upon Mount *Libanus*, ii. 25.
- Archons of Athens*, their Institution, iii. 377. The Origin of their Priesthood, and of that of their Wives, i. 284. The Veneration that was paid to them, *ibid*.
- Arculus*, a God of the *Romans*, his Functions, iii. 195.

I N D E X.

- Aëtea*, a City of the *Rutulians* burnt, a Bird sprung from its Ashes.
- Arduina*, the *Diana* or Goddess of Hunting of the *Gauls*, iii. 247.
- Arecia*, an Island where the *Argonauts* landed in their Way to *Colchis*, iv. 38.
- Arenæ*, or *Areas*, of *Nismes* and *Orange*, iv. 423.
- Arecpagus*, the Etymology of the Name; the Origin of that Court, ii. 317.
- Areotopotes*, or the great Wine-Drinker, iv. 430.
- Ares*, the Name of *Mars* among the *Greeks*, ii. 316.
- Aresburg*, to whom consecrated, iii. 333. See *Mars*.
- Ares-Koui*. See *Okki*.
- Arethusa*, a Fountain-Nymph, iii. 48. The Amours of *Alpheus* and *Arethusa*, i. 66. iii. 57, 58.
- Arge*, transformed into a Stag, iv. 406.
- Arge*, one of the *Cyclops*, i. 113.
- Argia*, the Daughter of *Adrastus*, the Wife of *Polynices*, iv. 198.
- Argo*, the Name of the Ship of the *Argonauts*, iv. 12. See *Ship Argo*.
- Argonauts*, the Causes of their Expedition, iv. 4. The Number of *Argonauts*, their Names, 15. Their Adventures in the Voyage, 30. What befel them in *Colchis*, 39. Their Return variously related, 44. The *Æra* of this Event, 55.
- Argos* or *Argus*, the Son of *Phrixus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 19.
- Arges*, a City of the *Peloponnesus*; the Foundation of the Kingdom of *Arges*, i. 500. iii. 357. Its Kings till the Arrival of *Danaus*, 358.
- Argus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Lardane*, ii. 170.
- Argus* with the hundred Eyes, the Keeper of *Io*, i. 499.
- Argus*, the fourth King of *Arges*, i. 500.
- Argus*, the Son of *Alector*, built the Ship *Argo*, was one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 12, 15.
- Argynnis*, a Surname given to *Venus*, ii. 334.
- Ariadne*, the Daughter of *Minos*, befriends *Theseus*, iii. 502, &c. See *Theseus*. Her Crown transformed into a Star, iii. 506.
- Ariadnæa*, Feasts in Honour of *Ariadne*, i. 301.
- Arimanius*. See *Oromasus*.
- Arimaspians*, a People said to have but one Eye, i. 74.
- Arimi*, *Arimeans*, or *Arimians*, a People of *Syria*, i. 513.
- Arion*. See *Orion*.
- Arion*,

I N D E X.

- Arion*, a Lyric Poet of *Lesbos*, saved from Shipwreck by a Dolphin, iv. 393.
- Arion*, the Name of *Adrastus's* Horse, iv. 199.
- Arisba*, the first Wife of *Priam*, iv. 139, 399.
- Aristeus*, *Autonoe's* Husband one of the *Grecian* Heroes, iii. 429.
- Aristeus*, King of *Arcadia*, took Care of Bees. He was invoked for the Preservation of Bees, i. 588.
- Aristhenes*, takes Care of *Esculapius*, whom he finds exposed, iii. 156.
- Arithmonancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Armenians*, their principal Divinities, ii. 133.
- Armilustrum*, a Feast of the *Romans*, i. 310.
- Armenia*, whence so called, i. 60.
- Arminius*, the General of the *Cherusci*; the tutelar God of the Country, iii. 322.
- Arne*, a Nymph transformed into an Owl, iv. 398.
- Arne*, the Mother of the God of the Winds; her Adventures; her Children, ii. 537.
- Arnus*, a famous Soothsayer of *Apollo*; funeral Games in his Honour, iv. 128, 129.
- Arrows*, the Arrows of *Apollo*, ii. 408, 411. *Hercules's* poisoned Arrows, iv. 85, 226.
- Arfaces*, King of the *Parthians*, placed after his Death among the Stars, ii. 135.
- Arsinoe*, a City of *Egypt*; the Regard that was paid there to Crocodiles, i. 544.
- Artemides*. See *Titanides*.
- Artemisia*, Feasts of the *Greeks*, in honour of *Diana Artemis*, i. 301.
- Artophylax*, a Constellation, iv. 407.
- Arts*, Inventors of Arts, i. 59. Considered as Gods, 49. The Origin of Arts in *Egypt*, 69. The Worship that was paid to them; why joined with that of Poverty, iii. 181.
- Arvales*, Priests among the *Romans*, i. 296.
- Arueris*, a God of *Egypt*; the Model of the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, i. 492. His Mother with Child of him when she was born, 496.
- Aruspices*. See *Haruspices*.
- Asabinus*, the Name of the Sun among the *Ethiopians*, i. 188.
- Ascanius* or *Iulus*, the Son of *Eneas* and *Creusa*, iv. 309. The Founder of the Kingdom of *Alba*, iv. 313. The Duration of his Reign, *ibid*.
- Ascalaphus*, transformed into an Owl, i. 76. iii. 35, 49. Why, 56.
- Ascalaphus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 19.

Ascalon,

I N D E X.

- Ascalon*, Divinities worshipped there, ii. 2.
- Asclepia*, Feasts in Honour of *Esculapius*, i. 301.
- Asclepios*, the Name of *Esculapius*. See *Esculapius*.
- Asclepius*, the Son of *Sydic*, i. 96.
- Asera*, *Asero*, or *Aserim*, the Names of *Astarte* in the Bible, ii. 7, 24. See *Astarte*.
- Asera*, a City built at the Foot of Mount *Helicon*, iv. 391.
- Asia*, whence it got the Name, i. 60.
- Ashima*, the God of the *Hemathians*, ii. 1. How represented, 62.
- Asses*. Asses with red Hair in Abhorrence among the *Egyptians*, i. 516. The *Jews* accused of worshipping the Head of an Ass, 548. The Ass was offered in Sacrifice to *Priapus*, ii. 584. *Asopus* King of *Beotia*, and Father of *Egina*, iv. 268. See *Egina*.
- Asopus*, a River in the Country of the *Phenicians*, iv. 269. See the Note.
- Astb*, the God who was worshipped there, ii. 2.
- Aspasia*, the Priestess of the Sun, ii. 95. or of *Diana Anaitis*, 132.
- Aspergillum*, an Instrument for Sacrifice, i. 277.
- Assaracus*, the Grandfather of *Anchises*, his Genealogy, iv. 250, 307.
- Assabinus*, the Name of *Jupiter* among the *Arabians*, ii. 225.
- Astaroth*, the Signification of this Name, i. 68.
- Astarte*, the great Divinity of the People of *Syria*; the *Astaroth* of the Bible; the *Venus* of the *Greeks*, ii. 6, 7. Ranked among the Gods, why, *ibid*. Her Worship always joined with that of *Baal* in the sacred Writings, ii. 24. How she was represented, 25. That *Adonis* represented the Sun, and *Astarte* the Moon, 26. Her Temple at *Hierapolis*, 27. And at *Babylon*, 61.
- Astarté*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, according to the Theogony of the *Phenicians*, i. 96, 97.
- Asteria*, her Birth and her Children, i. 115.
- Asterion* the Son of *Cometes*, and *Asterion* the Son of *Neleus*, both *Argonauts*, iv. 20.
- Asterius* King of *Crete*; this is the *Jupiter* who ravished *Europa*; his Genealogy, iii. 395, 400.
- Asterope*, one of the *Pleiades*, i. 108. ii. 273.
- Astiage*, the Daughter of *Iphesus*, her Children, iii. 526.
- Astianax*, the Son of *Hector*, iv. 240.
- Astidamia*, the Daughter of *Amintor*; the Child whom she had by *Hercules*, iv. 112.
- Astidamia*, the Wife of *Acæstus*, iv. 271. See *Peleus*.
- Astiechus*, the Son of *Eolus* King of the *Liparian Isles*, ii. 538.
- Astieche*, the Daughter of *Philantus*, the Mother of *Tlepolæmus*, iv. 112. *Astione*.

I N D E X.

Astione. See *Chryseis*.

Astrabacus, one of the Heroes of Greece, iii. 433.

Astrea, a Goddess who presided over Justice, i. 199.

Astreus, the Son of *Creus* and *Eurybæa*, i. 114.

Astrology, who were the Inventors of it, i. 433. The Vanity of that Science, 435.

Astronomy, a Science quite distinct from Astrology, i. 434.

Who was the Father of Astronomy, ii. 289.

Astyci. See Games so called.

Asyla, the Places of *Asyla* among the Pagans. Their Original, their Privileges, their Suppression at Rome, i. 242, &c.

Atabirius, a Name given to *Jupiter*, ii. 220.

Atalanta, the Daughter of *Schæneus*, or of *Menalion*, her Birth, iv. 174. Her Swiftneſs in Running, *ibid.* Her Taste for Hunting; she is at the Hunting of *Calydon*, 176. Transformed into a Lioness, 175. See *Meleager*.

Ate, the Daughter of *Jupiter*, her Character, iii. 145. Was thrown down from Heaven, *ibid.* See *Discord* and *Prayers*.

Atergatis, the Etymology of the Name, i. 70. See *Derceto*.

Athamas, the King of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, the Father of *Phrixus* and *Helen*, iii. 394. Was the Cause of the *Argonautic Expedition*, *ibid.*

Atharid, the Name of *Mercury* among the *Arabians*, i. 570.

Atheists, more odious to the Divinity than Idolaters, i. 165, 166.

Atheism, whether it commenced before the Deluge, i. 165.

Athene, the Daughter of *Chronos*, i. 95.

Athene, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, the *Minerva* of the Greeks; the Etymology of the Name, ii. 299. See *Minerva*.

Athenaia, a Festival of the Greeks, i. 305. In Honour of *Minerva*, ii. 302.

Athens, the Foundation of the City, and of the Kingdom of *Athens*, iii. 372. *Cecrops* the first King, his Successors, *ibid.*

Magistrates who succeeded the Kings, iii. 377. *Minerva* is there peculiarly honoured, gives her Name to it, ii. 302, 304.

The shameful Tribute which *Minos* King of *Crete* imposes upon the *Athenians*; how they were freed from it, iii. 497, &c. See *Minos*, *Theseus*.

Atlantides, or *Atlantidæ*, a People of *Africa*, their Theogony, i. 106.

Atlantides, or the Daughters of *Atlas*, form the Constellation of the *Pleiades*, i. 108. ii. 274, 276. Are also called *Hesperides*, 274.

Atlas, three Princes of that Name, where they reigned, ii. 278.

Atlas, one of the *Titan* Princes, his Dominions, i. 108. His Children, *ib.* ii. 273. Was addicted to Astronomy, 275. His Metamorphosis into a Mountain, i. 25, 30. iii. 441, 455. *Atlas*,

I N D E X.

- Atlas*, a Mountain in *Africa*. See the preceeding Article.
- Athletes*, their Combats in the Games, iv. 429.
- Atreus* and *Tbyestes*, their Genealogy, iii. 422. Their mutual Enmity, 256, 257.
- Atridæ*, a Name given to *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; whether they were the Sons of *Atreus*, iii. 258.
- Atropos*, one of the *Parcæ*, of whom she was born, i. 113. Her Function, iii. 86, &c. The Etymology of her Name, *ibid.* How she was represented, 91.
- Attestation* of Life and Manners that was put into the Coffin of a Person when dead; the *Muscovites* practise the same Custom at this Day, iii. 31.
- Atys*, his Adventures with *Cybele*, variously related, ii. 558. His Transformation into the Pine-Tree, 561.
- Aventine*, a Mount in the *Latin* Country, whence the Name is derived, iv. 313.
- Avernus*, a Lake near which the Poets placed the Mouth of Hell, iii. 12. Its Situation, 20. The Etymology of the Name, *ib.*
- Averuncir*, Gods who were invoked against evil Presages, i. 165, 411, 418.
- Avesta*, the Name of Fire among the *Chaldeans*, a Book of *Zoroastres*, so called, ii. 5, 71.
- Auge*, the Daughter of *Aleus*, the Son whom she had by *Hercules*, iv. 112. Her Marriage with that Son.
- Augias*, King of *Elis*, one of the *Argonauts*, his Genealogy, iv. 20. *Hercules* cleans his Stables, 87. His Ingratitude and Death, *ibid.*
- Augiles* or *Augelites*, a People in *Africa*, their Religion, i. 580.
- Augurs*, the Signification of the Word *Augur*, the Antiquity of the Art of Augury, i. 397. A College of Augurs established at *Rome*, *ibid.* The Manner of taking Auguries; Birds used for that Purpose, 399, 403. How the *Gauls* took the Auguries, iii. 248. The Augural Staff or Battoon, i. 277.
- Æulon*, an *Arcadian*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433.
- Aurora*, her Birth, i. 114. The Children she had by *Astreus*, by *Tithonus* and *Cephalus*, i. 114, 117. Her Amours with *Tithonus*, iv. 326. See *Cephalus* and *Tithonus*.
- Auspices*, see *Augurs*.
- Ausonians*, a People of *Italy* in the Time of *Janus*, ii. 262.
- Autocbthon*, one of the first Men according to the *Phenicians*, i. 92.
- Autobtones*, the Signification of the Word, iii. 349.
- Autoleon*, see *Leuce*.
- Autolicus*, Grandfather of *Ulysses*, his Genealogy, iv. 381.
- Autolicus*,

I N D E X.

- Autolicus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 21.
Autonoe, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, the Wife of *Aristeus*, i. 117. The Mother of *Acteon*, iv. 412.
Autopsie, or intimate Commerce with the Gods, i. 427.
Auxesia, a Goddess worshipped by the *Epidaurians*, iii. 175.
Ax, *Jupiter Labradæus*, worshipped under the Figure of an *Ax* by the *Carians*, ii. 226. See *Labradæus*.
Axinomancy, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
Axur, or *Auxur*, the Sirname of *Jupiter*, how he was represented, ii. 232.
Azan the Son of *Arcas*, King of *Arcadia*, the first funeral Games celebrated on the Occasion of his Death, iii. 355.
Azifus, the Sirname of *Mars* at *Edeffa*, ii. 317.
Azorus, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 21.

B.

- B***Aal*, *Bel*, or *Baalfemen*, the Sun adored under these Names, their Signification, i. 188. ii. 52. This is the *Moloch* of the Bible, *ibid.* His Worship prohibited to the *Jews*, 53. The Ceremonies used in his Worship, *ibid.* His Origin, 54.
Baal-Berith, the God of Oaths, ii. 58. The God of the Covenant, 59.
Baal-Gad, a God of the *Affyrians*, i. 570.
Baal-Peor, a God of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, *ibid.*
Baal-Phegor, a God of the *Moabites*, ii. 52, 53. The Signification of the Name. He is the same with *Priapus*, 55.
Babel. *Nimrod* Author of the Design of the Tower of *Babel*, i. 80, 217. It served for a Temple to *Belus*; a Description of this Tower, *ibid.* This is the Origin of the Fable of the *Titans*, who attempted to dethrone *Jupiter*, ii. 206.
Babylon, the Capital of *Chaldea*, its Idolatry, ii. 3.
Bacchanalia, Feasts in Honour of *Bacchus*, how they were celebrated at *Rome*, i. 307. They were abolished, 308.
Bacchanals, their various Names, i. 289. ii. 449. How they celebrated the Feasts of *Bacchus*, i. 307. ii. 446.
Bacchus, his History, ii. 436. His Original, *ibid.* and 437. How many Persons had that Name, ii. 440. The *Bacchus* of the *Egyptians* is *Osiris*, ii. 438. His Name and his Mysteries were introduced very late into *Greece*, i. 72. ii. 439, 443. Whether he is the same with *Moses*, 441. The *Grecian Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, ii. 436. His Birth, 444. His Expedition to the *Indies*, 445. His various Names, 447. His Descent to Hell, 449. The Panther was consecrated to him, 452. An Explanation of the Symbols which accompanied his Figures, 453.

I N D E X.

- ii. 453. Feasts in his Honour, ii. 457. See *Orgies, Trieterides, Bacchanalia*. The Worship of *Bacchus* among the *Gauls*, iii. 281.
- Bactriana*, its first Inhabitants, ii. 170.
- Bætili*, Stones which were held in Veneration, their Origin, ii. 189.
- Bal*, a *Carthaginian* Word, what it signifies, ii. 53.
- Balba*, a City of *Syria*, ii. 66.
- Baptæ*, Priests of *Cotytto*, very despicable, and why, iii. 69.
- Barbarism*, the Religion from *Adam* to *Noah*, i. 161.
- Bards*, Ministers of Religion among the *Gauls*; what was their Employment; the Respect that was paid to them, iii. 226.
- Barn-floors*, Festival of, in Honour of *Ceres*, i. 299.
- Basin*, a *German* Heroe, iii. 333.
- Bas-Reliefs*, dug up *Anno* 1711, iii. 250. An Explanation of the Figures that are there represented, 252, &c.
- Bassarides*. See *Bacchanals*.
- Baton*, the Relation and Squire of *Amphiaraus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433. His Death, iv. 196.
- Battus*, his Worship in the *Cyrenaicum*, i. 581. The Founder of the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, *ibid*.
- Battus*, a Shepherd transformed into the Touch-stone, ii. 371.
- Baubs*, an old Woman, Hostess to *Ceres*, iii. 48.
- Baucis*, see *Philemon*, iii. 48.
- Becon*, one of the *Egyptian* Gods, i. 492.
- Bebrycia*, an antient Name of *Bithynia*, iv. 33.
- Bebrycians*, distinguished themselves in the Gauntlet-fight, iv. 418.
- Ecd*, see *Eeth*.
- Beel-Phigor*, see *Baal-Phigor*.
- Beelzebub*, a Divinity worshipped at *Accaron*; the Signification of the Name; the Power that was attributed to him, ii. 57. The Title given him in the Bible, 58.
- Beelshamen*, see *Baal*.
- Becs* that nursed *Jupiter*, ii. 209.
- Behergir*, an *Indian* Brahman, i. 138.
- Being*, the supreme or first Being, what Idea the *Pagans* had of him, i. 119. The *Chinese*, 131. The Philosophers, 171.
- Belus*, what Divinity this was according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 81.
- Belatucada*, or *Belertucades*, the Name of *Apollo* in *Great Britain*, iii. 271, 301.

Bel-

I N D E X.

Belbuck, a Genius adored by the *Vandals*, what the Name signifies, iii. 333.

Belentus, a God of the *Gauls*, his various Names, i. 16. ii. 270. The Sun, i. 188. His Origin, ii. 271. His Worship, 272.

Belides, the Name of the Kings of *Argos*, the Descendants from *Danaus*, iii. 363.

Belisana, the Name of *Minerva* among the *Gauls*, how they represented her, iii. 273.

Bellerophon, his Genealogy, iii. 392, 467. Whence he got this Name, 467, 476. His History and Exploits, 467. His Posterity; his End, 475. The Time when he lived, 477.

Bellinus, see *Belenus*.

Bellona, the Goddess of War, her Birth, i. 197. ii. 313. Her Worship in *Cappadocia*, ii. 133. *Pallas* confounded with *Bellona*, ii. 313. Who are however to be distinguished, *ibid.* How she was represented, *ibid.*

Bellonarii, Priests of *Bellona*, ii. 314.

Belus, the great Divinity of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, i. 485. The Worship of the Sun under the Name of *Belus*, i. 195. ii. 53. This is the *Nimrod* of the Bible; he bore also the Name of *Mars*, ii. 316. His Temple, i. 217. ii. 4. enlarged by *Nabuchadonosor*, i. 218. Pillaged and demolished by *Xerxes*, 219.

Belus, the King of *Tyre* and *Phenicia*, the Father of *Pygmalion* and *Elisa*, iv. 318.

Benadad, see *Adad*.

Beotia, a Country of *Greece*, whence it was so called, iii. 407.

Berecyntha, or *Berecynthia*, the Surname of *Cybele*, whence derived, ii. 564. See the Note, iii. 276. The Worship of *Cybele* *Berecynthia* among the *Romans* and *Gauls*; Monuments representing her, iii. 276, 277, 278.

Berginus, a God peculiar to the *Bressians*, iii. 208.

Berith, see *Baal-Berith*.

Beroe, a *Trojan* Lady, i. 42.

Berosus, an ancient *Chaldean* Author, i. 80.

Beruth, the Wife of *Hypsistus*, her Children, i. 92.

Beryth or *Beryt*, a City of *Phenicia*, i. 98.

Beza, a God not much known, his Oracles, i. 348.

Befas, or *Bessas*, a God adored at *Abida*, iii. 175.

Beth, or *Bed*, the Name of Books that contained the Religion of the *Indians*, i. 138.

Betili, see *Bætili*.

Betica, the ancient Name of *Andalusia*, iii. 43. See the Note.

Betis,

I N D E X.

- Betis*, a River in Spain, the present *Guadalquivir*, *ibid.*
- Betilus*, the Son of *Uranus* and *Ge*, i. 93, 95.
- Bias*, the Son of *Amitbaon*, his Marriage with the Daughter of *Neleus*; his Descendants, iii. 394.
- Biblis*, see *Byblis*.
- Bibraë*, a City of the *Gauls*, worshipped as a Divinity, iii. 288.
- Bicorniger*, one of *Bacchus*'s Epithets, ii. 448.
- Biformis*, a Name given to *Bacchus*, ii. 447.
- Billets* or Letters, Oracles that were delivered by sealed Letters, i. 348, 353, 356. The Manner of divining by Letters thrown into Water, i. 394.
- Bimater*, one of the Epithets given to *Bacchus*, ii. 447.
- Birds*, Auguries and Auspices drawn from them, i. 396, 399, 403, 406. Birds sacred in *Egypt*, 543. Birds of the Island of *Arecia*, iv. 38. Birds of the *Stymphalic Lake*, see *Stymphalus*. Birds of *Dismede*, iv. 288, 289. Birds sprung from *Memnon*'s Ashes, 328.
- Bitch* of *Erigone*, placed among the Stars, iv. 404.
- Biton*, see *Cleobis*.
- Bear* of *Erymanthus*, see *Erymanthus*.
- Boedromia*, *Athenian* Feasts, their Original, i. 301.
- Boians*, the Worship which they paid to *Hercules*, iii. 333.
- Bolsmancy*, a Kind of Divination, i. 393.
- Bonus Eventus*, a Divinity, how represented, ii. 548, 589.
- Bonzes*, Ministers of Religion in *China* and *Japan*, i. 136, 137.
- Books* of the *Brahmans*, see *Brahma*. Classical Books of the *Chinese*, i. 130, 131. Books of the *Sybil*s, see *Sybillin*.
- Boxing-Match*, one of the Exercises practised in the Games of *Greece* and *Rome*, what it was, iv. 417.
- Bough* (golden) with which *Eneas* passed to *Pluto*'s Kingdom, iii. 21. 30. How *Eneas* found it; what we are to think of this Fiction, 38, 39.
- Boopis*, one of *Juno*'s Appellations, ii. 244.
- Bootes*, or the Waggoner, a Constellation, i. 195.
- Boreasmi*, Feasts in Honour of *Boreas*, i. 301.
- Boundaries* of the Fields, the God who presided over them, i. 198. See *Terminus*.
- Boves*, a Sort of Cakes once offered to *Jupiter*, i. 192.
- Bucklers*, sacred, named *Ancilia*, the Origin of those Bucklers; their Form; the Feast of the sacred Bucklers, ii. 321.
- Brachmans*, see *Bramines*.
- Brachma*, a God of the *Indians*, what is the Signification of the Name, i. 138.
- Bramines*, or *Brachmans*, Priests of the *Indies*, their Office, the

I N D E X.

- the Veneration that was paid them, i. 138. Their Theogony, *ibid*.
- Brasil*, the Opinion of the *Brasilians* about the Origin of the World, i. 140.
- Brescia*, a City in *Italy*, Gods peculiar to that City, iii. 207.
- Briareus*, the Birth of that Giant; his Make, i. 113.
- Brimo* and *Brizo*, two Goddesses of Sleep among the *Greeks*, iii. 101.
- Briseis*, the Captive of *Achilles*, iv. 222. *Agamemnon* forces her from him, 233.
- Britomartus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Carne*, ii. 170. iii. 173.
- Britomartis*, a Name given to *Diana*, ii. 421.
- Bromius*, a Sirname of *Bacchus*, ii. 447.
- Brontes*, one of the *Cyclops*, i. 113.
- Bubaste* or *Bubastis*, the Name of *Diana* in *Egypt*, what it signifies, i. 70.
- Bubastis*, a City in *Egypt* that worshipped Cats, i. 544. There a Feast was celebrated in honour of *Diana*, which still subsists at this Day, 558.
- Bubona*, the Goddess of Oxen and Cowherds, i. 198. ii. 588.
- Bulls* with Brazen Feet, subdued by *Jason*, iv. 40, &c. The Bull that carried off *Europa*. See *Europa*. *Pasiphae's* Bull. See *Pasiphae*.
- Bunus*. See *Æetes*.
- Buphagus*, a Name given to *Hercules*, iv. 120.
- Buphonia*, Feasts celebrated at *Athens*; whence the Name was derived, i. 301.
- Buraicus*, an Appellation given to *Hercules*, iv. 124.
- Busiris*, a God of the *Egyptians*, i. 492. Who he was, 532.
- Busiris*, a City in *Egypt*, the Feast that was celebrated there in Honour of *Isis*, i. 559.
- Busiris*, King of *Spain*, attempted to carry off the *Hesperides*, and was slain by *Hercules*, ii. 274. iv. 93.
- Butes*, one of the *Argonauts*, worshipped at *Athens* after his Death as a Heroe, iv. 26.
- Butzen*, one of the first Divinities of the *Indians*, i. 138.
- Byblis's* Passion for her Brother, iv. 390, 391.
- Byblos*, the chief City of *Phenicia*, i. 95. *Adonis*, or *Tham-mus*, was worshipped there. ii. 2. See *Isis*.
- Byrsa*, the Name of the Citadel of *Carthage*; the Fable concerning that Name, iv. 319.

C.

- Abira*, the Daughter of *Proteus*, the Mother of the two *Cabiri*, ii. 72.
- Cabiri*, the Origin of these Gods, ii. 79. Their Number and

I N D E X.

- and Names, 73. The Etymology of the Word *Cabire*, *ibid.* The Myſteries of theſe Gods were in high Veneration, 75, 77, 79. Their Worſhip very famous in *Samothrace*, 77. Whether they are to be confounded with the *Corybantes*, the *Curetes*, and the *Idæi Daſtyli*, 81.
- Cabiria*, a Sirname of *Ceres*, ii. 78.
- Cabiria*, Feaſts in honour of the *Cabiri*, i. 301.
- Cabrus*, a God of the City *Phaſelis*, iii. 178.
- Caca*, a Goddeſs of the *Romans*, iii. 193.
- Cacus*, a famous Robber in *Italy*, ſlain by *Hercules*, iii. 193. iv. 91.
- Cadiz*. See *Gades*.
- Cadmia*, a Stone ſo called, its Uſe, ii. 212.
- Cadmus*, the Son of *Agenor* King of *Phenicia*, plants a Colony in *Greece*, iii. 391. Eſtabliſhes there the Worſhip of the Gods of his own Country, i. 69, 72. ii. 154. iii. 411. The Fable of the Dragon's Teeth ; its Explication, 405, 407. *Cadmus* teaches the *Grecians* the Uſe of Letters, 409. He is obliged to fly to *Illyricum*, 407. The Hiſtory of his Family, i. 117. iii. 411. He and his Wife are transformed into Serpents, i. 65, 76. iii. 408. His Poſterity, iii. 420. Worſhip paid to ſeveral of his Family, 419. A Mine of Gold and Braſs diſcovered by him, i. 212.
- Caduceus* of *Mercury*, its Original, its Uſes and Properties, ii. 369, 370, 373. *Bacchus* has alſo the *Caduceus* given him, 462.
- Cæſia*, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 309.
- Cain*, his Deſcendants, how the Author of the *Theogony* of the *Phenicians* enumerates them, i. 93, 94. Their Irregularities the Cauſe of the Deluge, 93, 163.
- Calais* and *Zethes*, Sons of *Boreas*, of the Number of the *Argonauts*, iv. 166. They purſue the *Harpies*, 34, 35. The Signification of their Names ; they are ſlain by *Hercules*, 167. Why they are pictured with Azure Hair and with Wings, *ibid.*
- Calchas*, the famous Soothſayer of the *Grecian* Army, iv. 60. Foretells the Duration of the Siege of *Troy*, 217, 350. His Death, 351.
- Calciopæ*, the Daughter of *Æetes*, married to *Phryxus*, iv. 5. Her Children, 7.
- Calends*, to whom they were conſecrated, ii. 242.
- Calf*, the golden Calf worſhipped by the *Hebrews*, imitated in the Ox *Apis*, i. 555, 560.
- Calisto*, the Child whom ſhe had by *Jupiter*, ii. 170.
- Calisto*, or *Callisto*, the Daughter of *Lycaon*, beloved by *Jupiter*.

I N D E X.

- piter*, ii. 170. iii. 355. She is transformed into a Bear, and becomes a Constellation, iii. 355. iv. 407.
- Calliope*, one of the nine Muses, ii. 433.
- Callipatira* or *Phevenia*, appears at the *Olympic Games* against the Law excluding Women from them, iv. 429.
- Callirhoe*, the Daughter of the Ocean, and Wife of *Chrysaor*, her Children, i. 114. iii. 438. Another of the Name, the Daughter of *Achelous*. See *Alcmeon*.
- Callirhoe*, Princess of *Calydon*, her singular Death, iv. 177, 178. See *Corefus*.
- Callistia*, Feasts of the Island of *Lesbos*, i. 301.
- Calpe* and *Abila*, Pillars of *Hercules*, i. 28.
- Calpetus*, King of *Alba*, the Duration of his Reign, his Successors, iv. 313.
- Calvin's* Argument for rejecting the Book of Wisdom, i. 169.
- Calybes*, Blacksmiths, Inventors of Steel, ii. 285.
- Calyce*, the Daughter of *Eolus*, and Mother of *Endymion*, iii. 390.
- Calycepis*, the Name of *Venus* the Mother of *Eneas*, ii. 356, 356.
- Calydon*, the Son of *Endymion*, founded a City of his own Name, his Ancestors, his Posterity, iii. 390, 391. The History of the famous Hunting of *Calydon*, the War of which it was the Occasion, ii. 211, 212. iv. 168. The *Æra* of this Event, iv. 176.
- Calypso*, Queen of the Island of *Ogygia*, her Genealogy; receives *Ulysses* at her Court, iv. 300, &c. The Children she had by *Ulysses*, i. 118.
- Cambyfes* ridicules the Gods of *Egypt*, i. 221, 250. ii. 72, 79, 87. Kills the Ox *Apis*, and orders the Priests to be bastinated, i. 519.
- Camillus*, one of *Mercury's* Names, ii. 374.
- Camilli*, subaltern Ministers of the Temples, i. 296.
- Camæna*, a Goddess worshipped at *Rome*, iii. 198.
- Camænæ*, the Surname of the Muses, ii. 435.
- Campe*, a Personage not much known in Mythology, i. 176, 186. iii. 9, 10.
- Canache*, the Daughter of *Eolus*, the Children she had by *Neptune*, iii. 391.
- Canathos*, a Fountain of *Nauplia*, its singular Property, ii. 245.
- Candarena*, one of *Juno's* Appellations, ii. 244.
- Candelabrum*, an Instrument for Sacrifice, i. 278.
- Canens*, the Wife of *Picus*, transformed into a Voice, ii. 601. Her Worship in the *Latin Country*, iii. 207.

I N D E X.

- Canopus*, a God of the *Egyptians*, how he was represented, ii. 534, 535.
- Cantbus*, the Son of *Abas*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 21.
- Capaneus*, one of the seven Chiefs of the *Theban War*, iv. 201. How he perished there, his Wife throws herself into his Funeral Pile, *ibid.* The Character of *Capaneus*, 202.
- Capitolinus*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 220. How represented, 233.
- Cappautas*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 222.
- Capricorn*, a Sign in the Zodiac, i. 539. iv. 407.
- Caprotina*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 244.
- Caprotinæ*, Feasts of *Juno*, i. 310.
- Capys*, the Son of *Affaracus*, and Grandfather of *Eneas*, iv. 251, 307.
- Caræus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Caraibes*, *Americans*, their principal Divinity, i. 142.
- Cardea*, the Goddess of Gates, i. 198. iii. 195.
- Caria* or *Carya*, Feasts in honour of *Diana*, i. 302.
- Carmelus*, a God of the *Syrians*, iii. 172.
- Carmenta*, the Mother of *Evander*, i. 310.
- Carmenta*, the Wife of *Evander*, iii. 207.
- Carmentalia*, or *Carmentaia*, Feasts in honour of *Carmenta*, the Mother of *Evander*, i. 310.
- Carna*, a Roman Goddess, her Temple, iii. 198.
- Carne*, the Daughter of *Eubalus*, the Child she had by *Jupiter*, ii. 170.
- Carnea*, a Goddess invoked for Children, i. 197.
- Carnæa*, Feasts in honour of *Apollo*, i. 301.
- Carthage*, its Foundation, the Fable on that Subject, iv. 319.
- Carthaginians*, their Divinities; the Oracles delivered by certain Images, i. 560, 561. The Worship paid by the *Carthaginians* to *Saturn* and *Juno*, &c. 575. Illustrious Men whom they deified, 577.
- Casius*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, how he was represented, ii. 220.
- Cassandra*, *Priam's* Daughter, has the Gift of Prediction; her Death, iv. 242, 267.
- Cassiopeia*, the Mother of *Andromeda*. See *Andromeda*.
- Cassiopeia*, the Constellation, i. 195. iv. 407.
- Cassius*, one of *Gain's* Descendants, i. 94.
- Castaballa*, a City in *Cilicia*. See *Perasia*.
- Castalia*, a Fountain at the Foot of Mount *Parnassus*, ii. 435.
- Castalides*, an Epithet given to the Muses, ii. 435.
- Castor* and *Pollux*, their Birth, iv. 147. Are called *Dioscuri*, 149. What meant by the Fires of *Castor* and *Pollux*, 150.

I · N · D · E · X ·

150. The Death of *Castor*, 151. The Immortality of *Pollux* shared with *Castor*, what gave Rise to that Fable, 151, 152. Their Worship, 153. How they are represented, 154. Whether the *Gauls* had any Knowledge of these Gods, iii. 256. That they were in the Number of the *Argonauts*, 20.
- Catabathmi*, a People of *Africa*, their Divinities, i. 581.
- Catoptromancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Catius*, or *Cautus*, a Roman Divinity, i. 199. iii. 195.
- Cats*, adored by the *Egyptians*, i. 544.
- Caunus*, the Brother of *Byblis*, iv. 390. See *Byblis*.
- Caystrius*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, who had an Altar near the River *Cayster*, iii. 430.
- Cecropia*. See *Cecrops*.
- Cecrops*, a Native of *Egypt*, plants a Colony in *Greece*, ii. 305. At what Period of Time, iii. 372. Founded the Kingdom of *Athens*, *ibid*. Established there the Worship of his Gods, ii. 154, 158. iii. 374. Why said to be half Man and half Serpent, ii. 267. iii. 374. Called the Country *Cecropia* after his own Name, 374. in the Note.
- Celeus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 430.
- Celeus*, the Son of *Cephalus* King of *Cephalenia*, his Genealogy, iii. 395. iv. 379.
- Celeno*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, i. 108. ii. 273.
- Celeno*, one of the Harpies, i. 114.
- Celmis*, transformed into Adamant, iv. 368.
- Celtæ*, Original of the Name, i. 60. The Country of the *Celtæ*, their Religion, iii. 216.
- Celtiberians*, a People of *Spain*, they worshipped an anonymous God, iii. 306.
- Ceneus*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Ceneus*, one of the *Lapithæ*, iii. 538. And of the *Argonauts*, iv. 22.
- Centaurs*, their Original, i. 13. Their Birth, iii. 526, 531. Whether their Existence is possible, *ibid*. The Etymology of the Name; who the fabulous *Centaurs* were, 534.
- Centaurus* and *Lapithus*, the Sons of *Apollo* and *Stilbia*, iii. 526.
- Cephalus*, the Son of *Deioneus*, his Amours with *Aurora*, iv. 378. He kills his Wife *Procris* thro' Mistake, 379. His Descendants; whether he had two Heads, *ibid*.
- Cepheus*, a Constellation, iv. 407.
- Cerambus* transformed into a Bird in the Time of the Deluge, iv. 397.
- Ceraste*, People of the Island of *Cyprus* transformed into Bulls, iv. 394.

I N D E X.

- Cerberus*, the Dog of Hell, whence he was ingendered, i. 114. iii. 33. His Figure and Function; the Origin of the Name, and of this Fable, iii. 27, 32, 33. The Combat of *Pluto* with *Hercules*, for having carried off *Cerberus*, iii. 32, &c.
- Cercopes*, a People transformed into Monkeys, iv. 395.
- Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, vanquished by *Theseus*, iv. 135.
- Cerealia*, Feasts in honour of *Ceres*, i. 307.
- Ceres*, the Daughter of *Saturn*, i. 115. The Mother of *Plutus*, 117. iii. 70. She is the Goddess of Corn, iii. 47. Her Worship in *Sicily*, 61. The Origin of her Worship in *Greece* and *Sicily*, 55, 60. What the Mysteries of *Ceres* were, 63. See *Eleusis*. How she was represented, 67. What Victims were offered to her, 68. That she is the *Isis* of the *Egyptians*, i. 105. Why she is said to have loved *Jasion*, i. 77. That she was worshipped among the *Gauls*, iii. 281.
- Cernunnos*, a *Gallic* Divinity, iii. 261.
- Ceremancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Cesar*, his Apotheosis, a Temple built in his Honour, iii. 204.
- Ceryces*, Ministers for the Sacrifices, i. 283.
- Cestus*, or *Venus's* Girdle, its Property, ii. 330. Was stole by *Mercury*, 370.
- Ceteans*, a People of *Mysia*, who came to the Relief of *Troy*, iv. 337.
- Cethim*, the Grandson of *Japhet*, where he settled, iii. 350, 351.
- Ceto*, the Mother of the *Graiaë*, her Genealogy, i. 114.
- Ceus*. See *Cæus*.
- Ceyx*, King of *Trachinæ*, took Care of *Hercules's* Children, iv. 380. He marries *Alcyone*, *ibid.* The Metamorphosis of *Ceyx* and *Alcyone* into King's Fishers, *ibid.* i. 76.
- Chalcis*, a City of *Eubæa*, ii. 211.
- Chaldeans*, the most antient People known, whether they are the first Authors of Idolatry, i. 187, 191. ii. 2. Their Tradition about the Origin of the World, i. 80, &c. They were addicted to Magic, i. 426. They are the Inventors of Astrology, 433. ii. 3.
- Cham*, the Son of *Noah*, whether he is the *Menes* of the *Egyptians*, i. 220, 521, 572. He is the *Jupiter Ammon*, i. 579. ii. 233.
- Chamæmion*, an Idol representing the Sun, ii. 62.
- Chamos*, the God of the *Meabites*, the Signification of the Name, ii. 55.

I N D E X.

- Chanaan*, the Son of *Cham*, where he settled, i. 174.
- Changti*, the first God of the *Chinese*, i. 131.
- Chaos*, what Idea the *Chaldeans* had of it, i. 82. The *Phenicians*, 84. The *Greeks*, iii. 112, 118. The *Chaos* of *Ovid*, 125. The Foundation of all the different Ideas of the *Chaos*, 125, 516.
- Chares*. See the Colosse of *Rhodes*.
- Charisius*, the Son of *Lycaon*, what City he founded, iii. 355.
- Charites*, the Name of the three *Graces*. See *Graces*.
- Charitia*, or *Charistia*, Feasts in honour of the *Graces*, that were celebrated at *Rome*, i. 302, 310.
- Charon*, the *Etymology* of the Name, the Origin of the Fable of his Boat, iii. 3, 4, 26, 28. Who had a Right to pass over in his Boat, 21. His Genealogy, his Character, 29. The Tax for Passage, 30. Various Sentiments about *Charon*, 31.
- Chartres*, or the *Chartan* Country. The Woods of that Country formerly famous for Religious Assemblies, iii. 222, 223, 242.
- Charybdis*. See *Scylla*.
- Chastity*. See *Modesty*.
- Chains*, what the Chains were that bound *Saturn* in his Prison, ii. 182.
- Chiromocrates*, the famous Architect of the second Temple of *Ephesus*, i. 224.
- Che-kia* or *Cha-ka*, an Idol of the *Chinese*, his History, i. 136.
- Chelone*, a Nymph transformed into a Tortoise, ii. 236.
- Chemien*, a Divinity of the *Caraibes*, i. 142.
- Chera*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 245.
- Chersiphron*, or *Ctesiphron*, Architect to the Temple of *Ephesus*, i. 223.
- Chersonesus Taurica*. See *Tauris*.
- Chickens* (sacred), how Auguries were taken from them ; the Confidence of the *Romans* in those Auguries, i. 346, 403, 404.
- Chief Priests* and *Chief Priestesses* among the *Greeks*, i. 284.
- Chiliomb*, a Sacrifice of a thousand Animals, i. 272.
- Chilon*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433.
- Children* nursed by Animals. The Origin of those Fables, i. 68. Tutelar Divinities of Children, 197. Children sacrificed to the Gods, 145.
- Children* of the Gods, the vast Number of them, i. 75. ii. 164. The Distinction between the Children of the Gods, 458, &c. See *Demi-Gods*.
- Chimera*, by whom engendered, i. 114. The Description of

I N D E X.

- of this Monster ; vanquished by *Bellerophon*, iii. 468. The Explanation of this Fable, 469.
- Cbina, Chinese.* Religion of the *Chinese*, i. 131. Their Books which they call *Classicks*, 131, 132. Their Byas to Magic, 133. The Sect of the *Tao-se*, 134. Sect of the *Che-Kia*, 136.
- Chiromancy*, what kind of Science it is, i. 396.
- Chiron*, a famous *Centaur*, his Birth, iii. 531. The chief Princes of *Greece* were his Pupils, 540. iv. 9. in the Note, 275. His Death, iii. 540. He forms the Constellation of *Sagittarius*, iii. 540. iv. 407. The Kalendar which he composed for the *Argonauts*, iii. 541.
- Chloris*, the Surname of *Melibæa*, *Nestor's* Mother, ii. 414. Her Genealogy ; her Children were all slain by *Hercules*, except *Nestor*, iii. 393.
- Chonidas* or *Chronidas*, Governor to *Theseus*, worshipped by the *Athenians* as a Demi-God, iv. 131.
- Chresmotbetæ*, Ministers of the Temples, i. 282.
- Chresphontes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, iv. 129.
- Cbrodo*, a God of the ancient *Germans*, how represented, iii. 330.
- Chronia*, a Feast in Honour of *Saturn*, i. 302.
- Chronicle of Paros.* See *Marbles*.
- Chronology* of the ancient *Greeks*, not certain, iii. 341.
- Chronos*, the *Saturn* of the *Phenicians*, i. 93. One of the eight great Gods of the *Egyptians*, 105.
- Chronia*, a Festival in Honour of *Saturn*, i. 302.
- Chromes*, by whom built, iii. 355.
- Cbryasus*, King of *Argos*, the Descendant of *Inachus*, iii. 258.
- Chrysaor*, sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, the Father of *Gerion*, i. 114, 117. iii. 438. The Etymology of his Name, 438. The Explanation of this Fable, 453, 454.
- Chryseis*, the Captive of *Agamemnon* ; he was obliged to give her back to her Father, iv. 232, 233.
- Chrysippus*, the Son of *Pelops*, slain by *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, iv. 256, 266.
- Chrysor*, the *Vulcan* of the *Phenicians*, i. 94.
- Chtonius*, an Epithet given to *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Cidon*, the Grandson of *Minos* I. gave his Name to the City *Cidonia*, iii. 484.
- Cilix*, the Son of *Agenor*, Brother of *Cadmus*, communicated his Name to *Cilicia*, iii. 404.
- Cimmerians*, who are the *Cimmerians* mentioned in *Homer*, i. 74. iii. 10, 11.
- Cinyras*, accused of Incest with his Daughter *Myrrha*, ii. 8.
- Cinxia*,

I N D E X.

- Cinxia*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 242.
- Circe*, the Sister of *Æetes* King of *Colchos*, receives *Medea* and *Jason* at her Court, then banishes them, iv. 47. Why said to be the Daughter of the *Sun* or *Apollo*, 297. Why said to be a Sorceress, *ibid.* She receives *Ulysses*, 298. Transforms the Nymph *Scylla* into a Monster, 294. Her Worship in *Italy*, 299. That there were two Princesses of this Name, 300.
- Circumcision*, whether the Mutilation of *Uranus* and *Saturn* alludes to the Circumcision of *Abraham*, ii. 180.
- Circus*. See *Games of the Circus*.
- Cisson*, metamorphosed into Ivy, ii. 453, 406, 461.
- Cissotonia*, Feasts in Honour of *Hebe*, i. 302.
- Cistophoræ*, what they are, ii. 460. Medals so called. *ibid.*
- Citheronia*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 244.
- Citheronius*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Citheriades*, an Epithet of the Muses, ii. 435.
- Citheron*, King of *Plataeæ*, reconciles *Juno* and *Jupiter*.
- Citheronius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 220.
- Cities*, Ceremonies performed at the founding of Cities, i. 323. Cities of *Egypt* that derived their Names from the Animals that were worshipped there, 545. Cities put into the Number of Divinities, ii. 287, 288. The Foundation of the Worship that was paid to Cities, ii. 289.
- Cius*, an *Argonaut*, iv. 22.
- Cladeus*, worshipp'd as an Heroe, iii. 433.
- Claros*, a City famous for the Oracle of *Apollo*, i. 344.
- Claudia*, a Vestal whose Virtue was suspected, she proves her Innocence, ii. 567.
- Cledonismancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Clemency*, promoted to a Divinity, iii. 139.
- Cleobis* and *Biton*, their Piety to their Mother; Statues raised in their Honour; a Monument representing them, ii. 248.
- Cleodea*, the Daughter of *Hillus*, worship'd as a Heroine, iii. 431.
- Cleodeus*, the Son of *Hillus*, a Heroe, iii. 433.
- Cleomedes*, *Cleoneus*, also Heroes, iii. 431.
- Cleopatra*, the Wife of *Meleager*, her Genealogy, iv. 174. Her Death, *ibid.* See *Meleager*.
- Clidomancy*, a Species of Divination, i. 396.
- Clio*, the first of the Muses; the Etymology of the Name; the Invention that is attributed to her; and in what manner she is represented, ii. 432.
- Clitor*, the Son of *Nyctimus* King of *Arcadia*, and his Successor, iii. 355.

Cloacina,

I N D E X

- Cleacina*, the Goddess of Common-shores, iii. 196.
- Clothera*, the Daughter of *Pandarus*. See *Pandarus*.
- Clotbo*, one of the *Parcæ*, by whom engender'd, i. 113. iii. 84. Her Office, 86. The Etymology of her Name, *ibid.* How she is represented, 91.
- Cloud*, what that Cloud was which had Children by *Ixion*, iii. 528, 530.
- Clusius* and *Patuleius*, Gods of the Gates, i. 198.
- Clymene*, the Daughter of the *Ocean*, the Mother of *Atlas*, i. 115.
- Clymenus*, the Son of *Oeneus*, King of *Calydon*, iv. 173.
- Clymenus*, one of the Descendants of *Idean Hercules*, iv. 426.
- Clyta*, the Wife of *Cyzicus*. See *Cyzicus*.
- Clytemnestra*, the Daughter of *Tyndarus* and *Leda*, iv. 257. Married to *Agamemnon*, *ibid.* Kills her Husband, 259.
- Clytides*. See *Iamides*.
- Clytia*, her Metamorphosis into the *Heliotrope*, i. 32.
- Clytius*, a Giant slain by *Vulcan*, ii. 168.
- Clytus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 22.
- Cneph*, the first Principle in the Theogony of the *Egyptians*, i. 103, 491, 493. How he was represented, 493.
- Coalemus*, the God of Imprudence, i. 199.
- Cocalus*, King of *Sicily*, receives *Dedalus* at his Court; puts *Mines* to Death, iii. 511.
- Cock*, consecrated to *Minerva*, why, i. 264. ii. 297, 310.
- Cocytus*, an infernal River or Lake, iii. 35. iv. 3, 22, 37.
- Cocytus*, the Physician who cured *Adonis*, ii. 13, 21.
- Codrus*, the last King of *Athens*, iii. 377.
- Cœlestis*, or *Bona Dea*, iii. 198.
- Cœlus*. See *Heaven*.
- Cœus* or *Ceus*, the Son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, or of *Cœlus* and *Terra*, i. 113. His Children, 115.
- Coit*, one of the Exercises in the Games, iv. 417, 418.
- Calax*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ora*, ii. 170.
- Calisee* of *Rome*, the Remains of that ancient Structure, iv. 423.
- Collatina*, a Goddess worshipp'd at *Rome*, iii. 198.
- Collina*, a Goddess of the *Latins*, ii. 590.
- Colosse* of *Rhodes*, one of the seven Wonders of the World, i. 250.
- Combe*, transformed into a Bird, iv. 398.
- Cometo*, the Daughter of *Pterelas*, her Perfidiousness to her Father; her Death, iv. 76.
- Common God*, an Epithet given to *Mars*, ii. 320.
- Compitalia*, Feasts and Games so called, i. 310. ii. 610, 617.
- Comus*, the God of Revels and Jollity, his Character, iii. 152, &c. *Concord*,

I N D E X.

- Concord*, ranked among the Gods, i. 200. iii. 129. Her
Temples at *Rome*, iii. 129.
- Conservatrix*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 243.
- Constellations*, the Names of several Constellations, iv. 407.
They were believed to be the Receptacles of the Souls of
those whose Names they bore, i. 198, 494.
- Consualia*, Feasts in Honour of the God *Consus*, i. 310.
- Consus*, one of the Gods of Physic, i. 200.
- Contracts*, Divinities who presided over the Faith of Con-
tracts, iii. 131, 132.
- Coraces*, Ministers of *Mithras* so called, i. 289.
- Coral*, sprung from the Blood of *Medusa*, iii. 453, 455.
- Corcyra*. See *Pheacians*.
- Corea*, the People of *Corea* attributed Divinity to the Rivers
and Mountains, i. 146.
- Coræa*, or *Coreia*, Feasts of *Proserpine*, i. 302.
- Corefus*, the Priest of *Bacchus*. See *Gallirhoe*.
- Coriphagena*, one of *Minerva's* Epithets, ii. 309.
- Corinth*, its first Name; by whom built, iii. 392.
- Corn*, the Inventors of the Art of sowing Corn according to
the *Phenicians*, i. 95. According to the *Greeks*. See
Ceres, *Triptolamus*.
- Cornucopia*, whence the *Greeks* make it to be derived, ii. 208.
- Coræbus*, communicates his Name to the first *Olympiad*.
Why, iv. 427.
- Coronis*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278.
- Coronis*, the Mother of *Esculapius*, ii. 400. iii. 156, 157.
Her Death, and Transformation into a Crow, iii. 157.
She had a Statue in the Temple of *Esculapius*, 163, 179.
- Coronis*, a City of *Cyprus*. See *Salamis*.
- Corybantes*, Priests of *Cybele*, whether they are to be con-
founded with the *Cabiri*, ii. 76, 81. How they celebrated
the Feasts of their Goddesses, 82, 562. The Origin of the
Name, 560.
- Corybantica*, Feasts in Honour of the *Corybantes*, i. 302.
- Corybus*, the son of *Jasion* and *Cybele*, ii. 560. The Wife
whom he married, *ibid*.
- Corymbifer*, one of *Bacchus's* Epithets, ii. 448.
- Corythus*, Son of *Paris* and *Oenone*, slain by his Father,
iv. 341.
- Coscinomancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Cosmogonies*. See *Theogony*.
- Cossutius*, a Roman Citizen who finished the Temple of
Olympian Jupiter, i. 226.
- Cottus* a Giant, the Son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, i. 113.
Banished with his Fraternity to the Extremities of the
Earth, 116. *Cottytto*,

I N D E X.

- Cettytto*, the Goddess of *Debauchery*, her Feasts, iii. 69.
 Her Priests. See *Baptæ*.
- Covenant Gods*, who presided over Covenants, i. 59.
- Cranaus*, second King of *Athens*, iii. 377.
- Crane*, a sort of Dance invented by *Theseus*, why, iii. 508.
- Cranes*, their Battles with the *Pygmies*. See *Pygmies*.
- Cranius*, worshipped as a Hero, iii. 433.
- Creus*, the Son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, i. 113. His Offspring, 114.
- Creon*, King of *Corinth* gave his Daughter to *Jason*, iv. 66.
 See the Note. His Death imputed to *Medea*, 67.
- Creon*, King of *Thebes*, iv. 81. Marries his Daughter *Megara* to *Hercules*, *ibid*. And his Daughter *Jocasta* to *Laius*, 179. Then to *Oedipus*, 180. See *Laius*, *Oedipus*.
- Crepitus*, a Divinity, how represented, i. 199. iii. 196.
- Cres*, the Son of *Jupiter*, King of *Crete*, ii. 177.
- Cretans*, whence so called, i. 60.
- Crete*, the Island of *Crete*; *Jupiter* was educated and died there, ii. 176, 177. *Teuctamus*, the first *Grecian* King in *Crete*, iii. 395. A List of the Kings of *Crete*, 516. Its first Inhabitants, *ibid*.
- Cretheus*, the Son of *Eolus*, his Brothers and Sisters, iii. 390; His Children and their Descendants, 394.
- Cretans*, whence they derived their Name, i. 60.
- Creusa*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, King of *Athens*, Mother of *Janus*, ii. 261. The Mother also of *Ion* and *Acheus*, iii. 396.
- Creusa*, married to *Peneus*, her Children and their Descendants, iii. 526.
- Creusa*, the Daughter of *Priam*, Wife of *Eneas*, iv. 139, 309. Her Death, *ibid*.
- Crinifus*, transformed into a Bear, iv. 401.
- Criobole*, or *Criobolium*, a sort of Sacrifice, i. 272.
- Criophoros*, one of *Mercury's* Epithets, ii. 375.
- Crocodile*, this amphibious Creature was in high Veneration at *Arsinoe*, i. 544. And looked upon with Horror in the rest of *Egypt*, 545. How it is the Symbol of the Divinity, 551.
- Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, from whom descended, iv. 111.
- Crommyon*, a Woman of that Town, called *the Sow*, iv. 134.
- Cross*, the Cross is often one of the Symbols of the *Egyptian* Divinities, i. 563.
- Crow*, consecrated to *Apollo*, why, ii. 417.
- Crown*, *Ariadne's* Crown transformed into a Star, iv. 407.
- Crudelis*, or *Cruel*, an Epithet given to *Mars*, ii. 320.
- Ctesiphon*.

I N D E X.

- Ctesiphon*. See *Gherfiphron*.
- Cthonius*, the Surname of *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Cuckoo*, a Bird consecrated to *Jupiter*, why, ii. 236.
- Cuirasses* and *Javelins*, their Use introduced into *Greece*, or invented by *Cadmus*, iii. 406.
- Cunina*, a Goddess that was invoked for Children; her Office, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Cupid*, the Son of *Venus*, ii. 329, 337. How many *Cupids*, 338. The Amours of *Cupid* and *Psyche*, 342. See *Love*.
- Curetes*, who they were, ii. 209. They educated *Jupiter*, 166, 173. Their Origin. The Etymology of their Names, 210. The Institution of the *Olympic Games* is owing to them, 213. They had Temples after their Death, 214. That they are not to be confounded with the *Cabiri*, 81.
- Custos*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 224.
- Cyane*, a Nymph of *Sicily*, transformed into a Fountain, iii. 48. The Veneration paid to that Fountain, 51. The Foundation of this Fable, 57.
- Cyanææ*, or *Symplegades*, Rocks at the Mouth of the *Euxine Sea*, iv. 37. The *Argonauts* pass thro' between these Rocks, 38. The fabulous Account of them, i. 74.
- Cyanipe*, the Daughter of *Adrastus*, iv. 198.
- Cybele*, the Earth adored under that Name, ii. 552. The History of *Cybele* according to *Diodorus Siculus*, ii. 405, 557. That there were several *Cybeles*, 562. Her Worship; her Feasts; her Priests and Priestesses, 562, 563. Her various Names, *ibid.* Why she was called the Mother of the Gods, 563. The Statue of *Cybele* brought to *Rome*, 567. How represented, 565.
- Cyclops*, by whom engender'd; their Figure; their Employment, i. 113. The Arms which they forged for the Gods, ii. 166, 186. *Apollo* kills the *Cyclops*, ii. 415. Their History; the Etymology of their Name. Why they are said to be *Vulcan's* Blacksmiths, and Canibals, iv. 290, &c. The Worship that was paid to them, 292. Why they passed for the Offspring of Heaven and Earth, and for Giants, 294.
- Cidypppe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Cygnus*, the Brother of *Phaeton*, his Transformation into a Swan, ii. 385, 390, 392.
- Cygnus*, the Son of *Neptune*, also transformed into a Swan, iv. 221. Other Princes of the same Name, ii. 392.
- Cylindus*, the Son of *Phryxus* and *Calciope*, iv. 7.
- Cyllabarus*, Gallant to *Diomedes's* Wife, iv. 388.

Cyllen,

I N D E X.

- Cyllen*, the Son of *Elatus* King of *Phocis*, communicated his Name to Mount *Cyllene*, iii. 355.
- Cyllene*, a Mountain in *Arcadia*, *ibid*.
- Cylleneus*, one of *Mercury's* Names, ii. 374.
- Cynisea*, a Heroine who won the Prize at the *Olympic Games*, iii. 434.
- Cymopolia*, the Daughter of *Neptune*, married to *Briareus*, i. 116.
- Cymodusa*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Cymothoe*, *ibid*.
- Cynisea*, a *Grecian* Heroine, iii. 434.
- Cynocephali*, what kind of Animals, i. 534.
- Cynophontes*, Feasts celebrated at *Argos* in the Dog-Days, i. 302.
- Cynofarges*, a Surname given to *Hercules*, iv. 120.
- Cyparissus*, a young Man transformed into a Cypress, ii. 402.
- Cyppus*, a *Roman* Captain. Horns grew in his Head, iv. 396.
- Cypria*, one of *Juno's* Appellations, ii. 244.
- Cyprus*, the Birth of *Venus* in that Island, i. 113. ii. 328.
- Cypress*, consecrated to *Pluto*, i. 264. The Symbol of Grief, therefore made use of at Funerals, ii. 402.
- Cyprina*, an Epithet of *Venus*, i. 113.
- Cyrenaica*, a Country of *Africa*, i. 581.
- Cyrno*, one of *Jupiter's* Mistresses, ii. 170.
- Cythera*, an Island, its Situation; it was consecrated to *Venus*; why, ii. 328. Her Temple at *Cythera*, *ibid*.
- Cytherea*, Surname of *Venus*, i. 113. ii. 333.
- Cyzicus*, King of *Cyzicus*. *Jason* kills him undesignedly, and builds a Temple to him, iv. 32. *Clyta*, the Wife of *Cyzicus*, hangs herself in Despair, iv. 33.
- Cyzicus*, a City at the Foot of Mount *Dyndimus*, iv. 32.

D.

- D***ACIANS*, what Gods that People worshipped, ii. 147.
- Daëtyli* of *Crete*, different from the *Cabyri*, ii. 76, 81, 82. The same with the *Curetes*, 211. Whence the Name of *Daëtyle* is derived, *ibid*.
- Daëtyliomancy*, a Sort of Divination; how it was practised, i. 396.
- Dades*, Feasts of the *Greeks*; whence the Name is derived, i. 302.
- Daduchus*, or *Lampadophorus*, a Minister of Religion among the *Greeks*, i. 282. ii. 462. iii. 66.
- Dædalus*, See *Dedalus*.

Dæsanus,

I N D E X.

Dæfanaus. See *Defanans*.

Dagon, or *Siron*, who that God was in the System of the *Phenicians*, i. 93, 95. The Etymology of the Name, ii. 36. How he was represented, 37. A famous Divinity of the *Philistines*; his Temple at *Asoth*, *ibid.* He is the *Derceto* of the *Greeks*, i. 70. ii. 36, 37.

Daimogorgon, or *Demogorgon*, the Signification of this Name, i. 119. ii. 549. Who this God was, *ibid.* His Genealogy, 550. The Explanation of this Fable, *ibid.*

Damastes, a Giant who was called *Proustes*, why, iv. 135.

Damium, a Feast in Honour of the good Goddesses, surnamed *Damia*, ii. 554. The Signification of the Name, *ibid.* See the Note.

Danae, the Daughter of *Acrisius*, Mother of *Perseus*, ii. 164, 170. Shut up in a brazen Tower, iii. 436. Exposed upon the Sea with her Son, 437. Her Return into *Greece*, 462.

Danae, the Daughter of *Danaus*, *Neptune* offers Violence to her, ii. 496.

Danaids, their Punishment in *Tartarus*, iii. 23, 115. What had given rise to this Fable, 116.

Danaus, his Arrival in *Greece*, iii. 363. Seizes upon the Kingdom of *Argos*, *ibid.* Marries his fifty Daughters to the fifty Sons of *Egyptus* his Brother, *ibid.* See *Danaids*.

Danube, a River worshipped by the *Scythians*, ii. 479.

Daonus, or *Daos*, one of the Gods of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.

Dapalis, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.

Daphnæus, an Epithet of *Apollo*, ii. 420.

Daphne, the Daughter of *Peneus*, beloved by *Apollo*, i. 77. ii. 398.

Daphne, the Suburbs of *Antioch*, there an Oracle was, and a Statue of *Apollo*, i. 345. ii. 399.

Daphnephora and *Daphnephoria*, Feasts so called in honour of *Apollo*, i. 304.

Daphnis, metamorphosed into a Rock, iv. 367.

Dardania, the first Name of the City *Troy*, iv. 250.

Dardanus, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Electra*, ii. 170, 559. iii. 71. His Retreat to *Phrygia*, ii. 565. His History, iv. 249.

Daulias, the Surname of *Philomel*. See *Daulis*.

Daulis, a Feast of the *Argives*, i. 302.

Daulis, a City of *Phocis*, i. 61. Famous for the Adventure of *Progne* and *Philomela*, iv. 359.

Dead, what Laws and Customs were observed in *Egypt* with respect to the Dead, iii. 3, 4, &c. Why they embalmed

I N D E X.

- balmed the Dead, 8. The Notions of the *Druids* about the Fate of their Dead, 236.
- Death*, a Divinity, by whom procreated, i. 113. iii. 101. Under what Name adored at *Cadiz*, iii. 304. The Goddess who presided over Death, i. 197. Sudden Deaths, and those occasioned by the Plague, to whom attributed, i. 13. ii. 409, 411.
- Deceartes*, the Son of *Lycæon* King of *Arcadia*, iii. 354.
- Dædalus*, his Genealogy, iii. 519. Was the most skilful Artist in *Greece*, 520. His Works, *ibid.* His jealousy against his Nephew, 521. See *Talus*. He is shut up with his Son in the Labyrinth which he had built, i. 25. iii. 509. How he made his Escape; the Fable of his Wings, iii. 509. His Retreat in *Sicily*, 510.
- Dedala*, or *Dædala*, a Feast of the *Greeks*, i. 302.
- Dedalion*. See *Deion*.
- Deidamia*, married to *Pirithous*. See *Hippodamia*.
- Dejanira*, the Daughter of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, married *Hercules*, iv. 97. Was the Cause of that Heroe's Death, 107. The Children she had by *Hercules*, 111.
- Deion*, the Son of *Eolus*, iii. 390. Marries *Diomede* the Daughter of *Xutus*, 394, 395.
- Deion* or *Dedalion*, the Brother of *Ceyx*, iv. 381. Transformed into a Hawk, 382.
- Deioneus*. See *Eioneus*.
- Deioneus*, the Son of *Eurytus* King of *Oecalia*, the People that came of him, iv. 133.
- Deiopeia*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Deipyle* or *Deiphile*, the Daughter of *Adrastus*; her Marriage with *Tydeus*, iii. 187, 198.
- Delia*, Feasts so called, i. 302.
- Delos*, the Island where *Apollo* was born, i. 345. ii. 393. The Origin of that Island according to the Poets, 395, 396.
- Delphos*. See the *Temple of Delphos*, *Oracle of Delphos*.
- Delphinia*, a Feast celebrated at *Egina*, i. 302.
- Deluge Universal*, the Memory of that Event preserved among all Nations, i. 12, 54. iii. 387. The Tradition of the *Chaldeans* concerning the Deluge, i. 87. The Deluge of *Ogyges*, iii. 368. The *Æra* of that Event, 369, &c. The Deluge of *Deucalion*, iii. 379. At what Period of Time it happened, 384.
- Demarson*, the *Jupiter* of the *Chaldeans*, i. 97:
- Demi-Goddesses*, how they were known among the *Greeks*, iii. 170.

I. N. D. E. X.

- Demi-Gods, or Children of Gods*, i. 117. Their Original, 120. A prodigious Number of Demi-Gods, 203, &c. Where they resided, 462. See *Genii. Heroes*.
- Demogorgon*. See *Daimogorgon*.
- Demon of Socrates*. i. 473.
- Demonassa*, the Daughter of *Amphiaraus*, iv. 193, 196.
- Demonax*, a *Mantinean*, the Worship he established in the *Cyrenaica*, i. 581.
- Demophoon*, the Son of *Theseus* and *Phedra*, iv. 146. Went to the Siege of *Troy*, 58. See *Æthra*, *ibid*. The Amours of *Phillis* and *Demophoon*, 400. See *Phillis*.
- Derceto, or Atergatis*, metamorphosed into a Fish, i. 70. ii. 31. Whether she is the same with *Astarte*, *ibid*. 35.
- Disanaus or Disanaus*, the Name of the *Phenician Hercules*, iv. 123.
- Descensor*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 222.
- Destiny, or Destinies*, the Ideas which the Ancients had of them, iii. 84, 86. By whom engender'd, i. 113.
- Deucalion*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Iodamia*, ii. 170.
- Deucalion*, the Son of *Prometheus*; settled in *Greece*, iii. 378. A Deluge that happened in his Time; his Posterity, 379, 388. His Genealogy, 398. That he built the first Temple in *Greece*; what Temple this was, i. 211.. iii. 387. Was honoured in *Greece* as a Divinity, iii. 432.
- Deucalion*, the Son of *Minos II.* and *Pasiphae*, iii. 505. Marries his Sister *Phedra* to *Theseus*, 515.
- Deverra*, a tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197.
- Deverrona*, the Goddess who presided over the Reaping of the Fruits, i. 198.
- Devotings. Devotio* in *Latin*; private Devotings; the Form of public Devoting; Devoting of Criminals, i. 321.
- Diamastigotis*. See *Flagellation*.
- Dianaſta*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Diana*, that there were several Goddesses of that Name, ii. 421. Often taken for the Moon, 422, 423. Her different Names and Functions, 423, 424. The Worship that was paid to her in different Countries, 426. Especially among the *Gauls*, iii. 282. How she is represented, ii. 426. Her Oracles, i. 346.
- Diana Perrasia*. See *Castaballa*.
- Dice*, by whom and when invented, iv. 224.
- Dice*, the Daughter of *Themis*, i. 116. Presided over Justice, i. 199.
- Diæus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 220, 225.
- Diæe*, the Cave where *Jupiter* was born, ii. 165.
- Diæus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.

I N D E X.

- Dietynnia*, a Festival to *Diana Dietyнна*, i. 304.
- Dido*, the Surname of the Princess *Elisa*, what it signifies; her History; her Amours with *Eneas*; her Death. The Worship that was paid to her after her Death, iv. 318, 319. Of what Gods she established the Worship in *Africk*, i. 574.
- Didyme*, the Oracle that was there, i. 345.
- Diespiter*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 218.
- Diipolia*, a Feast celebrated at *Athens*, i. 301.
- Dindyme*, the Mother of *Cybele*, ii. 558.
- Dindyminæ*, an Epithet given to *Cybele*, ii. 564.
- Dindymus*, a Mountain in *Phrygia*, ii. 558. iv. 33.
- Dio*, the first Name of *Ceres*, iii. 46.
- Diocleia*, Feasts in Honour of *Diocles*, i. 304.
- Dioclesian*, the Prediction concerning him given by a *Druidess*, iii. 245.
- Dismedes*, worship'd as a Heroe, iii. 432.
- Dismedes*, the first Name of *Jason*, iv. 9. In the Note.
- Dismedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, iv. 286. His Exploits at the Siege of *Troy*, 228, 229, 233, 286, & seq. Repaired to *Great Greece*, after his Return from that War; the City which he built there, 247, 288. Refused to furnish Troops against *Eneas*, *ibid*.
- Dismedes*, King of *Thrace*, slain by *Hercules*, why, iv. 88.
- Dicmede*, the Daughter of *Xuthus*. See *Deionee*.
- Dione*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, i. 96.
- Dione*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Dione*, the Mother of *Venus*, ii. 170.
- Dicnea*, one of *Venus*'s Appellations, ii. 333.
- Dionysia*, Feasts of *Bacchus*, i. 305.
- Dionysius*. See *Liber*.
- Diocuri*, the Name given to *Castor* and *Pollux*, iv. 149. See *Caberi*.
- Dirce*, the Wife of *Licus*, her Cruelty to *Antiope*, iii. 416. Her Punishment, *ibid*. Her Metamorphosis into a Fountain, 419.
- Dirphya*, one of *Juno*'s Epithets, ii. 244.
- Dis*, the God of the *Celtæ*, i. 44.
- Discord*, ranked among the Goddesses, i. 199. iii. 145. She is banished from *Olympus*. Her Description, iii. 145. By whom engender'd; her Children, i. 113.
- Discus*, a Vase made use of in the Sacrifices, i. 277.
- Ditches*, for the Sacrifices to the infernal Gods, iii. 102.
- Ditbyrambus*, a Surname of *Bacchus*, ii. 448.
- Divination*, what that Science is; the Antiquity of it, i. 391. How many Sorts of Divination, and how they were performed, 393. *Diviners*,

I N D E X.

- Diviners*, their Office and Functions among the *Greeks*, i. 266.
- Divinity*, the Idea which the *Pagan* Philosophers had of him, i. 438.
- Divinities Allegorical and Physical*, invented for the different Ages, the different Professions and Actions of Life, i. 198. iii. 121. Virtues and Vices raised into Divinities; Divinities assigned to the Affections and Passions; Divinities who presided over every Part of the Body. i. 199, 200.
- Divipotes*, *Roman* Divinities, iii. 193.
- Dodanim*, the Grandson of *Japhet*, where he settled, iii. 350, 351.
- Dodonæus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Dodona*. See the Oracle of *Dodona*.
- Dog*, worshipp'd in *Egypt*, i. 544. See *Anubis*. Men with Dog's-Heads. See *Cynocephali*.
- Dog*, a Constellation, iv. 404, 407.
- Dolabra*, an Instrument for the Sacrifices, i. 278.
- Dolichenius*, a Name given to *Jupiter*, ii. 219. A Monument representing *Jupiter*, *ibid*.
- Dolichenius*, the Etymology of the Name, iii. 275.
- Dolphin*, a Constellation, ii. 497. iv. 393. The Dolphin that carried *Arion* upon its Back, *ibid*. The Affection of Dolphins to Men, *ibid*.
- Domiduca*, an Epithet of *Juno*, ii. 242.
- Domiducus*, a God who presided over Marriage, his Function, i. 197. ii. 252.
- Doricles*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Dorians*, a People in *Greece*, iii. 395.
- Doris*, the Mother of the *Nereids*, i. 114. ii. 508.
- Dorfanus*, the Name of the *Indian Hercules*, iv. 74.
- Dorus*, the Grandson of *Deucalion*, where he settled, iii. 390, 395. His Descendants, *ibid*.
- Dorycius*. See *Erycia*.
- Dosithea*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Dozo*, *ibid*.
- Dragon*, a kind of Serpent consecrated to *Bacchus* and *Minerva*, i. 263. ii. 297. Dragon of the Garden of the *Hesperides*, i. 30, 67, 114. ii. 275, 279. iii. 455. Dragons that kept the *Golden Fleece*, i. 29, 67. iii. 41, 42. *Cadmus's* Dragon, i. 67. The flying Dragon of *China*, i. 137. The flying Dragons of *Medea's* Chariot, iv. 64, 66. The Dragon upon which *Cerberus* was formed, iv. 32.
- Dreams*, by whom procreated, i. 113. iii. 100. Oracles that were delivered by Dreams, i. 345, 346, 353. The Names of the Dreams, iii. 100.

I N D E X.

- Druids*, chief Ministers of Religion among the *Gauls*, iii. 225. What Places they frequented, 229. A Parallel between the *Druids* and *Persian Magi*, 217, 228. The Idea which they had of the Divinity, 218. The Etymology of the Name of *Druids*, iii. 227. Their Origin, their Manner of Life, their Functions, Science, and their Authority in the Nation, iii. 227, 228, &c. Their Superstitions, 235, &c. Their Maxims, 242. When their Order was abolished, 246.
- Druidesses*, what kind of Women they were; their Authority; they had the Gift of Prediction, iii. 243, &c. They resembled the *Vestals* of the *Romans*, iii. 284.
- Dryads*, Nymphs of the Woods, their Worship, ii. 527, 528.
- Drymo*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Dryope*, transformed into a Tree, iv. 394.
- Duikclaites*, a People in *Arabia*, their Religion, i. 570.
- Duiffanian*, an Epithet given to *Hercules*, iii. 265.
- Dufares*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 569.
- Dyētinnia*. See *Diētynnia*.
- Dynamme*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Dzobara*, a Goddess the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Dzobl*, a Divinity of the same People, i. 570.

E.

E *A*, *Eca*, or *Æa*. See *Æa*.

Eacus, one of the Judges of Hell, iii. 22, 27, 41.

Whose Son he was, iv. 268. His great Equity, 269.

Who were his Subjects, 270. His Children, *ibid*.

Eagle, consecrated to *Jupiter*, i. 264. Why, ii. 208.

Earth, its Origin according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 82. According to the *Greeks*, 112, 114, 116. Adored under various Names, i. 196. ii. 551. The Worship of the *Earth* very ancient, 551. How represented, 557.

Ears, *Jupiter* represented without Ears in *Crete*, and at *Lacedemon* with four Ears, ii. 229. Omens drawn from the Tingling of the Ear, i. 409.

Eaubadnes, *Eubadnes*. See *Oannes*.

Echecrates, ravishes the Priestesses of *Delphos*, i. 337.

Echemus, King of *Arcadia*, iii. 356.

Echidna, a female Monster, her Figure; her Offspring, i. 114.

Echion, the Father of *Acteon*, iii. 412, 420. See the Table.

Echion, the Son of *Mercury*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 22.

Eclipses, Fables delivered about the Cause of Eclipses, i. 45, 46. *Echo*,

I N D E X.

- Echo*, a Nymph in Love with *Narcissus*, iv. 366.
- Educa* and *Eduia*, Goddesses of the Romans, their Functions, iii. 199.
- Eduia* or *Edusa*, the tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Egeus*, King of *Athens*, iii. 377. His Genealogy, 494. The Father of *Theseus*, iv. 131, 132, 135. His Commerce with *Medea*, 69. Is the Author of assassinating *Androgeos*, iii. 493. Communicates his Name to the *Egean* Sea, iii. 504.
- Egeon*, one of the Gods of the Sea, his Genealogy; his Death, ii. 524.
- Egeria*, a Goddess who presided over Women in Childbed, i. 197. iii. 191. *Juno* had also the same Name, ii. 242.
- Egeria*, a Nymph whom *Numa* consulted, iii. 484.
- Egestus*. See *Elimus*.
- Egesta*, the Daughter of *Hippotas*, the Mother of *Acestes* King of *Sicily*, iv. 401, 402. See *Crinifus*.
- Egg*, the primitive Egg, the Source of all Beings, i. 84, 104, 112. The Fable of the Egg of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, 178. The Fable of the Egg *Anguinum* of the *Druids*, its Virtue, iii. 209, 237, 238.
- Egialea*, the Daughter of *Adrastus*, iv. 198.
- Egialeus*, whether he is the Founder of the Kingdom of *Sicyon*, iii. 358, 359.
- Egialeus*, the Son of *Adrastus*, slain in the War of the *Epi- goni*, iv. 191, 199.
- Egibolium*, or *Egobolium*, a kind of Sacrifice, i. 275.
- Egis*, the Buckler of *Minerva*, a Description of this Piece of Armour, ii. 297, 309, 311. iii. 438. Its Origin, ii. 312.
- Egis*, a Monster that vomited Fire, ii. 311.
- Egina*, the Daughter of *Asopus* King of *Beotia*, Mother of *Eacus*, iii. 391. Transformed into the Island of his Name, iv. 269. The Situation of that Island, its Inhabitants, 270.
- Egistus*, the Son of *Thyestes*, his Birth, iv. 256. His Crimes, his Death, 260, 261.
- Egiuchus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Egle*, one of the Goddesses of *Physic*, iii. 159.
- Egophaga*, an Epithet of *Juno*, iv. 107.
- Egregores*, or *Angels of Heaven*, i. 121.
- Egypt*, the first Theater of Idolatry and Fables, i. 69, 73. As well as of Arts and Sciences, 48, 69. Temples of *Egypt*, their Magnificence, 211, 220, 221. The Abominations of *Egypt*, 487.

I N D E X.

Egyptians, their Cosmogony and Theogony, i. 102. What sort of Gods they had, 486, 524. Who were their eight great Gods, 492.

Egyptus, the Brother of *Danaus*, his fifty Sons, iii. 115, 363. See *Lynceus*.

Eimarmene, the Daughter of *Uranus*, i. 96.

Eioneus, or *Deioneus*, *Ixion* his Son-in-Law puts him to Death, why, iii. 527.

Elaphobolia, Feasts of *Athens*, i. 303.

Elara, the Mother of the Giant *Tityus*, iii. 108.

Elatea, a City of *Phocis*, iii. 355.

Elatus, the Son of *Arcas*, what City he founded, *ibid*.

Elestra, the Daughter of the *Ocean*, i. 114.

Elestra, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.

Elestra, the Daughter of *Atlas*, one of the *Pleiades*, i. 108. ii. 273. See *Pleiades*.

Elestra, the Daughter of *Agamemnon* and Sister of *Orestes*, married to *Pylades* the Friend of *Orestes*, iv. 264.

Electrides, pretended Islands, ii. 391.

Electrion, the Father of *Alcmena*, his Genealogy, iii. 365. iv. 74. His Death, 75.

Eleusis, what were the Mysteries of *Eleusis*, iii. 61. Why it was forbidden to reveal them, 67.

Eleuterian, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, i. 304.

Eleutheria, Feasts in Honour of *Jupiter*, *ibid*.

Elis, a Country of *Greece*, whence it got that Name, iii. 351.

Elimus and *Egesthus*, *Trojans* who settled in *Sicily*, iv. 310.

Eliou, or *Hypsistius*, the Import of the Name, a Divinity of the *Phenicians*, i. 92.

Elios, or the *Sun*, one of the eight great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 493.

Elis, or *Elisba*, the Grandson of *Japhet*, where he settled, iii. 351.

Elisa. See *Dido*.

Eliud, the Son of the *Nephelim*, i. 122.

Ellotes, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 309.

Elcim, Gods of *Chronos's* Party, i. 95, 96.

Eloquence, false Eloquence of Orators; the Source of several Fables, i. 34, 35.

Elpe, the Daughter of *Poliphemus*, iv. 293.

Elphenor, King of *Eubæa*; went to the Siege of *Troy* with the Sons of *Theseus*, iv. 144, 145.

Elysian, the *Elysian* Fields, whence the *Greeks* derived the Idea thereof, iii. 1, 6, &c. The Time that Souls were

to

I N D E X.

- to remain there, 14, 15. Description of those *Elysian* Fields, 18, 19, 23, 24. Where the Poets placed them, i. 37.
- Ematuria*, or *Æmaturia*, Feasts in Honour of *Pelops*, i. 229.
- Emeriones*, one of the Heroes of *Grecce*, iii. 430.
- Emithea*, a Demi-Goddes worshipped at *Castabe* a City of *Caria*, iii. 170.
- Enak*, and his Descendants, called Giants in Scripture, ii. 195. Whether he is the same with *Inachus*. See *Inachus*.
- Enarephorus*, one of the *Grecian* Heroes, iii. 434.
- Enceladus*, the Giant, whether he is the same with *Tiphon*, i. 508, 514, 515. His Overthrow in the Combat of the Giants against the Gods, ii. 168.
- Encenia*, Feasts of Dedication, i. 305.
- Enclabris*, an Instrument of the Sacrifices, i. 278.
- Endeide*, or *Endeis*, the Mother of *Peleus*, iv. 134.
- Endocus*, the Scholar of *Dedalus*, his Genius, iii. 525.
- Endovillicus*, a God of the *Spaniards*, iv. 124.
- Endimion*, or *Endymion*, the Son of *Æthilia*, King of *Elis*, ii. 428. There was another *Endymion*, a Shepherd of Mount *Latmos*, *ibid.* Fable of the Amours of *Diana* and *Endymion*, i. 45, 77, 427.
- Eneas Sylvius*, King of *Alba*, iv. 313.
- Eneas*, his Genealogy, iv. 307, 308. His Actions at the Siege of *Troy*, 309. His Arrival in *Italy*, 311. His Death, 312. His Apotheosis, *ibid.* Suspected of Treason, 307. The Opinion of those who believed that *Eneas* never came from *Troas*, 314. His pretended Amour with *Dido*, 318. *Eneas's* Ships transformed into Nymphs, 322. Who was the *Venus* his Mother, 308.
- Eneid*, an Analysis of that Poem divested of all Fiction, i. 39.
- Eneugamus*, and *Eneubulus*, two of the *Challdiac* Doctors, i. 85.
- Enna*, Meadows of *Enna*, iii. 47, 50. See *Proserpine*.
- Enoch*, the spurious Book of *Enoch* very ancient, i. 121, 164.
- Enosichthon*, one of *Neptune's* Epithets, i. 500.
- Envy*, a Divinity, her Description, iii. 142.
- Enyalius*, the Epithet of a God among the *Sabines*, ii. 319.
- Enyo*, the Surname of *Bellona*, ii. 313.
- Enyo*, one of the Daughters of *Phorcis*, i. 114.
- Eolus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, ii. 533. iii. 390. Gives to the *Hellenians* the Name of *Eolians*, *ibid.* His Children, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

- Eolus*, the God of Winds, i. 32, 46, 65. ii. 532. Reckoned in the Number of the Gods of the Sea; where he reigned, ii. 532. Receives *Ulysses* at his Court, 533. His Genealogy, 537. His Children, 538.
- Eoliæ*, or *Eolian* Islands, where *Eolus* reign'd, their Situation, ii. 533. There *Vulcan's* Forges were placed, *ibid.*
- Eoria*, Feasts of the *Greeks*, i. 299.
- Eous*, one of the Horses of the Sun, ii. 383.
- Epaphus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Io*, i. 499. His Contest with *Phaeton*, ii. 384, 387.
- Ephesus*, the Temple of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, i. 222. The Burning of that Temple; the Building of a second Temple, 224.
- Ephira*. See *Corinth*.
- Ephestia* and *Ephestria*, Feasts of *Vulcan*, i. 302.
- Ephialtes*, and *Otus*, two of the Giants who made War upon the Gods; their Genealogy, their Birth and Stature, ii. 168. iii. 116, 391. The Adventure of *Mars* with these two Giants, iii. 117, 118. Another Adventure of *Neptune* with the Giants, ii. 206. Their Death, 117. They were the first who consecrated Mount *Helicon* to the *Muses*, ii. 435. iii. 118. See the Gods *Alloides*.
- Ephyra*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Epicastè*, the Mother of *Oedipus*, her tragical Death, iv. 183.
- Epicastè*, the Daughter of *Egeus*, iv. 111.
- Epidaurus*, a City of the *Peloponnesus*, iii. 155. See *Esculapius*.
- Epideliu*s, an Epithet of *Apollo*, ii. 419.
- Epidotes*, Gods who presided over the Growth of Children, i. 198.
- Epigeus*, the same with *Uranus*, i. 92.
- Epigoni*, War of the *Epigoni*, what it was, iv. 190.
- Epimeletæ*, Ministers of Religion, i. 284.
- Epimenides*, how he pretended to come by his Laws, iii. 484.
- Epimetheus*, his Genealogy, i. 115, 116. ii. 279. Marries *Pandora* 280. See *Pandora*. He is transformed into an *Ape*, 286.
- Epiphanes*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 222.
- Epitus*, King of *Mycenæ*, his Successors called from his Name *Epitides*, iv. 129.
- Eponymes*, Heroes *Eponyms*, iii. 430.
- Epopeus*, King of *Sicyon*, the Spouse of *Antiope*, iii. 415. His Death, *ibid.*
- Epopeus*, King of *Lesbos*, iv. 393. See *Nyctimene*.
- Ereptes*, the Name given to the initiated, iii. 64.

I N D E X.

- Epochs*, principal ones of the fabulous Age, iii. 342. *Epochs* of universal History, 344. A celebrated *Epoch* among the *Greeks*, iv.
- Epulones*, an Order of Priests among the *Romans*, their Privileges, i. 296.
- Epunda*. See *Vallonia*.
- Epytus*, King of *Arcadia*, his Genealogy, iii. 355. His Death, *ibid*.
- Equestris*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 244.
- Equitation*, or the Use of Riding, whether this Art is later than the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 155.
- Equity*, Goddess of, how represented. iii. 138. Often confounded with *Astrea* and *Dice*, *ibid*.
- Equivocation* of Words of different Languages, the Source of several Fables, i. 17, 28, 60, 65, &c.
- Erato*, one of the nine Muses, the Import of the Name, ii. 433.
- Erceus*, or *Hersceus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 226.
- Erebus*, his Union with Night, i. 118.
- Erece*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Erechtheus*, King of *Athens*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, ii. 261. iii. 431. Ranked among the Gods, ii. 269. His Death, iii. 61. iv. 362. The singular Oath taken by his Daughters, iv. 362.
- Ergane*, a Goddess, by whom worshipped, iii. 432.
- Ergane*, an Epithet of *Minerva*, ii. 309.
- Erginus*, the *Argonaut*, why said to be the Son of *Neptune*, iv. 22.
- Erichthonius*, King of *Athens*, the Fable of his Birth, ii. 308. iii. 376. Invented the Use of Chariots, iii. 376, 377. He forms the Constellation of *Bootes*, 377, 407.
- Erichthonius*, the Son of *Dardanus*, King of *Troy*, iv. 250.
- Eridanus*, a River in *Italy*, now the *Po*, a Conjecture concerning this antient Name, ii. 391.
- Eridanus*, a Constellation, iv. 407.
- Erigone*, the Daughter of *Icarius*, her Death; Feasts instituted in honour of the Father and Daughter, iv. 404. Constellations which they form in the Heavens, *ib*. 407.
- Erigone*, the Daughter of *Egistus* and *Clytemnestra*, the Sister and Wife of *Orestes*, iv. 265. Was consecrated to the Service of *Diana*, 266.
- Eriphile*, the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, iii. 394. iv. 194. Sold her Husband for a Necklace, iv. 188.
- Erisichton*, his canine Hunger; eats up himself, iv. 398.
- Erminful*. See *Irminful*.
- Eros*, the Son of *Chronos*, i. 96.

I N D E X.

- Erestratus*, who burnt the Temple of *Ephesus*, i. 224.
- Erotidia*, Feasts in honour of *Cupid*, i. 303.
- Ericia*, a Canton of *Sicily*, iv. 107.
- Erycina*, an Epithet of *Venus*, ii. 334. See Mount *Eryx*.
- Erymanthus*, a Forest of *Arcadia*; the Boar of *Erymanthus*, iv. 86.
- Erynnies*, the Epithet of the *Furies*, its Etymology, iii. 76.
- Erythius*, a Name given to *Hercules*, iv. 124.
- Eryx*, King of *Sicily*, was defeated by *Hercules*, iv. 107.
- Eryx*, a Mountain in *Sicily*, the Temple that *Venus* had there; the Work which *Dedalus* made there for that Temple, iii. 525.
- Esacus*, the Son of *Priam*, the Occasion of his Death; his Transformation into a *Didapper*, iv. 139, 399. Had the Gift of Prophecy, the Prediction which he pronounced to his Father, *ibid.*
- Eschinades*, Isles newly formed, Fables relating to these Isles, iv. 98.
- Esculapius*, that we must seek for the true *Esculapius* in *Egypt*, or in *Phenicia*, iii. 154. That there were several *Esculapius's*, *ibid.* 160. Of the Greek *Esculapius*, his Birth, 155. Fictions intermixed with it, 156. Passed for the God of Physic, 157, 160. His Descendants, 159. His Death, 161. His Worship propagated to several Countries, how he was represented, 162. How his Worship was established at *Rome*, 163. The Constellation which he formed in the Heavens, 158. Whether *Esculapius* was one of the *Argonauts*, 159.
- Esculapia*, or *Æsculapia*, a Festival of *Esculapius*, i. 309.
- Esen*, the Son of *Cretheus*, iii. 393. Was dethroned by *Pelias*, iv. 8. Was the Father of *Jason*, *ibid.* He is restored to Youth by *Medea*, 63.
- Ejus* or *Hesus*, the great Divinity of the *Gauls*, who this God was, ii. 316. iii. 256, 257. How he is represented upon Bas-Reliefs, 258. When his Worship began to diminish, 267.
- Elymetus*, the Epithet of *Bacchus*, ii. 454.
- Etecretes*, antient Inhabitants of *Crete*, iii. 516.
- Eternity* of one supreme Being acknowledged by the Antients, i. 119. *Eternity*, a Roman Goddess, iii. 125.
- Etesippus*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Aspidamia*, iv. 112.
- Etheacles*, King of *Orchomenos*, called the Father of the Graces, ii. 351.
- Etheacles* and *Polynices*, Sons of *Oedipus* and *Jocasta*, iv. 182. The Origin of their mutual Hatred, their Death, 186, &c.

I N D E X.

- Æt.* Their Diffensions manifested even after their Death, 191. They had heroic Honours paid them, *ibid.* The Poets however place them in *Tartarus*, iii. 23.
- Etheocles*, one of the seven Chiefs in the *Theban War*, his Character, iv. 202.
- Ethiopia*, that the Antients knew two *Ethiopias*, iii. 458.
- Ethiopians*, who their Gods were, i. 572. They consecrated to the Sun Cinnamon; how they gathered that Plant, 573.
- Ethra*, the Wife of *Egeus* and *Theseus*, iv. 131. Becomes *Helen's* Slave, 142. Was returned to her Grandson after the Siege of *Troy*, *ibid.*
- Etolus*, the Son of *Endymion*, gave his Name to *Etolia*, iii. 390. His Descendants, *ibid.*
- Etolians*, the War of the *Etolians* and *Curetes* under the Walls of *Calydon*, iv. 173.
- Evan*, an Appellation of *Bacchus*, ii. 447.
- Evander*, an *Arcadian* by Birth, plants a Colony in *Italy*, iv. 90. Receives *Hercules* at his Court, and honours him, even in his Lifetime as a God, *ibid.* He gained the Veneration of the People, *ibid.* Had divine Honours conferred upon him by them after his Death, iii. 207. He introduced into *Italy* the Worship of the several Divinities, i. 539. iii. 206.
- Eubages*, or *Vates*, Ministers of Religion among the *Gauls*, iii. 226.
- Eudora*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278.
- Evemerion*, worshipped at *Sicyon* as a God, iii. 179.
- Evedoracus* or *Evedoriscus*, who he was in the Theogony of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.
- Everes*, the youngest of the Sons of *Pterelas* survived his Brothers, iv. 75.
- Evcrez*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Parthenope*, iv. 112.
- Eumeus*, an old Domestic of *Ulysses*, his Master conceals himself at his House, iv. 302.
- Eumenides*, the Appellation of the Furies; what the Word imports, iii. 77.
- Eumenidia*, Feasts of the Furies, i. 303.
- Eumolpus*, was *Hieriphante* to the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, iii. 61.
- Eunomia*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Themis*, i. 116.
- Eunomus*, a Musician of *Locris*, the Service done him by a Grasshopper, iv. 442.
- Evedocus*, a Doctor of the *Chaldeans*, i. 85.
- Evocations*, three Sorts of them, i. 320. The most solemn and the most antient was that of the Souls of the Dead, i. 431.

I N D E X.

- i. 431. Whom the Magicians pretended to call up, 432.
Evoke, the Cry of the Bacchanals, ii. 446, 456, 459.
Euphemus, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 20. And their Pilote,
 iv. 23. The History of the Clod of Earth given to *Euphemus* by the Triton, 52, 53.
Euphrosyne, one of the three Graces, i. 117. See *Graces*.
Euriganea, the second Wife of *Oedipus*, iv. 184. Her
 Death, 185.
Eurises, a *Gallic* Word which is found on an Inscription,
 what it signifies, iii. 252.
Eurythnians, a People in *Etolia*; *Ulysses*, after his Death re-
 ceived heroic Honours in their Country, iv. 304.
Europa, the Daughter of *Agenor* King of *Phenicia*, her Rape,
 iii. 400. Her Children, ii. 169. iii. 402. Receives divine
 Honours in *Crete* under the Name of *Minerva*, and a-
 mong the *Sidonians* under the Name of *Astarte*, 403,
 404. Who is the *Jupiter* who ravished *Europa*, ii. 164.
Europe, one of the Parts of the World, whence it got its
 Name, i. 60. iii. 404.
Europe, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
Eurotas, a River of *Laconia* worshipped by the *Lacedemoni-
 ans*, ii. 479.
Euryale, one of the *Gorgons*, i. 114. iii. 438.
Euryalus, one of the *Argonauts*, and one of the Leaders of
 the *Argives* at the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 23, 216.
Eurybates, one of the *Argonauts*, famous for the Game of the
 Coit, iv. 20.
Eurybia, or *Euribea*, the Daughter of *Pontus* and *Terra*, i,
 114. Her Children, *ibid*.
Eurybia, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
Eurydamas, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 23.
Eurydice, the Wife of *Orpheus*, her Death; *Orpheus* goes
 to Hell in search of her, iv. 160, 162. See *Orpheus*.
Eurylnus, the Son of *Menecus*, one of the *Grecian* Heroes,
 iii. 431.
Eurymedon, a Giant beloved by *Juno*, ii. 239.
Eurymedon, *Agamemnon's* Charioteer slain with him, iv. 260.
Eurymene, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
Eurynome, the Mother of the three Graces, i. 117.
Eurynome, the Wife of *Jupiter*, ii. 169.
Eurypilus, Prince of *Cyrenaica*, who was serviceable to the
Argonauts, the Fable relating to him, iv. 52.
Eurypilus, the Grandson of *Hercules*, his History and Death,
 iv. 335.
Eurystheus King of *Mycenæ*, his Genealogy, iii. 364. iv. 74.
 He persecutes *Hercules* and his Children, iv. 79. He is
 slain

I N D E X.

- slain by *Hillis* the Son of *Hercules*, 127.
Eurytus, the Son of *Augias*, slain with his Father by *Hercules*, iv. 87.
Eurytus, King of *Oecalia*, slain by *Hercules*, why, iv. 107.
Eurytus, one of the Giants who made War upon the Gods, his Death, ii. 168.
Eusebius, a Name given to *Bacchus*, ii. 448.
Euterpe, one of the Muses, ii. 432.
Expiation, what Act of Religion this was, i. 417. There were several Sorts of it. Expiations for Prodigies, 418.
 Expiation for Homicide, *ibid.* Expiation of Cities, 421.
 Expiation of Armies, *ibid.* Private Expiations, 422.
Expiator, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 226.
Extispices, or the Manner of divining by Inspection of the Entrails, i. 270, 407. Etymology of the Word, 270, 404.

F.

- FABLES**, Division of the Fables, i. 4, 30. Various Systems proposed for the Explanation of the Fables, 9, 12, 17, 20, &c. The Country where Fables took their Rise, 14, 15. Conjectures as to the Sources of Fables, 32-to 76. That *Greece* was the most fertile Country in Fables, 78.
Fabulinus, a tutelary God of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
Faith, or *Fidius*, a Divinity who had Temples, and was in high Veneration, iii. 131.
Fame, a Divinity, her Worship, her Origin, her Portraiture, iii. 144.
Fatalities affixed to the City of *Troy*, iv. 225.
Fatidica, what Sort of Signs so called, i. 400.
Fatua, the Wife of *Faunus*, also named *Fauna*. Her Chastity made her be honoured under the Name of Good-Goddesses, ii. 555, 598.
Favour, taken into the Number of Divinities, iii. 181, 198.
Faula, a Goddess, *Hercules's* Mistress, iii. 194.
Fauna. See *Fatua*.
Faunalia, a Festival in honour of *Faunus*, i. 311.
Faunus, King of *Italy*, at what Time he lived, ii. 598. Why said to be the Son of *Mars*, why made a rural Divinity, *ibid.* He is often confounded with *Pan* and *Sylvanus*, i. 540. ii. 599.
Fear, by whom engendered, i. 117.
Fear and *Paleness*, Divinities, iii. 143. How represented, 144. The Temple of *Fear* at *Rome*, and at *Sparta*, *ibid.*
 Fear of Evil one of the Sources of Idolatry, i. 165, 181.
Februata, a Name given to *Juno*, ii. 242.

Feciales,

I N D E X.

- Feciales*, what were the Functions of those Priests, i. 296.
- Fecundity*. See *Fruitfulness*.
- Felicity*, a Roman Goddess, the Opinion of St. *Augustine* concerning this Goddess, iii. 121.
- Feralia*, a Festival of the Dead, instituted by *Eneas*, i. 311.
- Feretrius*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 217.
- Feriæ Latinæ*, a Roman Festival, i. 312.
- Feronia*, a Goddess who was in high Veneration through all Italy, iii. 197.
- Ferula*, a Plant, its Property, ii. 285.
- Fessoria*, a Goddess who presided over Repose, iii. 194.
- Feasts*, the Feasts of Religion, i. 266. Feasts for the Gods, 295. Gods of Feasts, iii. 152.
- Festivals* of the *Greeks*, i. 298 to 306. Festivals of the *Romans*, 306 to 316. Of the *Egyptians* and other Nations, ii. 556.
- Fetivæ Dæ*, Roman Divinities, iii. 193.
- Fever*, a Divinity, iii. 139.
- Fidius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 224.
- Fidius*, who this Divinity was, iii. 132.
- Fire*, who found out the Use of Fire, according to the *Phenicians*, i. 91. Fire stole from Heaven by *Prometheus*, ii. 28c. The Meaning of this Fable, 284.
- Fire* (sacred), the Worship of Fire established among the *Chaldeans*, i. 183. ii. 570. Among the antient *Persians*, i. 177. ii. 95, 98. Among the *Romans*, ii. 570. Among the *Gauls*, iii. 220. This Worship still subsists in the *Indies*, i. 177. And in several Countries of *America*, ii. 570. Under what Names the Fire was adored, i. 196, 492. How they sacrificed to it, ii. 97. Divination by Fire. See *Pyromancy*.
- Fires of *Castor* and *Pollux*, what they are, iv. 150.
- Fires (Nocturnal) what, i. 415.
- Fishes*, worshipp'd in several Places, i. 203. There were of of them consecrated to certain Divinities, 264. Why the *Syrians* abstained from eating Fish, 553. ii. 32.
- Fishes*, or *Pisces*, one of the Signs of the Zodiac, i. 195. iv. 408.
- Flagellation* (Feast of) or *Diamastigosis*, where, and how it was celebrated, i. 304.
- Flamines*, Priests of the *Romans*, their Number, their Privileges; the Veneration that was paid to them, i. 292.
- Flaminicæ*, Wives of the *Flamines*, i. 294.
- Fleece* (Golden) the Fable of the Golden Fleece, i. 29. iv. 5, 6. What it was, iv. 43. See *Jasôn*, *Argonauts*.
- Flies*,

I N D E X.

- Flies*, worshipped in *Acarmania*, i. 203. The Gods of Flies, i. 199. ii. 57. *Hercules* called *Fly-Hunter*, iv. 121.
- Flora*, a Goddess who presided over Corn, i. 198.
- Floral Games*, by whom instituted, ii. 578. How they were celebrated, and at what Time, *ibid.* iv. 451, 452. *Cato* absents himself from them, 579.
- Flora*, the Earth worshipped under that Name, i. 196.
- Flora*, a famous Courtesan in *Rome*, her History, ii. 575. She was made the Goddess of Flowers, *ibid.* That there was a *Flora* before the Foundation of *Rome*, 577.
- Florida*, the People of that Country worship the Sun, i. 144.
- Fluonia*, a Goddess of Women in Child-bed, i. 197.
- Flower*, offered in Sacrifice at first, i. 255, 269.
- Flute*, the Origin of the Flute. See *Pan. Marsyas*.
- Flux* and reflux of the Sea. The Opinion of the *Chinese* Philosophers relating to this Subject, i. 147.
- Flyas*, a Goddess of the *Germans*, how she was represented, iii. 331.
- Fly-hunters*, God's Fly-hunters. See *Beelzebub*.
- Fo* or *Foe*, the Idol of the *Indians*, i. 147.
- Fountain*, Tutelar Divinities of each Fountain, i. 45. Fountains that delivered Oracles, 346. Veneration for the Fountain of *Amphiaraus*, iv. 196.
- Fontinalia*, Roman Festivals, i. 311.
- Forculus*, a God of the Gates, i. 198. iii. 195.
- Fordicalia*, Roman Festivals, i. 311.
- Fornacalia*, Festivals in honour of the Goddess *Fornax*, i. 311.
- Fortune*, a Divinity who is no other than Destiny, iii. 147. The Origin of her Worship in *Greece*, how she was represented, 148, 149, 150, 151. The Places where she was worshipped, that she was confounded with the *Parcæ*, and with the *Lots*, 149, 150. Temples raised to her Honour, i. 192, iii. 250. Worship paid also to *Bad Fortune*, 152.
- Fox* that made a Havock of the Country about *Thebes*, transformed into a Stone, iv. 379.
- Fraud*, a Divinity, how represented, iii. 135.
- Friendship*, deified by the *Romans*, how represented, iii. 180.
- Fruetusea*, the Goddess of the Harvest, ii. 591.
- Fruitfulness*, a Roman Divinity, iii. 138.
- Fruits* of the Earth offered to the Gods, i. 254, 258. That oftentimes nothing was presented to them but Fruits, 269.
- Fulgura*. See *Thunder*, iii. 193.
- Funerals* of the *Egyptians*, the Origin of the Infernal Regions

I N D E X.

ons of the *Greeks*; the Description of the Ceremonies therein used, iii. 3.

Furies, the Doctrine of *Furies* wisely invented, iii. 73: Whence it took its Rise, 75: Their Functions, their Number and Names, 76, 77. The Worship that was paid to them, their Temples, their Sacrifices, 78, 79, 80. How they were represented, 81.

Furina, the Goddess of Thieves among the *Romans*, i. 311: She had a Priest named *Flamen Furinalis*, and a Festival named *Furinalia*, i. 311. iii. 80, 81: That she is the same with the *Furies*, *ibid.* iii. 198.

Futurity, whether it would be beneficial to know *Futurity*; i. 436. The Desire of knowing future Events, a Source of many Superstitions. See *Divination*, *Magick*, *Astrology*:

G.

GABIA, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 244.

Gad, the Name of a Son of *Zilpa*, *Leah's* Hand-maid; what it signifies, i. 168. iii. 148.

Gadez, a City in *Spain*, the Worship that was there ascribed to *Hercules*: His magnificent Temple, i. 578, 582, iii. 303. iv. 95, 96. The Punishment of a King who was going to rife this Temple, 96. How *Hercules* was there represented, 304.

Galantis, the Slave of *Alcmena*, transformed into a Weasel, why, iv. 78.

Galatea, a Nymph beloved of *Polyphemus*, ii. 531, iv. 293.

Galaxia, a Festival to *Apollo*, i. 303.

Galaxora, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531:

Galli, or *Archi-Galli*, Priests of *Cybele*, a very contemptible Generation. Whence they got that Name, i. 286. ii. 563. Their Character, i. 287. They castrated themselves in honour of *Atys*, 287, 288. Their Chief was called *Archigallus*. His Garb or Habit, 288. They were also named *Corybantes*, ii. 562, 565, 566.

Gamelia, an Epithet of *Juno*, ii. 242. The nuptial Feast celebrated in honour of her, i. 305.

Gamelion, the Name of the Month of *January* among the *Greeks*, *ibid.*

Games of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, what they were, their Origin, iv. 409, &c. At what Time they were celebrated; 410. To whom they were consecrated, *ibid.* Preparations for those Games; Honours conferred on the Conquerors, 411, 412. The Motives for the Institution of them, 412. Several Kinds of Games, 413. The Founders of those Games, 414. Places appropriated to the Celebration of them, 421. Games,

- Games, Olympic*, iv. 424.
 — *Pythian* or *Pythic*, iv. 432.
 — *Nemean*, iv. 435.
 — *Isthmic*, iv. 436.
 — *Scenic*, iv. 438.
 — *Gymnic*, iv. 454.
 — *Floral*, iv. 451.
 — *Trojan*, or of the Youth, iv. 443.
 — *Ætiac*, iv. 448.
 — *Capitoline*, iv. 446.
 — of *Ceres*, iv. 447.
 — of *Augustus*, iv. 446,
 — *Astyc*, iv. 448.
 — of *Castor* and *Pollux*, iv. 449.
 — celebrated in the Camps, iv. 449.
 — *Megalesian*, iv. 450.
 — celebrated in the *Roman Empire*, iv. 452.
 — of the *Circus* or *Circensian*, iv. 453.
 — of the Cross-Streets or *Compitales*, iv. 454.
 — *Decumani*, *ibid.*
 — *Equestrian*, *ibid.*
 — of the Leaves, *ibid.*
 — of the Gladiators, *ibid.*
 — *Lustral*, or *Rubigalia*, *ibid.*
 — *Instaurative*, *ibid.*
 — of *Mars*, *ibid.*
 — *Novendiles*, iv. 455.
 — *Palatine*, *ibid.*
 — of the Fishers, *Piscatorii*, *ibid.*
 — *Plebeian*, *ibid.*
 — *Pontifical*, *ibid.*
 — *Sacerdotal*, *ibid.*
Games, called *Quæstorii*, *ibid.*
 — *Triumphal*, *ibid.*
 — *Votive*, *ibid.*
 — *Sigillares*, *ibid.*
Games called *Taurii*, *ibid.*
 — *Secular*, iv. 456.
Ganges, the Veneration of the *Indians* for this River, still
 subsisting at this Day, ii. 478.
Ganymede, the Son of *Tros* King of *Troy*, carried off by *Tan-*
talus King of *Lydia*, iv. 213. Why said to be ravished
 by *Jupiter* transformed into an Eagle, *ibid.* i. 29. ii. 164.
 iii. 114.
Garamantis, Children whom she had by *Jupiter*, ii. 170.
 L I Gar-

I N D E X.

- Gardens*, Gods of Gardens, i. 198. ii. 575, &c.
- Gates*, Gods of the Gates, i. 198. ii. 264, 265.
- Gauls*, their Religion, iii. 212. Whence they derived it, 214. A Comparison between their Religion and that of the ancient *Persians*, 217. The Changes in their Religion from the Time of *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 219. Their Temples, 221. Their sacred Groves, 222. Their Ministers of Religion, 225. See *Druids*. Their Superstitions, iii. 246. Gods of the *Gauls* from 268 to 291.
- Gauntlet-fight*, iv. 418.
- Gauri*, or *Guebri*, or *Pharjis*, a People in *Persia*, their Religion more refined, i. 179. ii. 94, 101.
- Gaza*, a City of the *Philistines*, their Divinity, ii. 2.
- Ge*, the Sister and Wife of *Uranus*, i. 92, 95.
- Geinus Atocthon*, the Explanation of this Word, i. 92.
- Gelanor*, King of *Argos*, dethroned by *Danaus*, iii. 358, 363.
- Genea* and *Genus*, who they were according to the *Phenicians*, i. 91.
- Generations*, the ten first Generations according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 86. According to the *Phenicians*, i. 94. The ten second Generations, 95. The *Grecian* Manner of computing by Generations in the fabulous Age; the Duration which they assigned to each Generation, iii. 341.
- Genii*, Men of the Golden Age became good *Genii*, according to *Hesiod*, i. 119. ii. 255.
- Genii*, of the Nature of *Genii*, i. 466. The *Platonic* Philosophers believed the Existence of them, *ibid.* What Conceptions they had of their Nature, 471. In what Class of Gods they reckoned them, 465. The Worship that was paid to them, 472. The Worship that is still paid to them in idolatrous Countries, and especially in *America*, 142, 179. What *Socrates's* Genius was, 473. A Genius allotted to every Man, 205, 471. Whence came the Idea of *Genii*, 121. Who were the good *Genii*, and the subterranean *Genii*, 119. The familiar *Genii* of the *Gauls*, iii. 287. Tutelar *Genii* of the Provinces and Towns of the *Gauls*, 288.
- Geography*, the Ignorance of that Science one Source of Fables, i. 74.
- Geomancy*, a Kind of Divination, i. 393.
- Gerane*. See *Oence*.
- Geranians*. See *Pageans*.
- Gereræ*, the Names of fourteen Women who assisted the Queen of the Sacrifices at *Athens*, i. 284.
- Gereſtia*, a Festival to *Neptune*, i. 303.
- Germans*, the Origin of the People, iii. 306. Their Religion

I N D E X.

- gion pretty much of a Piece with that of the *Gauls*, 307, 312, 313. Who their Gods were, 308. That they had no other Temples but their Woods, 314. Their Superstitions, 315. Of some of their peculiar Divinities, 330. Of their Heroes, 332. Of the great Respect they had for their Women, 320.
- Geronthæa*, a Festival of *Mars*, i. 303.
- Geryon*, a Giant with three Heads, his Birth, i. 114. The Explanation of his Fable, iv. 88. *Hercules* carries off his Oxen, *ibid.*
- Getes*, the Gods of that People, ii. 147.
- Giants*, their Genealogy in the System of the *Phenicians*, i. 91. From whom they sprung, according to the *Greeks*, 113. What we are to understand by the Commerce of the Angels with the Daughters of Men, whose Offspring they are said to be, 121, 122. The Giants who attempted to dethrone *Jupiter*, ii. 167. Their Description, *ibid.* The Names of the Leaders; their Battle, their Overthrow, 168. The Explanation of this Fable of the Giants making War upon the Gods, ii. 205. Whether there were real Giants, 192. Various Opinions about it, 193, &c. Testimonies of Scripture proving their Existence, 194. The Testimony of profane Authors, Poets and Historians, 195, &c. Of modern Travellers, 199. an Examination of all these Proofs, 301, &c.
- Gigantophontis*, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 308.
- Ginnes* or *Gennes*, a Sort of *Genii*, i. 121.
- Gladiators*, the Combats of the Gladiators, iv. 419. The Fury of those Combats, 420, 421.
- Glauce*, the Daughter of *Creon* the Spouse of *Jason*; *Medea* puts her to Death, iv. 66.
- Glaucis*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Glaucus*, a famous Fisher transformed into a Sea-God, ii. 525, &c. How he was represented, *ibid.* The Explanation of this Fable, 526. His Apparition to the *Argonauts*, *ibid.*
- Glaucus*, the Son of *Minos*, the second of the Name, ii. 525.
- Glaucus*, the Father of *Bellerophon*, iii. 392. One of the *Argonauts*, iv. 23. His Death, 54.
- Glaucus*, another of the *Argonauts* who was drowned, was ranked among the Sea-Gods. iv. 23, 32.
- Glaucus*, the Grandson of *Bellerophon*, iii. 475. Joins in the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 60.
- Glicizonus*, the Son of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, iv. 112.
- Goat*, that suckled *Jupiter*. See *Amalthea*.
- Goats*, the Veneration of the *Egyptians* for those Animals,

INDEX.

- Goetie,*

I N D E X.

- Goetie*, a Kind of Magic ; its Object ; what Rites were used therein, i. 427.
- Good God*, or the *Good Genius*, iii. 180.
- Good Goddess*, or *Bona Dea*, by whom invoked, i. 197.
The Earth worshipped under that Name, ii. 552. Feasts celebrated at *Rome* in honour of her, 553.
- Good Goddess Celestial*, or *Cælestis Bona Dea*, iii. 198.
- Gorgons*, their Birth, i. 114. What the Poets and Historians have said of them, iii. 437, &c. Various Explanations given of those Fables, 442, &c. What is most probable therein, 450. That there is in *Libya* an Animal called *Gorgon* ; its Figure, 443.
- Gorgophone*, the Daughter of *Perseus*, married *Perieres* King of *Messenia*, iii. 392. iv. 74.
- Goslings*, consecrated to *Juno*, ii. 246.
- Graces*, their Birth, their Number and Names, i. 117. ii. 348, 349. Their Attributes, 349, 352, 354. How they were represented, 350. The Worship that was paid to them, 351. Monuments consecrated to them, 352. Favours expected from them, 353. Their Names explained, *ibid.*
- Gradivus*, the Surname of *Mars* as God of War, ii. 318.
- Graiaæ*, the Name of the Daughters of *Phorcis*, whence derived, i. 114.
- Grashopper*, consecrated to *Apollo*, why, ii. 417. A Story told of a Grashopper, iv. 442. The Singing of the Grashopper, what, *ibid.*
- Gratitude* of People to their Benefactors, a Source of many Fables, i. 49, 50.
- Great Britain*, or *England*, the Religion of that People like that of the *Gauls*. Their Gods, iii. 301.
- Great Mother*, a Designation given to the Earth, or *Cybele*, ii. 552.
- Greece*, the State of ancient *Greece* ; the History of its first Inhabitants, i. 48. iii. 347. The first Colonies that arrived there, iii. 356.
- Greeks*, their Theogony derived from *Orpheus* and *Hesiod*, i. 110. That it is a monstrous Composition of History and Fable, 118. Who those were whom they reckoned Gods, i. 46, 120. That theirs is the most monstrous and superstitious of all Religions, 152, &c.
- Groves* (sacred), their Origin from the Beginning of Idolatry, i. 239. In Use among the ancient *Gauls*, ii. 221. Among the *Americans*, i. 141. Where the sacred Groves commonly were ; a Law against cutting or wasting them, 239, &c. *Moses* forbids to plant *Groves* round the Altars

I N D E X.

- of the true God, and commands to cut down those that were consecrated to Idols, 240. Altars built in the sacred Groves, 233, 234.
- Guadalethe*, a River in *Spain*; that it may be the River *Lethæ* in Hell, iii. 44, 45.
- Guadalquivir*, another River in *Spain*, formerly the *Betis*, iii. 43. In the Note.
- Guebri*, or *Gauri*. See *Gauri*.
- Gyara*. See *Alycone*.
- Gyges*, one of the *Titans*; the Birth of that Giant, i. 113. He is condemned to the Gulph of *Tartarus*, 116.
- Gymnastic*, what was the Gymnastic of the Ancients. The Etymology of the Word, iv. 417. Of what Exercises it consisted, 413.
- Gymnic Games*, how they combated therein; why so called, iv. 454.
- Gymnosophists* of the *Indies*, whether the *Druids* were descended from them, iii. 227, 228.

H.

- H***ALCIONE*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, i. 108.
- Halcjon*. See *Alcyone*.
- Hali*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Halicus*. See *Agræus*.
- Hamadryads*, what Nymphs they were, ii. 527.
- Hamburg*, to whom consecrated, iii. 333.
- Hammon*, one of the greatest Gods of *Egypt*, also named *Jupiter*, i. 16, 492. Whom the *Egyptians* adored under that Name, 195, 552.
- Hare*, a Constellation, whence formed, iv. 407.
- Harmonia*, or *Hermione*, whose Offspring she was, i. 117. Her Husband and Children, iii. 411. The fatal Present which *Vulcan* makes her, 412. The Etymology of her Name, 409, 413.
- Harpalice*, her Fable, iv. 394.
- Harpedophorus*, the Surname of *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Harpocrates*, why represented holding a Finger on his Mouth, i. 181, 199, 529, 550. He is the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, or the Sun, 530, 531.
- Harpies*, whose Daughters they were; their Names and Number, i. 114. iv. 34. Taken for the *Furies*, iii. 76. Their Figure; the Mischief they wrought, *ibid.* The Explanation of their Fable, 35.
- Haruspices*, or *Aruspices*, a Sort of Diviners among the *Romans*, their Functions, i. 266, 270, 404. Who were the

I N D E X.

- the most knowing of all the *Haruspices*, 405. The Origin of that Science, 404. Whence they drew their Presages, 406, 407.
- Harvests*, the Gods of Harvests, i. 198.
- Head of the Victim*, an Abomination to the *Egyptians*, i. 489.
- Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth, of whom she was born, and how, i. 117. ii. 239. Why said to renew *Iolaus's* Age, i. 77. iv. 24. Her Marriage in Heaven with *Hercules*, i. 117. iv. 112.
- Heaven*, or *Cælus*, the Origin of Heaven according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 81, 82. According to the *Phenicians*, 92. According to the *Egyptians*, 103. According to the *Atlantides*, 106. According to the *Greeks*, 112. His Marriage with the Earth, and his Children, *ibid.* How he is used by *Saturn*, 113.
- Hecate*, the Goddess who presided over Childbed, i. 197: iv. 245. The Triple *Hecate*. See *Diana*.
- Hecatomb*, a Sacrifice of a hundred Animals, i. 272.
- Hecatombæa*, a Festival of the *Greeks*, i. 303.
- Hecatombæus*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 225.
- Hecatombchires*, their Birth, i. 120.
- Hecatomphonia*, a Festival of the *Lacedæmonians*, i. 303.
- Hector*, the Son of *Priam*; the Destiny of *Troy* annexed to his Life, iv. 232. His Exploits, 233. He is slain by *Achilles*, 234. He had divine Honours paid him after his Death, 239.
- Hecuba*, *Priam's* second Wife; her Children, iv. 239. The frightful Dream she had when with Child of *Paris*, 340. What became of her after the taking of *Troy*, 243, 244, 245. Whose Daughter she was, 245.
- Helen*, the Daughter of *Tyndarus*, her Birth, iv. 343. Was carried off by *Theseus*, *ibid.* 141. The true Cause of her Rape by *Paris*, iv. 212. Married to *Menelaus*, 142, 344. Carried off a second Time by *Paris*, 211, 214. Her Death, 344. She had Temples erected to her, 344, 345. Difficulties in Chronology as to her Age, 345.
- Helenus*, the Son of *Priam* and *Hecuba*, iv. 205, 239. Married *Andromache*, and succeeded *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, 240. His Children, 241. Had the Gift of Prediction, 242, 400.
- Heliaci*, a Name given to the Priests of *Mithras*, i. 289.
- Heliades*, *Phaeton's* Sisters transformed into Trees, ii. 390. Explained, 391.

I N D E X.

- Helicon*, a Mountain in *Beotia* consecrated to the Muses, ii. 430, 435.
- Heliconiades*, an Epithet of the Muses, ii. 430.
- Helinophagi*, a People in the Neighbourhood of the *Troglydytes*, why so called, i. 137. *Heliogabalus* the Emperor, the odd Pleasure he indulged himself in at the Expence of the Parasites, iii. 530.
- Helion*, the Son of *Rhea*, his Wisdom; his Death; communicates his Name to the Sun, i. 107.
- Heliospolis*, a City in *Egypt*, the Oracle of *Apollo* that was there, i. 333. A Festival that was celebrated there, 559. There they also adored an Ox *Apis* named *Mnevis*, 519.
- Helisson*, one of *Lycaon's* Sons, iii. 354.
- Hell*, the Gods of Hell, iii. 1. Whence the *Greeks* took all their Notions of Hell, 2. The Sentiments of the *Greek* Philosophers on this Subject, 6. The Sentiments of the Poets, and the Description which they have given thereof, 8, 16. Of the infernal Rivers, 34. Of the Judges of Hell, 41. Journeys of several Heroes to Hell. Worship paid to the infernal Gods, 102.
- Helle*, the Daughter of *Athamas*, the Sister of *Phrixus*, iii. 394. Her Death, iv. 5. Communicated her Name to the *Hellepont*, *ibid.*
- Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*, iii. 389. Where he reigned, 390. His Descendants, *ibid.* The Privilege of his Descendants, 431.
- Hellenians*, whence the *Greeks* derived that Name, iii. 390, 431.
- Hellenism*, one of the four ancient Religions, more ancient than *Judaism*, i. 162.
- Hellepont*, a Part of the *Archipelago*, whence it got its Name, iv. 5.
- Hellotes*, the Surname of *Europa*, its Etymology, iii. 403.
- Hellotia*, a Festival in honour of *Europa*, *ibid.*
- Hellotis*, an Epithet of *Minerva*, why it was given to her, *ibid.*
- Hematbion*, the Son of *Aurora* and *Cephalus*, i. 117.
- Heimus*, King of *Thrace* transformed into a Mountain, iv. 367.
- Henctes*, a People in *Italy*, now the *Venetians*, iv. 307.
- Heniochus*, or *Auriga*, the Charioteer, a Constellation, iv. 407.
- Henochia*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 244.
- Hepatoscopy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 393.
- Hephaisteia*,

I N D E X.

- Hephaisteia*, one of the Feasts of *Lamps*, i. 305. See *Lamps*.
- Hephestus*. See *Vulcan*.
- Hera*, the Surname of *Juno*, ii. 235. A Name given also to *Isis*, i. 105.
- Heraclea*, Feasts in Honour of *Hercules*, i. 303.
- Heracidae*, or the Descendants of *Hercules*, driven out of the *Peloponnesus*, whereof they afterwards make themselves Masters, iii. 378. iv. 127. Their Return makes a principal *Æra* in History, iv. 130.
- Herbs*, the first Offerings made to the Gods were nothing but Herbs, i. 254, 255.
- Hercules*, that there were several Heroes of that Name, iv. 72. That they attributed the Exploits of all the rest to one, i. 44, 45, 74.
- Hercules the Phenician*, is the most ancient of all, i. 97. See the Note. 490, 491, 582. His Temple at *Tyre*, 578. His Worship brought to *Carthage*, and from thence propagated through *Africa* and *Europe*, *ibid*. He found out the Art of dying purple, iv. 113.
- Hercules the Egyptian*, one of the twelve great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 490. He who raised the famous Pillars in *Africa*, iv. 72.
- Hercules Idean*, or of *Crete*, who instituted the *Olympic Games*, i. 63. iv. 73, 425, 426.
- Hercules of Greece*, whose Name was taken from the *Hercules* of the *Egyptians*, i. 490. His Genealogy, i. 117. iv. 74. His Birth, iv. 76. He is subject to *Eurystheus*, 79. *Juno* persecutes him, ii. 237. iv. 79. He crushes two Serpents in his Cradle, 82. The Explanation of the Labours of *Hercules*, *ibid*. Slays the Lion of *Nemea*, *ibid*. Kills the *Hydra*, 84. The Boar of *Erymanthus*, 86. Cleans *Augias's* Stables, 87. Carries off the *Cretan Bull*, and *Diomedes's* Mares, 87, 88. Defeats *Geryon*, 88. Defeats *Antæus*, 92. Rescues the *Hesperides*, ii. 274. iv. 93. Why *Atlas* is said to have rested upon him his Load of the World, ii. 275. iv. 93. The Pillars of *Hercules*, i. 28. iii. 303, 450. iv. 95, 112, in the Note. He kills the Eagle that preyed upon *Prometheus*, 96. He tears off a Horn of the River *Achelous*, i. 29. ii. 488. iv. 97. His Descent to Hell, iii. 53. iv. 98. He combats Death, and delivers *Alcestes*, iv. 100. Defeats the *Amazons*, 101. Delivers *Hesione*, takes Vengeance on *Laomedon*, 103, 104. Remains three Days in the Belly of a Monster, *ibid*. 105. His Death owing to *Dejanira*, 108. His Wives and Children, 111. His Apotheosis and Worship, 115. His Marriage

I N D E X.

- Marriage in Heaven with *Hebe*, i. 117. iv. 112. His several Names, iv. 117. How he was represented, 126. His Arrows. See *Arrows*. His Descendants, 127. See *Heracles*.
- Herca*, a Festival in Honour of *Juno*, i. 307.
- Hercs*, the Goddess of Heirs, iii. 197, 201. Surnamed *Martea*, *ibid*.
- Hermaphroditus*, the Son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, iv. 367. The Etymology of the Name, *ibid*. See the Note.
- Hermapollus*, Statues of *Apollo*, i. 248.
- Hermathenæ*, Statues of *Minerva*, *ibid*.
- Hermaia*, Feasts of *Mercury*, i. 303.
- Hermeros*, Statues of *Cupid*, i. 248.
- Hermes's* or *Termes*, Statues of *Mercury* so called: their Figure, i. 248.
- Hermes*, the Name of *Mercury*: its Etymology, ii. 374.
- Hermes Trismegistus*, he is the *Thot* or *Thoautus* of the *Phenicians*, i. 88, 101. One of the great Gods of the *Egyptians*, 105. The Works that are attributed to him; the Time when he lived, ii. 365.
- Hermione*, See *Harmonia*.
- Hermione*, the Daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helen*, the Wife of *Orestes*, iv. 264.
- Hermesians*, a People said to be in the Neighbourhood of Hell, and who therefore paid nothing for *Charon's* Boat, iii. 30.
- Hermotimus*, a Divinity of the *Clazomenians*, iii. 432.
- Heroes*, Origin of the Name of *Heroe*, iii. 424. What Period of Time was most fertile in Heroes, i. 62. iii. 428. That none could be Heroes, who were not descended from Gods, i. 61. That the Fictions of the Poets impair the Glory of the Heroes instead of exalting it, i. 33, 36. Worship paid to Heroes distinct from that of the Gods, i. 455. iii. 425. At what Time this Worship began, iii. 426. What we are to understand by the Tombs of the Heroes, 427. Of the Heroes and Heroins of *Greece*, 429.
- Herceus* or *Erceus*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, i. 198. ii. 226.
- Herse*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, beloved by *Mercury*, iii. 376. Had a Temple at *Athens*, 377.
- Hersilia*, the Wife of *Romulus*, ranked among the Goddesses under the Name of *Horta*, iii. 204.
- Herta*, a Name under which the *Germans* worshipped the Earth, iii. 310, 313.
- Herviones*. See *Ingevones*.

Hesione,

I N D E X.

- Hesione*, the Daughter of *Laomedon*, exposed to a Sea-Monster; delivered by *Hercules*; married to *Telamon*, i. 29. iv. 16, 105, 214.
- Hesperides*, their Genealogy; their Employment, i. 113. ii. 275. iv. 93. Golden Apples of the Garden of the *Hesperides*, i. 30. ii. 275. iv. 93, 94. The Rape of the *Hesperides*, and their Recovery, iv. 93.
- Hesperia*, what Countries so called, ii. 278.
- Hesperis*, the Wife of *Atlas*, her Children, ii. 274.
- Hesperitis*, what Country it was, *ibid.*
- Hesperus*, the Brother of *Atlas*, ii. 274, 278.
- Hesperus*, the Son of *Atlas*, a Constellation, i. 108.
- Hesus*. See *Efus*.
- Heveans*. See *Achivians*.
- Hierapolis*, or the sacred City in *Syria*, where *Astarte* was most worshipped, i. 27, &c.
- Hierarchy* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, i. 281.
- Hierax* transformed into a Hawk; the Foundation of this Metamorphosis, i. 77.
- Hierocoraces*, Names of the Priests of *Mitbras*, i. 289.
- Hieroglyphics*, whether a Key to all the Tables is to be found in the Explanation of the Hieroglyphics, i. 9. What were the Hieroglyphics of *Egypt*, 562.
- Hierophantæ*, famous Priests at *Athens*; the Etymology of the Name; their Functions; the Honour that was given them, i. 282. What Qualifications they were to have for their Priesthood, 281. iii. 66.
- Hierophantides*, Wives of the *Hierophantæ*, their Functions, i. 282.
- High Places*, the Custom of sacrificing there very ancient, i. 143, 144, 235. See *Sacred Groves*.
- Hilaria*, the Wife of *Castor*, among the Heroins, iii. 434. iv. 150. See *Phæbea*.
- Hilaria*, jovial Feasts in Honour of *Cybele*, i. 311. ii. 553.
- Hilas*, the Son of *Perseus*, iv. 74.
- Hillus* or *Hilus*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Dejanira*, iv. 112. marries *Iole* who had been beloved by his Father, *ibid.* Slays *Eurystheus*, and is killed himself in a Duel, 127, 128.
- Hippo*, a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Hippo-Centaurs*, what Monsters they were, iv. 531, 533. The Explanation of this Name, 535.
- Hippocoon*, one of the Heroes Eponymes, iii. 430. Was slain with his Children by *Hercules*, iv. 106.
- Hippocrene*, a Fountain in *Bæotia*, its Origin, i. 66. See *Aganippe*.

Hippodamia,

I N D E X.

- Hippodamia*, the Daughter of *Oenomaus* King of *Pisa*, how *Pelops* got her to Wife, iv. 253, 254. Her Children; her Death, 256.
- Hippodamia*, or *Deidamia*, married to *Pirithous*, iii. 538. insulted by the *Centaurs* on the Day of her Marriage, *ibid.*
- Hippodetes*, a Name given to *Hercules*, iv. 125.
- Hippolitus*, the Son of *Theseus*, his unfortunate Death, iv. 518. He received divine Honours after his Death; the Constellation which he forms in the Heavens, *ibid.* A counterfeit *Hippolitus* who appeared in *Italy*, *ibid.*
- Hippolita*, or *Antiope*, an *Amazon*, the Wife of *Theseus*, Mother to *Hippolitus*, iv. 101.
- Hippolochus*, the Son of *Bellerophon*, iii. 475.
- Hippolytus*, one of the Giants who made War upon *Jupiter*, ii. 169.
- Hippomedon*, one of the Leaders in the *Theban* Expedition; His Character, iv. 202.
- Hippomenes*, the Son of *Macareus*. See *Atalanta*.
- Hippomona*, the Mother of *Amphitryon*, iv. 74.
- Hippona*, the Goddess of Horses and Grooms, i. 198. ii. 590.
- Hippothoe*, the Mother of *Taphius*, of the Race of *Perseus*, iii. 365, 466. iv. 74.
- Hippotus*, the Son of *Alope*, his History, iv. 406.
- Hippoton*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Hippotus*, the Father of *Eolus*, the second of the Name; his Descendants, ii. 537.
- Hirie*, the Mother of *Cygnus*, transformed into a Pond, iv. 398.
- History*. That Tradition was prior to History, i. 33, 34. Source of Fables blended with History, 24, &c. Ignorance of History was the Cause of many Fables, 58. The *Æra* of ancient History, 61. iii. 336, 342, 344. The Utility of the *Greek* History, 339.
- Historians*, the Vanity of Historians the Source of several Fables, i. 35. At what Time profane Historians began, 61.
- Ho-Chang*, a *Chinese* Name, i. 136.
- Hobang-Ho*, a *Chinese* Divinity, the History of his Daughter, i. 146.
- Holocaust*, what Sort of Sacrifice it was, i. 562.
- Homer*, worshipped as a Demi-God, iii. 430. That he was not the Inventor of the Fables he delivers, i. 123.
- Homer Hebraizing*, the Author of that Book, his Sentiment as to the Origin of Fables, i. 57.

Homerites,

I N D E X.

- Homerites*, an *Arabian* Nation, the Gods whom they adored, i. 569.
- Homicide*, how the Expiation of Homicide was performed. i. 418, 419. Homicide honoured by the *Corybantes*, ii. 81.
- Honour*, a Divinity ; his Temple near that of Virtue, iii. 127.
- Hope*, a Divinity of the *Romans*, how represented, iii. 123.
- Hora*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, i. 96.
- Horæa*, Feasts of the four Seasons of the Year, i. 305.
- Horns*, whether it is possible that Horns may grow in Men, iv. 396.
- Horta*, the Goddess of Youth, i. 196. See *Herfília*.
- Horse Pegasus*. See *Pegasus*.
- Horse (Trojan)*, iii. 236.
- Horses*, their tutelar Divinity, i. 198.
- Horses of the Sun*, ii. 381, 383. What were the Horses of *Laomedon* promised to *Hercules*, iv. 104.
- Hospitalis*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 219.
- Hostilina*, a Goddess of Corn, i. 198. ii. 591.
- Hyacinth*, *Apollo's* Favourite, slain by that God, and transformed in a Flower, i. 29, 38. ii. 401. The Explanation of this Fable, *ibid*.
- Hyacinthia*, Feasts in honour of *Hyacinth*, i. 303.
- Hyades*, who they were ; their Names ; their Number ; the Etymology of the Name, ii. 278.
- Hyagnis*, the Father of *Marsias*, ii. 405. The Invention that is attributed to him, 406.
- Hyale*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 531.
- Hydra of Lerna*, whence it sprung, i. 114. Slain by *Hercules* ; what this Fable imports, iv. 84, &c.
- Hydria*, the God of Water among the *Egyptians*, how they represented him ; his Worship, i. 535. ii. 476.
- Hydromancy*, a Kind of Divination, i. 394.
- Hygeia*, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 310.
- Hygieia*, the Daughter of *Esculapius*, the Goddess of Health, i. 196, 200. iii. 159, 165. How she was represented ; the Veneration of the *Romans* for this Goddess, iii. 166.
- Hylas*, the Favourite of *Hercules* ; his Death ; of whom he was born, iv. 16. 103.
- Hyllonome* kills herself, iii. 538.
- Hymeneus*, or *Hymen*, the God of Marriage, i. 197. The Origin of the Word, ii. 249. The Genealogy of this God ; how she was represented, 250.
- Hymenæa*, Feasts of *Hymen*, ii. 249.
- Hyparetæ*, Ministers of the Temples, i. 283.
- Hyperboreans*, who those People were, ii. 141. Their long Life,

I N D E X.

- Life*, i. 74. The particular Worship they ascribed to *Apollo*. The Reason of that Worship, ii. 142, 143.
- Hyperion*, the Son of *Uranus*, his Death, i. 107.
- Hyperion*, the Son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, i. 113. ii. 291.
- His Children, i. 114. ii. 290. Why made the Father of the *Sun* and *Moon*, ii. 290.
- Hypermnestra*, the Daughter of *Danaus*, her laudable Disobedience, iii. 364. See *Lyncæus*.
- Hypoprophets*, or Delegates of the Prophets, a Sort of Ministers of the Temples, i. 284.
- Hyppotes*. See *Arnus*.
- Hypsiphile*, the Daughter of *Thoas* King of *Lemnos*, saves her Father's Life, iv. 30. Flies from *Lemnos*, 188. The Children she had by *Jason*, 31.
- Hypsistius*. See *Elion*, *Acmon*.
- Hypsiranius*, i. 91. See *Memrumus*.
- Hyrieus*, builds an Edifice for his Treasures; how it was robb'd, and how he discovered the Thief, i. 341.
- Hyricus*, the Father of *Orion*. See *Orion*.

I.

- I***ACRA*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Jagut*, or *Jaug*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Iamidæ* and *Clytidæ*, two Families set a-part for the Functions of the *Augurs*, i. 406.
- Janiculum*, a City built by *Janus* upon a Mountain of the same Name, ii. 262.
- Janira*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Iantbe*, the Name of a Nymph, *ibid*.
- Janus*, the God of the Gates, i. 198. First built Temples in *Italy*, ii. 263. His History, ii. 261. Why he had two Faces given him, 262, 267. He was reckoned the God of Peace; his Temple, 263. Worship that was paid to him, *ibid*. The *Æra* of his Arrival in *Italy*, 268.
- Japetus*, the Son of *Uranus*, and Brother of *Saturn*, i. 113. ii. 172, 175. His Children, 115. ii. 279. He is the same with *Japhet* the Son of *Noah*, ii. 150.
- Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*, i. 167. His Descendants, iii. 350, 351.
- Jasion* beloved by *Ceres*, i. 77. Of whom he was born, ii. 559. iii. 71. Marries *Cybele*; the Child whom he had by her; he is taken into the Number of the Gods, iii. 71. The Child he had by *Ceres*, 70.
- Jasius*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 429.
- Jaso*, the Goddess of Sicknefs, i. 196, 197. iii. 159, 165.
- Jason*, his Birth and Adventures till the Expedition to *Colchis*, iv. 8.

I N D E X.

- iv. 8. How he was induced to this Expedition, 11. He is declared Chief of the *Argonauts*, 15. He offers a Sacrifice before his setting out, 29. Is beloved by *Medea*, who makes him Master of the Golden Fleece, 40. The Explanation of the Fables interwoven with this History, 41, &c. He has Recourse to *Circe* to be expiated from the Murder of *Abfyrthus*, 47. Upon his Return he repairs to *Corinth* with *Medea*, 66. He divorces *Medea* after ten Years, *ibid.* His Death, 71.
- Javan*, the Son of *Japhet*, the *Greeks* descended from him, iii. 351.
- Javelin*, the Exercise of the Javelin, how practised, iv. 417, 419.
- Iberians*, the Religion of that People, iii. 302.
- Ibis*, a Bird in Veneration among the *Egyptians*, why, i. 547, 555.
- Icarus*, the Son of *Dedalus*, his Death, iii. 509.
- Icarus*, an Island, whence it derived its Name, i. 60.
- Icarian Sea*, whence so denominated, iii. 510.
- Icarius*, the Father of *Penelope*, i. 538. iii. 304. Learned from *Bacchus* the Art of planting the Vine; why he consecrates a Statue to *Modesty*, iv. 304, 305. His Family; his Death; the Constellation which he forms in the Heavens, 404.
- Icarus*, King of *Caria*, iv. 405.
- Ichneumon*, an Animal in Veneration among the *Egyptians*, why, i. 544, 548.
- Ictinus*, Architect to the Temple of *Eleusis*, i. 225.
- Ida*, a Nymph who nursed *Jupiter*, ii. 165.
- Ida*, the Mother of *Minos* II. iii. 514.
- Ida*, a Mountain in *Crete*, where the Use of Iron was discovered, ii. 212.
- Ida*, a Mountain in *Phrygia*, iv. 209, 310, 341.
- Idæus*, one of the Names of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Idas*, one of the *Argonauts*, how he was slain, iv. 24, 150, 151.
- Idmon*, a famous Soothsayer, one of the *Argonauts*; his Family; his Death, iv. 24, 38.
- Idolatry*, the Etymology of the Word, i. 160. At what Time it commenced, 9, 72, 132, 162, 173. Its Rise in *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, 174, 176, 485. What was the first Object of Idolatry, 160, 176. That it commenced with the Worship of the Stars, 182. Of the Progress of Idolatry, 192 to 210. General Reflexions upon Idolatry, 474.
- Idols,*

I N D E X.

- Idols*, the Signification of the Name, i. 161. What the first Idols were, i. 91, 144, 193, 207, &c.
- Idomeneus*, King of *Crete*, his Genealogy, iii. 515. iv. 353. Signalizes himself at the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 216, 217, 234, 253. Whether he was the Founder of *Salentum*, 354. The Worship paid to him by the *Cretans*, 355.
- Idothea*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Idyia*, the Daughter of the *Ocean*, the Mother of *Medea*, i. 117.
- Jephthe*, whether the Sacrifice of *Jephthe's* Daughter is not the same with that of *Iphigenia*, i. 54, 218, 219.
- Jesabel*, Queen of *Israel*, introduced thither the Worship of *Astarte*, ii. 24. Her Genealogy, iv. 320, 321.
- Ignorance* of Letters or Writing, one Source of Fables, i. 33. As also Ignorance of Philosophy, 45. Of ancient History, 58. Of Languages, 65.
- Iliac Table*, where the principal Events of the Siege of *Troy* are represented, iv. 234.
- Ileffus*, a River of *Attica*, worshipped by the *Athenians*, ii. 479.
- Ilithia*, *Hebe's* Sister, ii. 239. The same with *Lucina*, ii. 242. Why they brought a Piece of Money into her Temple, *ibid.*
- Illyrians*, the singular Opinion entertained of that People, iii. 408.
- Ilus*, i. 93. See *Chronus*.
- Ius*, King of *Troy*, makes War upon *Pelops*, iv. 214. His Genealogy; his Posterity; the Duration of his Reign, 250.
- Imbrasia*, one of *Juno's* Appellations, ii. 243.
- Immarandus*, the Son of *Eumolpus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 431.
- Impudence*, a Divinity, iii. 149.
- Inachides*, the Name of *Inachus's* Descendants, iii. 358.
- Inachus*, of what Country he was a Native, i. 51. iii. 357. In what Age he lived, iii. 345, 346, 357. Founded the Kingdom of *Argos*, 357. His Posterity, 367. Derives his Name to the River *Amphilocheus*, and becomes the tutelar God thereof, 358.
- Inachus*, the Name of a River, iii. 358. The Dispute between *Juno* and *Neptune* for that River, 365, 366.
- Indies* (East), Gods there adored, i. 12, 135, &c. How Fables have been propagated thither, 73. The Opinion of that People concerning the Eclipses of the Moon, 46. See the Note. The Theogony of the *Indians*, 130, 135. Their

I N D E X.

- Their Opinion about the Formation of the World, 138.
 Of their Men with two Faces, 147.
Indiges, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*; who that *Jupiter* was, iv. 313.
Infernal Rivers. See *Hell*.
Influences of the Stars; whether the Stars can act upon Men, i. 433, 435.
Ingevones, a People in *Germany*, iii. 308, 329.
Ino, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, i. 117. iii. 417. Her History, i. 157. ii. 523. iv. 4. The Worship that was paid to her, ii. 523. Under what Name she was worshipped at *Rome*, 524.
Inoea, a Festival in Honour of *Ino*, i. 303.
Inscriptions, their Usefulness for the Knowledge of History, i. 28.
Intercido, a tutelary God of Children, i. 197.
Intercidona, a Goddess of Women in Child-bed, i. 197.
Inventor, one of *Jupiter's* Names, ii. 224.
Invincible, or *Inviatus*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*, ii. 217, 224.
Io, the Daughter of *Inachus*, transformed into a Heifer, i. 70, 498. The Explanation of this Fable, 499: That she is not to be confounded with the *Ino* of the *Greeks*, 500.
Iobates, King of *Lycia*, receives *Bellerophon* at his Court; what Command he lays upon him, iii. 467, 468. Gives him his Daughter in Marriage, 47.
Jocasta, the Daughter of *Creon*, marries *Laius*, iv. 180. her Misfortunes; her Death, 182.
Iodamia, the Mother of *Deucalion*, ii. 170.
Iodamia, transformed into Stone. A Heroine, iii. 434.
Iolaus, one of the *Argonauts* and Hunters of the *Calydonian* Boar, iv. 24. Was restored to his Youth by *Hebe*, *ibid*.
Iolas, slain by *Hercules*, iv. 81.
Iolas, one of the *Argonauts*, *Hercules's* Companion; wins the Prize in the Funeral Games, iv. 21, 54: Marries *Megara* one of *Hercules's* Wives, 82.
Iolaia, a Festival to *Iolaus*, i. 303.
Iolchos, a City of *Theffaly*, by whom built, iv. 8.
Iole, the Daughter of *Eurytus* King of *Oechalia*, ravished by *Hercules*, iv. 107.
Ion, the Son of *Xutus* and *Creusa*, his Exploits; communicates his Name to *Ionia*; his Death, iii. 396.
Ionia. See *Ion*.
Ionians, from whom they were descended, iii. 351, 396, 397.

I N D E X.

- 397, See the Note. Expelled the *Peloponnesus* by the *Heracleidæ*, iv. 129.
- Jeshua*, that he was known in several Countries, i. 51.
- Iou*, the true Name of *Jupiter*, ii. 174. iii. 266. The Etymology of the Name; the *Celtæ* gave him that Name, *ibid*.
- Jovialia*, a Festival in Honour of *Jupiter*, i. 307.
- Ioxides*, a People in *Caria*; their Original; the Veneration which they had for the Asparagus and Reeds, iv. 134.
- Izbianassa*, a Name common to the Daughter of *Jephthe*, and the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, i. 54. See the Note.
- Iphicles*, the Brother of *Hercules*, one of the Heroes, iii. 434.
- Iphiclus*, the Father of *Protesilaus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 24. He wins the Prize at the Funeral Games, 54.
- Iphiclus*, another *Argonaut*, iv. 24.
- Iphigenia*, or *Eryphile*, the Daughter of *Theseus* and *Helen*, iv. 142, 218, 219.
- Iphigenia*, the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, was to have been sacrificed to *Diana*, iv. 218.
- Iphimedeia*, a Heroine, iii. 434.
- Iphimedia*, the Daughter of *Triopas*, the Mother of the two Giants *Alcides*, ii. 168. iii. 117. Was carried off with the Bacchanals, iii. 119.
- Iphis*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 25.
- Iphis*, who changed Sex, iv. 392.
- Iphis*, who hanged himself in Despair, *ibid*.
- Iphitus*, who renewed the Olympic Games, iv. 129, 426. See *Games Olympic*.
- Iphia*, a Surname of *Minerva*, ii. 309.
- Irene*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Themis*, i. 116.
- Iris*, or the Rainbow, a Physical Divinity; the Etymology of the Name, she was *Juno's* Messenger; her Office, i. 116. ii. 376, 377. Her Genealogy, ii. 376.
- Irminful*, *Erminful* or *Irminsus*, the God of the ancient *Germans*, was their *Mercury*, ii. 374. iii. 320. His Temple; how he was represented; his Feasts, iii. 321, 322. That Temple destroyed by *Charlemagne*, 321.
- Iron*, the Art of forging Iron when invented, ii. 211. iii. 490.
- Iroquois*, a People in *America*, their Idea of the Formation of the World, i. 140.
- Ischys*, the Grandson of *Arcas*, iii. 355.
- Isæa*, Feasts in Honour of *Isis*, i. 303.
- Isiack*, the *Isiack* Table, a Monument of Antiquity, why so called, i. 561. The Explanation of this Table, and of

I N D E X.

- of the Figures it represents, 563. That *Isis* occupies the principal Place therein, 567.
- Isis*, that the *Egyptians* worship'd the Moon under that Name, i. 16, 103, 104, 185. What is signified by the Name *Isis*, 104, 496. Various Names of *Isis*, 105. Fables which the *Egyptians* delivered concerning *Isis*, 495, 496. Where they made the Soul of *Isis* to reside, 494. The *Greeks* confounded her with *Io*, 498. The true History of *Isis*, 501, 502. Votive Tables consecrated to *Isis*, 567. That *Isis* was worshipped in the *Gauls*, iii. 284. By the *Suevi*, iii. 325.
- Ismena*, the Daughter of *Oedipus* and *Jocasta*, iv. 182.
- Ismenus*, a River in *Bœotia*, ii. 413.
- Isse*, the Daughter of *Macareus*, beloved by *Apollo*, ii. 398.
- Iffedons*, Men who had but one Eye, i. 74. Who those People were, their Customs and their Religion, ii. 145.
- Istevones*, iii. 308. See *Ingevones*.
- Isthmus of Corinth*. The Dispute between *Neptune* and the Sun for the Property of the *Isthmus*, ii. 306.
- Isthmic Games*, by whom instituted, iii. 107. iv. 415, 437. By whom renewed, 138, 437. Were adopted by the *Romans*; how they were celebrated, 437, 438.
- Ithomatus*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*; where he was worshipped under that Name, ii. 220.
- Ithomæa*, a Festival to *Jupiter*, i. 302.
- Ithome*, the Wife of *Minos* the first, her Children, iv. 361.
- Ithobal*, King of *Tyre*, the Father of *Jezabel*, ii. 24.
- Itylus*, the Son of *Zethus* and *Ædo*, slain by his Mother, iv. 361.
- Ityphallephori*, Ministers of the Feasts of the *Orgies*, ii. 460.
- Itypballus*. See *Phallus*.
- Ilys*, the Son of *Tercus* and *Progne*, slain by his Mother; transformed into a Pheasant, iv. 358, 359.
- Juba*, King of *Mauritania*; worshipped as a God in that Country, i. 582.
- Judaism*, who was the Founder of it, i. 162.
- Juga*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 242.
- Jugatinus*, one of the Gods of Marriage, i. 197. ii. 252. And of Mountains, ii. 590.
- Judges for the Dead in Egypt*, iii. 4.
- Judges of Hell*. Whence the *Greeks* derived the Idea of those Judges, iii. 22, 27. Who they were, 22, 42. For what End appointed, 41. Where their Tribunal was placed, 42. The Distribution of Functions among those Judges, iii. 489.
- Julus*, the Son of *Æneas*. See *Ascanius*.

I N D E X.

- Julus*, the Son of *Ascanius*, resigns his Crown to *Sylvius* the Son of *Æneas*, iv. 313.
- Juno Moneta*. See *Moneta*.
- Juno*, one of the great Divinities of *Egypt*, i. 105, 492. Her History, ii. 235. Her Genealogy, i. 115. ii. 165, 235. Her various Names, ii. 235, 241. Her Marriage with *Jupiter*; Fables on this Subject, ii. 175, 235, 236. Her bad Agreement with *Jupiter*; her Intrigues, 238. Her Children, i. 117. ii. 238. How she was represented, 239. The Worship that was paid to her, 245, 247. Her Aversion to the *Trojans*, whence it sprung, iv. 207, 208.
- Juno* the *Assyrian*, or *Astarte*, ii. 245.
- Junonia*, a Festival of *Juno* at *Rome*, i. 307.
- Junones*, a Kind of *Genii* peculiar to Women, i. 205, 473. ii. 247.
- Jupiter*, a Name common to several Gods, i. 16, 44. ii. 161. His History according to the vulgar Opinion, 165. Who was the *Jupiter* Labourer, i. 95. His History according to a second Tradition, 170.
- Jupiter*, one of the great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 105, 492. His Genealogy according to the *Egyptians*, i. 105. According to the *Atlantides*, 108. According to the *Greeks*, 115, &c. ii. 165, &c. His Wives, his Children, i. 116, 117. ii. 169, 170. His Death; the Fate of his Descendants and of his Empire, ii. 177. An Explanation of the Fables intermixed with his History, ii. 179, &c. His Oracles, i. 329, 332, 345. His various Names, ii. 216. How he was represented, ii. 227 to 233. The Worship that was paid him, ii. 233. In what Age he lived, 292.
- Jupiter Olympian*, his Temple at *Athens*, i. 225. ii. 227.
- Justice*, a Divinity, i. 198. iii. 137, 138. How she was represented, iii. 137. What Divinities presided over Justice, i. 199. ii. 138.
- Juturna*, a Goddess of Health, i. 196. A Goddess of Aid, iii. 193.
- Juventa*, a tutelar Goddess of Children, i. 197.
- Ivy*, a Shrub consecrated to *Bacchus*, why, ii. 447, 454, 460.
- Ixion*, his Punishment in *Tartarus*, ii. 23. His Genealogy, iii. 526. How he cut off his Father-in-law *Deioneus*, 527. His Love to *Juno*; *Jupiter* thunderstrikes him, 528. In what Age he lived, 530.
- Ixion*, the Son of *Aletes*, King of *Corinth*, iii. 530.

I N D E X.

K.

K*AABA*, the Temple of *Mecca*. Statues that were there round the *Kaaba*, i. 570.

Kai-Souven, Prince of *Corea*, i. 145.

Kaivai, a God of the *Persians*, ii. 60.

Kao-Kiuli, a *Tartar* Nation, their fabulous Origin, i. 146.

καταβάτης, or *Descensor*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*, ii. 222.

Kelibites, an *Arabian* Nation; who was their great God, i. 570.

King, an Appellation given to *Jupiter*, ii. 216.

King-Priest, or *Rex Sacrorum*, when and why he was instituted, i. 294. On what Day he fled, 315.

Kink, the Name of certain *Chinese* Books, i. 131.

Kione, a Nymph beloved by *Apollo* and *Mercury*, iv. 381.

Kite, a Fowl employed in the Auguries, i. 403.

Kiun, or *Rempham*, a Divinity of the *Moabites*, ii. 60.

Krutzanam, an Epithet of *Hercules*; what the Import of it is, iii. 266.

L.

L*ABDACUS*, the Father of *Laius*, iii. 415.

Labraddæus, an Epithet of *Jupiter*; how he was represented, ii. 226.

Labyrinth, that of *Egypt*, iii. 519. That of *Crete*, 497, 519. The present State of that of *Crete*, 523.

Lacedemon, King of the *Lacedemonians*; the Temple which he built to the Graces, ii. 351.

Lacedemonia, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 244.

Lachesis, one of the *Parcæ*, i. 113, 116, 117. The Etymology of her Name; her Office, iii. 86. How she was represented, iii. 91.

Lacinia, one of *Juno's* Epithets; her Temple under that Name, ii. 244.

Laconia, (the Kingdom of) by whom founded; Kings who reigned there, iii. 378. The *Heraclidæ* make themselves Masters of it, iv. 129.

Lacrau, a Plain near *Arles*, covered with Stones; the Fable about the Origin of those Stones, iv. 114. The Benefit that is derived from them, *ibid*.

Laeturtia, a Goddess of Corn, i. 198. ii. 591.

Ladon, a River, the Father of the Nymph *Syrinx*, i. 538.

Laertes, the Father of *Ulysses*, his Genealogy, iii. 395. One of the *Argonauts*, iv. 25. Marries *Anticlea*. See *Anticlea*.

Laius, the Son of *Labdacus*, King of *Thebes*, iii. 415.

I N D E X.

- How he was reinstated in the Throne usurped by his Uncle; his Death, iv. 179, 180.
- Lais*, a famous Courtezan, her Death, ii. 333.
- Lakes*, in Veneration among the *Gauls*; what were the most famous of them, iii. 220.
- Lamas*, Names of the Disciples of *Fo* among the Orientals, i. 136. How the great *Lama* is perpetuated, i. 147.
- Lamiæ*, the Description of those Monsters, ii. 545. See the Note.
- Lamps*, lighted at *Scis* at the Festival of *Minerva*, i. 559.
- Lampteria*, or the Festival of Lamps, i. 305.
- Lance*, or Spear, the Symbol of *Mars* among the *Sabines*, ii. 319, 322. The Worship paid to that Lance, i. 209.
- Languages*, the Necessity of being acquainted with the ancient Languages, i. 28, 65, 71.
- Laocœon*, the Priest of *Apollo* and *Neptune* at *Troy*. His tragical Story represented on an ancient Monument still subsisting, which is a Masterpiece of Sculpture, iv. 338, 340.
- Laodamas*, the Son of *Etheccles* King of *Thebes*, succeeds him, iv. 192. His Defeat by the *Epigoni*, *ibid.*
- Laodamia*, a Princess of the Blood royal of *Epirus*, her violent Death; how it was revenged, i. 244, 245.
- Laodamia*, the Wife of *Protesilaus*, her Mourning for the Death of her Husband; her Death, iv. 349.
- Laodamia*, the Daughter of *Bellerophon* Mother of *Sarpædon*; her Death, iii. 475.
- Laodice*, *Priam's* Daughter, iv. 230. Her Death, 240. Her Tomb, *ibid.* See the Note.
- Laodice*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Lao-kiun*, a *Chinese* Philosopher, i. 134. His Birth; the Sect whereof he was the Founder; his Morals; his Apotheosis; the Honour done to his Descendants, i. 134.
- Laomedon*, King of *Troy*, his Genealogy, iv. 250. Defrauded *Neptune*, who was avenged of him, 103, 250. Defrauded also *Hercules*, who put him to Death, 104. The Explanation of both these Facts, 252. The Destruction of his Tomb, which was one of the Fatalities of *Troy*, 230.
- Laphistius*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Laphria*, *Latria*, Heroins of *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Lapithæ*, their Wars with the *Centaur*s, iii. 539.
- Lapis*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, why, ii. 218.
- Laplanders*, a general View of their Religion, iii. 334.
- Lara*, a Nymph beloved by *Mercury*, by whom she becomes Mother to the *Lares*, ii. 532, 609.

Lardana,

I N D E X.

- Lardana*, a Nymph beloved by *Jupiter*; her Children, ii. 170.
- Lares*, the Gods *Lares*, their Functions, their various Kinds; the Etymology of the Name, ii. 609, 610, 612. Confounded with the Gods *Manes*, 610. iii. 94, 95. How they were represented, their Worship, ii. 611.
- Lariscola*, the Surname of a Family in *Italy*; whence it is derived, ii. 390.
- Larissæus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Larix*, a Tree, why it burns not in the Fire, ii. 390.
- Laronda*. See *Lara*.
- Laterculus*, or *Lateranus*, the God of Hearths, i. 198. iii. 195.
- Latialis*, one of *Jupiter*'s Epithets, ii. 224.
- Latin*, the *Latin* Country, whence the Name came, i. 60. iv. 312. Kings of the *Latin* Country before *Eneas*, 314.
- Latinus*, King of *Latium*, whose Son he was, iv. 92. Receives *Eneas*, 311.
- Latinus*, the Son of *Circe* and *Ulysses*, i. 118.
- Latium*, a Country in *Italy*; the Etymology of the Name, ii. 258, 262, 269.
- Latius*, a *Grecian* Heroe, iii. 434.
- Latmus*, a Mountain in *Caria*, ii. 428. See *Endymion*.
- Latobius*, the God of Health, or the *Esculapius* of the *Carinthians*, iii. 332.
- Latona*, the Mother of *Apollo* and *Diana*, ii. 170. Who that Goddess was among the *Egyptians*, i. 497. ii. 393, 394. Among the *Greeks*, i. 115, 117. ii. 170, 393, 395. She is beloved of *Jupiter*, and persecuted by *Juno*, 395. In what Place she was delivered, *ibid.* She took Revenge on *Niobe*, why, 409.
- Lattices*, Plants employed in the Feast of *Adonis*, ii. 19.
- Laverna*, Goddess of Sharpers, i. 197, 311.
- Lavinia*, the Daughter of *Latinus*, her Marriage with *Eneas*, iv. 311. Where she was delivered of *Sylvius*, 313.
- Lavinium*, a City built by *Eneas*, iv. 311. The Prodigy which induced him to found it, 323.
- Laurentalia*, a Festival of the *Romans*, i. 311.
- Laurel*, a Tree consecrated to *Apollo*; why, i. 264. ii. 412, 417. The Omen that was taken from the Laurel, ii. 417. The Metamorphosis of *Daphne* into a Laurel. See *Daphne*.
- Laws*, those of *Minos* highly esteemed, iii. 486. Whether he took those of *Moses* for his Model, *ibid.* 487.
- Leaping*, one of the Exercises of the *Pentathlon*, iv. 417. Wherein it consisted, 418.

I N D E X.

- Learchus*, the Son of *Athamas* and *Ino*, slain by his Father, iii. 411.
- Leah*, *Jacob's* Wife; why she gives the Name of *Gad* to the Son of her Handmaid, i. 168.
- Lebadæa*, a City in *Bæotia*, i. 341, 344.
- Leëtisternium*, a Kind of public Supplication wherein it consisted; the Origin of the Word, i. 295, 317. When it commenced, whether it is of *Roman* Institution, 318. The Solemnity of the Days set apart for this Festival, 319.
- Leda*, the Mother of *Castor* and *Pollux*, ii. 169. iv. 148. The Fable of the two Eggs of which she was delivered, iv. 148, 149.
- Lelapus*, the Name of a Dog given to *Procris*, iv. 379.
- Leleges*, a People in *Lacœnia*. There were in *Ionia* People of the same Name, iii. 391.
- Lelegia*, the ancient Name of *Laconia*, iii. 378.
- Lelex*, an *Egyptian*, became King of *Megara*, iii. 398. Another Prince of that Name, a *Greek* by Birth, King of *Lacœnia*, 391.
- Lemnos*, the Island where *Vulcan* set up Forges, ii. 357, 358. The Adventure of the *Argonauts* in that Island, iv. 30, 31.
- Lemures*, or *Lemuriæ*, a Kind of *Genii*, i. 312. ii. 611. iii. 95.
- Lemuria*, a Festival to appease the bad *Genii*, i. 312.
- Leonidea*, a Festival in Honour of *Leonidas*, i. 303.
- Leontbadome*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Leontica*, Mysteries of *Mithras*, i. 289.
- Leos*, worshipped as a Heroe; why, iii. 431.
- Lero*, or *Hiero*, an Island, how it was stocked with Hares, iv. 407.
- Leſtrigons*, who these People were; whence their Name, i. 60. iv. 293.
- Lethe*, a River in Hell, iii. 3, 4, 14, 15, 27. Whence the *Greeks* got the Idea of it, 37, 44, 45.
- Lethea*, the Wife of *Olenus*, transformed into a Rock, iv. 394.
- Letters*, the Use of Letters brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus*, iii. 409, 410.
- Letus* and *Politus*, Gods of the *Sarmatians*; these were their *Castor* and *Pellux*; their Name is pronounced among them at this very Day in Token of Joy, ii. 146.
- Levana*, a tutelar Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Leuce*, an Island in the *Euxine Sea* where *Achilles* was worshipped,

I N D E X.

- shipped, iv. 278. The Fable delivered concerning this Island, 278, 283, 345.
Leucippe, the Daughter of *Thestor*. See *Thestor*.
Leucippus, the Son of *Oenomaus*, in love with *Daphne*; his Death, ii. 398.
Leucothoe, the Name of *Ino* in *Italy*, i. 15. ii. 523. Her Temple at *Rome*, from entering which female Slaves were prohibited, ii. 524.
Leucothoe, the Daughter of *Archamus*, transformed into the Frankincense Tree, i. 32. ii. 399.
Libanus, one of *Cain's* Descendants, i. 94.
Libanus and *Antilibanus*, Mountains; whence they derived their Name, i. 91.
Libations in the Sacrifices; the Use of Libations; what Liquors were employed therein, i. 267.
Liber, an Epithet given to the Sun by the *Indians*, i. 188. And to *Bacchus* by the *Romans*, i. 308. ii. 447.
Liberalia, a Festival to *Bacchus*, i. 308.
Liberty, a Divinity, i. 200. Her Temples at *Rome*, iii. 133.
Libethra, the City where *Orpheus* was born; when it was destroyed, iv. 160.
Libitina, the Goddess of Death, i. 198.
Liboa, the chief Architect of the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, i. 226.
Liceus, one of *Bacchus's* Epithets, ii. 447.
Licurgus. See *Lycurgus*.
Life, a Divinity, i. 199.
Ligea, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
Lightning, worshipped as a Divinity, ii. 596.
Ligula, or *Lingula*, an Instrument for the Sacrifices, i. 278.
Limentina, a Goddess for the Gates, i. 198, iii. 195.
Limnatidia, a Festival of *Diana*, i. 303.
Limnatis, an Epithet of *Diana*, *ibid*.
Limneria, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
Limniades, Nymphs of Ponds and Lakes, ii. 527.
Limyra, a Fountain that delivered Oracles; in what Manner it delivered them, i. 346.
Linia, a Festival in honour of *Linus*, i. 303.
Linus, the Son of *Apollo*, *ibid*.
Lions, worshipped in *Egypt*, i. 544.
Lion of the Forest of *Nemea*, slain by *Hercules*, i. 114. iv. 82. That Heroes wore always its Skin, and the *Heraclidæ* frequently wore the same, iv. 82, 83.
Lions, Priests of *Mithras*, so called, i. 289.
Lipara, one of the *Eolian Islands*, ii. 533.

Lipariæ,

I N D E X.

- Lipariæ*, the ancient Name of the *Eolian* Isles, whence so called, ii. 536, 537.
- Lithomancy*, a Kind of Divination, i. 396.
- Litteralis*, an Epithet of the God *Sylvanus*, ii. 600.
- Lituus*, the Augural Wand, i. 277.
- Lotophagi*, a People in *Africa*, whence so called ; the Adventure of *Ulysses* among them, iv. 303.
- Lotus*, a Tree consecrated to *Apollo* and *Venus*, i. 561.
- Love*, the most ancient of the Gods, his Birth, i. 113. Beneficent Love sprung from an Egg ; his Union with *Chaos*, 118. Another Origin of *Love* or *Cupid*, according to *Plato*, ii. 338. Two Gods of Love among the *Romans*, 199. How many *Loves* the Ancients admitted, ii. 325, 337, 338. The Worship of this God, 340, 341.
- Luceria*, a Festival of the *Romans*, why so denominated, i. 312.
- Lucerus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, why, ii. 218.
- Lucifer*, the Morning Star, whose Son they made him, i. 114, 115.
- Lucina*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, i. 117. ii. 238. One of the Divinities of Marriage, and of Women with Child, i. 197. A Name given also to *Juno*, ii. 241. And to *Diana*, 423.
- Lumen Boreale*, what it is, i. 415.
- Lunæburg*, to whom consecrated, iii. 333.
- Lunus*, the God *Lunus* ; this was the Divinity of the Moon, ii. 7, 69, 428. This God confounded sometimes with Night ; how he was represented, iii. 97. A City where he was especially worshipped, *ibid*.
- Lupercalia*, a Festival of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in honour of *Pan*, i. 308. By whom it was introduced into *Italy*, i. 539. iv. 363.
- Luperci*, Priests of the God *Pan*, i. 296, 309.
- Lusitanians*, their Religion, iii. 305.
- Lustrum*, the Space of five Years, whence the Name is derived, i. 421.
- Lycæon*, King of *Arcadia*, the Worship he instituted to *Jupiter Lycean*, iii. 354. iv. 363. His Cruelty made him be transformed into a Wolf, i. 68, 76. iv. 363, 364. He is the first who sacrificed human Victims, i. 258.
- Lychas*, a Domestic of *Hercules*, his Death, iv. 108.
- Lycastus*, the Father of *Minos II.* iii. 483.
- Lyceus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 219. iii. 354.
- Lycimnius*, the Son of *Electrion*, alone escaped from the Battle in which his Brothers fell, iii. 75.
- Lychnomancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.

Lycesta,

I N D E X.

- Lycesta*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
Lycius, one of *Apollo's* Epithets, ii. 419.
Lycomedes, King of *Scyros*, puts *Theseus* to Death, iv. 145.
Lycopolitan, a District of *Egypt* that worshipped Wolves, i. 545.
Lycorias, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
Lycorea, a City built upon the *Parnassus*, i. 61. iii. 383. A Province of the same Name, where *Deucalion* settled, iii. 378, 379.
Lycosura, a City in *Arcadia*, by whom built, iii. 354. iv. 363.
Lycurgus, a Grecian Heroe, iii. 434.
Lycurgus, the Son of *Dryas*, he is punished by *Bacchus*, ii. 450.
Lycurgus, King of *Arcadia*, and Father of *Anceus*, his Genealogy, iii. 355, 356.
Lycurgus, the Father of *Archemorus*, iii. 394.
Lycurgia, a Festival in honour of *Lycurgus*, i. 303.
Lycus, the Brother of *Nycteus* usurps the Crown of *Thebes* from *Laius*; his Birth, iii. 421. The War he had with the King of *Sycion*, his Death, 416, 418.
Lynceus, the Son of *Egyptus*, saved from the Massacre of his Brothers by his Wife *Hypermnestra*, iii. 115, 364. His Flight, 116. Succeeds to *Danaus* in the Kingdom of *Argos*; the Duration of his Reign, 364.
Lynceus, one of the *Argonauts*. His quick Sight, iv. 25. He is slain by *Castor*, 151.
Lyncus, King of *Scythia*, transformed into a *Lynx*, why, iii. 49, 60.
Lyndia, an Appellation of *Minerva*, ii. 309.
Lyons, the City, whence its Name derived, i. 60.
Lyre of Orpheus. See *Necanthus*.
Lyrnessus, a City in *Phrygia*, iv. 222.
Lyfidice, the Daughter of *Pelops*, the Mother of *Pitheus*, iii. 422.
Lyssa, one of the Furies, iii. 76.

M.

- MACEO*, a God of the *Egyptians*, how he was represented, i. 532, &c.
Machaon, the Son of *Esculapius* King of *Messenia*, iii. 158, 159. What Troops he led to the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 210. He is slain there, 336. He receives divine Honours after his Death, iii. 159.
Madbachus, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, what it imports, ii. 221.

Mæ-

I N D E X.

Mæmaetes, another Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 226.

Magazanus, one of *Hercules's* Epithets, iv. 123.

Magi (*Persian*), their Functions in the Sacrifices, ii. 96, 97, 98. Their Doctrine conformable to that of the *Galic Druids*, iii. 217.

Magic, the Origin of *Magic*, i. 425. Several Kinds of Magic; natural Magic; Mathematical Magic; what each of these Kinds is, *ibid.* and 426. What the *Egyptian Magic* was, 426. The Definition of Magic, 427. Mysterious Words therein made use of, 428. Great Actions reputed to be the Effect of Magic, 430. The Druids were addicted to Magic, iii. 238. And especially the *Druidesses*, whereof some Traces still remain among the inferior People, 247.

Magicians. See *Magic*.

Magism, the Religion of the *Persians*, what the Object of it was, i. 191. That it still subsists in *Persia*, ii. 94.

Magnes, the Son of *Eolus*, settles in *Magnesia*; his Descendants, iii. 390, 392.

Mageg, the second Son of *Japhet*, his Descendants, ii. 170. iii. 350. Whether he is the same with *Prometheus*; the Etymology of his Name, ii. 286.

Manus. See *Amynus*.

Magusan, or *Macusan*, iii. 265. See *Hercules*.

Maia, the Mother of *Mercury*, ii. 170. One of the *Pleiades*, i. 14, 108, 117. ii. 170, 273.

Maiumæ, a Festival of the *Romans*, i. 313.

Mallet, or *Malleus*, an Instrument for the Sacrifices, i. 272, 277.

Masters, served their Servants at Table in certain Festivals, i. 305, 307.

Malachbelus. See *Aglibolus*.

Maladies, deified, i. 165.

Mamercus, a Name of *Mars*, given to a *Roman* Family, ii. 319.

Man, or *Mannus*, a God of the *Germans*; his Children; his Descendants, iii. 308.

Man, the Formation of Man, according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 82, 83. According to the *Phenicians*, 91. According to *Orpheus*, 111. According to *Aristophanes*, 118. According to *Ovid*, 126. According to the *Indian Brahmins*, 138. According to the *Americans*, 140.

Mana, or *Mania*, a Goddess of the *Romans*, who presided over the Ailments of Women, and the Birth of Children; why young Dogs were offered to her, iii. 199.

Manco-

I N D E X.

- Manco-Guina-Capac*, *Ynca* of *Peru* : Civilized the *Peruvians*, i. 141.
- Manes*, the Heresiarch, his Doctrine concerning the good and bad Principle, i. 176.
- Manes*, their Origin according to *Hesiod*, i. 119.
- Manes*, the Gods *Manes* confounded sometimes with the Gods *Lares* ; the Worship of those Gods upon what founded, ii. 610. iii. 94, 95, 96.
- Manyelia*, a Roman Festival, i. 307.
- Mania*, the Mother of the Gods *Manes*, iii. 199.
- Manitou*, the principal Divinity of the *Algonquins*, i. 142.
- Mantichus*, a Name given to *Hercules*, iv. 124.
- Mantinæa*, by whom built, iii. 354.
- Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, had the Gift of Prediction ; she is transformed into a Fountain ; the Quality of the Water of that Fountain, i. 344. Whether she is the same with *Daphne*, ii. 399. Worshipped as a Heroine, iii. 434.
- Marbles* of *Paros*, or *Arundel*, what they are, how they were found out and brought into *England*, iii. 372.
- Marcea*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Margiana*, its first Inhabitants, ii. 170, 171.
- Marriage*, the Gods who presided over it, i. 197. ii. 242, 249. Usages of the Ancients in Marriage, iii. 527.
- Marnas*, one of the great Gods of the *Philistines*, the Etymology of his Name, ii. 38.
- Marna*, a Name given to the Virgins of *Crete*, what it imports, *ibid.*
- Maro*, a God of the *Egyptians* of the second Class, i. 492.
- Mars*, one of the twelve great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 492. His Birth, ii. 315. That there were several Princes of this Name, and that several warlike Princes assumed it, 316. The Adventure of the *Grecian Mars* with *Allirotius*, for which he was tried by the *Areopagus*, 317. Explained, *ibid.* His various Names, 319. That he was highly honoured at *Rome*, 320. How he was represented, i. 209. ii. 322. Why his Temples built without the Walls of Cities, i. 215, 216. *Mars*, the great Divinity of the *Gauls*. See *Esus*.
- Marsyas*, the Inventor of the Flute, his Love to *Cybele* ; he is flead alive by *Apollo*, ii. 404. Monuments that represent him, 406. Why said to have been flead alive by *Apollo*, 407.
- Marsyas*, a River that run through the City *Celene*, ii. 406, 407.
- Martius*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 226.
- Maspurg*, to whom consecrated, iii. 333.

I N D E X.

- Massagetes*, a People that sacrificed to the Sun, i. 188. ii. 148.
- Matralia*, a Festival celebrated by the *Roman* Matrons, i. 313.
- Matronalia*, the same Festival, i. 313.
- Matres sacrorum*, who so called, i. 289.
- Matura*, the Goddess of Corn in Maturity, ii. 591.
- Matuta*, a Goddess, who she was, i. 15, 197, 198. *Juno* worshipped under that Name, ii. 243.
- Medals*, their usefulness, i. 28.
- Medicine*, Gods who presided over it, i. 196. iii. 155, &c. 167.
- Medea*, her Genealogy, i. 117. Her love to *Jason*, iv. 40. Flies with him, 46. She celebrates her Marriage with *Jason*, *ibid.* The Character of *Medea*; that the ancient Tragedians have corrupted her History, 60, 61, 68. Whether she was guilty of the Murder of *Abfyrthus*, 62. See *Abfyrthus*. How she renewed *Æson's* Youth, 64. Her Retreat to *Corinth*, 66. She is divorced by *Jason*, *ibid.* Whether she destroyed her Children, 67. How she ended her Days; her Children, 70, 71.
- Medes*, whether they derived their Origin from *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, i. 14. iv. 70. When they made their first Appearance, i. 14.
- Medica*, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 310.
- Mediterranean*, how that Sea was formed according to Fable. i. 28. iv. 95.
- Meditrina*, a Goddess of Physicians, i. 200, 314. iii. 165, 167.
- Meditrinalia*, a Festival of *Meditrina*, i. 314.
- Medius Fidius*, an Oath taken by *Hercules*, iii. 132, 133.
- Medus*, the Son of *Medea* and *Jason*, i. 117. iv. 70, 71.
- Medusa*, one of the *Gorgons*, her Parents and Children, i. 114. iii. 438. Her Hair transformed to Serpents, why, iii. 440. *Perseus* cuts off her Head. The Explanation of the Fables about *Medusa*, 445.
- Megalasclepeia*, Feasts of *Esculapius*, i. 301.
- Megale*, an Appellation given to *Juno*, ii. 235.
- Megelesca*, a *Roman* Festival, i. 307.
- Megaira*, one of the Heroins of *Greece*, iii. 435.
- Megapenthes*, the Son of *Pontus* King of *Argos*, iii. 463. Relinquishes a Part of the Kingdom to his Brothers-in-law, 464.
- Megapenthes*, the natural Son of *Menelaus*, banishes *Helen*, iv. 344.
- Megara*, the Daughter of *Creon* King of *Thebes*, married to *Her-*

I N D E X.

- Hercules*, who kills her Children, and gives her to another, iv. 81, 82.
- Megara*, a City in *Attica*, *Apollo* had helped to build it, iii. 495, 496.
- Megaris*, the Territory of *Megara*, iii. 391.
- Megera*, one of the Furies, iii. 78.
- Melampus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 430.
- Melampus*, the Son of *Amithaon*, iii. 394. Marries a Daughter of *Prætus*, why, 464.
- Melampus*, introduced into *Greece* the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, i. 69. ii. 153.
- Melanthus*, chosen King of *Athens*, why ; puts his Competitor to Death, i. 300.
- Melantho*, one of the Nymphs, ii. 532.
- Melas*, the Son of *Phryxus*, iv. 7.
- Melchon*, the same with *Moloch*, ii. 49.
- Melcrates*, an Epithet of *Hercules*, iv. 123.
- Meleager*, the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 25. Kills the famous *Calydonian* Boar, 169. Fights for the *Etolians*, *ibid.* The Fable of the fatal Brand thrown into the Fire, which was the Cause of his Death, 172.
- Meleagrides*, *Melcager's* Sisters transformed into Birds, 173.
- Melete*, one of the Muses according to *Cicero*, ii. 430.
- Meliastes*, a Name given to *Bacchus*, ii. 448.
- Melicerta*, the Son of *Athamas* King of *Thebes*, transformed into a Sea-God, iii. 411. The Worship paid him by the *Greeks*, *ibid.* Games instituted to his Honour, iv. 437. See *Ino*, *Palemon*.
- Melicertus*, the Name of the *Phenician Hercules*, i. 97.
- Melissæus*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 226.
- Melissæ*, Nymphs that nursed *Jupiter*, ii. 165.
- Melita*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Melius*, one of *Hercules's* Epithets, iv. 119.
- Mellona*, the Goddesses of Bees, i. 198. ii. 588.
- Meloboris*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Melpomene*, the Name of one of the Muses ; the Signification of the Name ; the Symbol that distinguishes her from others, ii. 433.
- Memercus*, the Son of *Medea*, his Death, iv. 67.
- Memnesthe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Memnon*, King of *Egypt*, his Genealogy, i. 109.
- Memnon*, *Priam's* Kinsman, brings Troops to his Assistance, iv. 220, 323, 327. Who this *Memnon* is, 324. His Death and Tomb, 328. His Statue in *Egypt* ; the Miracle

I N D E X.

- facte that is reported of it ; the Sentiments of Authors about this Statue, 329.
- Memnon's* History according to *Huetius*, 333.
- Memnon*, an Epithet of the City *Suza*, *ibid.*
- Memnonides*, Birds sprung from *Memnon's* Ashes, iv. 328.
- Memnonian*, the Name of a Palace in *Suza*, 333.
- Memnonium*, the Name of the Citadel of *Suza*, *ibid.*
- Memphis*, the Son of *Jupiter*, ii. 170.
- Memphis*, a City of *Egypt*, the Worship paid there to Animals, i. 202, 549, 553. See *Apis*.
- Memrumus*, God of the *Phenicians*, who he was, what he taught Men, i. 91.
- Mena*, a Goddess of Women in Child-bed, i. 197.
- Menalus*, a City in *Arcadia*, its Origin, iii. 354.
- Menalus*, a Mountain of *Arcadia*, where *Pan* was worshipped, i. 202.
- Menalippe*, Queen of the *Amazons*, how she ransomed herself from *Hercules*, iv. 101.
- Menalippus*, his Impiety in the Temple of *Diana*, ii. 425.
- Menasinus*, the Son of *Pollux*, his Worship, iv. 151.
- Mendaians*, or Christians of St. *John*, i. 190.
- Mendes*, the *Pan* of the *Egyptians*, i. 492, 537.
- Mendes*, a City in *Egypt*, where She-Goats and He-Goats were in Veneration, why, i. 537.
- Mené*, the Name given to the Moon, i. 107.
- Menelaus*, the Spouse of *Helen*, the Daughter of *Tyndarus*, iv. 142. During his Absence she is carried off from him, 209, 210, 214. He is reconciled to her after the taking of *Troy*, 344.
- Menephron*, transformed into a Brute, iv. 398.
- Menes*, King of *Egypt*, the Temple which he built, i. 220, 521, 522.
- Menctius*, the Son of *Japetus*, crush'd to Death with a Thunderbolt, i. 115, 116.
- Menctius*, the Father of *Patroclus*, his Adventures, iii. 391.
- Menipus*, an Idol of the *Indians*, with many Heads, i. 147.
- Menæcius*, the Son of *Creon* King of *Thebes*, his Death for his Country, iv. 191.
- Mens*, Thought or Intelligence, a Divinity, iii. 126.
- Menthe*, a Maid transformed into a Plant of that Name, iii. 57.
- Meon*. See *Gybele*.
- Mephitis*, the Goddess of ill Savour, iii. 196.
- Mera*, a Companion of *Diana*, transformed into a Bitch, iv. 398.

Mercury,

I N D E X.

- Mercury*, under what Names he was known in different Countries, i. 16, 44, 70. ii. 361. 374. That there were several *Mercurys*, ii. 362. Of the *Egyptian Mercury*, 363. See *Thot*. The *Mercury* of the *Greeks*, his Genealogy, i. 117. ii. 366. His History, *ibid*. That it has been disguised by Fables and Allegories, ii. 368. His *Caduceus*, 369. Why said to have been expelled Heaven, 371. His Offices, his Worship; the Etymology of his Name, *ibid*. & 372. How he was represented, 373. His various Names, 374.
- Mercury Trismegistus*. See *Hermes*.
- Mercurialia*, Feasts of *Mercury*, i. 307.
- Mercy*, a Divinity, iii. 126.
- Merodach*, one of the Gods of *Babylon*, ii. 4. His Name joined to that of the Princes who reigned there after him; why, 5.
- Meroe*, where was an Oracle of *Jupiter*, i. 345.
- Merope*, one of the *Pleiads*, i. 108. ii. 273, 276. Why this Constellation is said to hide herself, i. 14. ii. 276.
- Merope*, the Daughter of *Pandarus*. See *Pandarus*.
- Mesraim*, the Son of *Cham*, settled in *Egypt*; Why *Egypt* is often called the Land of *Mesraim*, i. 174, 521, 522, 579. ii. 162. He is the same with *Osiris*, i. 521.
- Messengers of the Gods, i. 47. in the Note.
- Mestor*, the Son of *Perseus*, his Descendants; the War for his Succession, iii. 365. iv. 74.
- Metalarus*, or *Megalarus*, one of the *Phenician* Gods, i. 86.
- Metamorphoses*, upon what founded, i. 76, 78.
- Metempsychosis*, where this Doctrine took its Rise, i. 71, 554. iii. 7. What it taught, i. 493, 494. iii. 233, 234. The Benefit that arose from it, i. 554, 555. This Doctrine diffused through *China* and the *Indies*, i. 133, 136. Whether the *Gauls* believed the *Metempsychosis*, and by whom they had been instructed in it, iii. 228, 233, 234.
- Metis*, *Jupiter's* first Wife, the Fable to this Purpose; what is the Import of the Name, i. 116. ii. 166, 296.
- Metis*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Metra*, the Daughter of *Eresichthon*, she had the Gift of assuming all various Shapes, i. 76. iv. 398.
- Metragyrte*, one of *Cybele's* Names, ii. 564.
- Mexicans*, the Superstition of that People, i. 141, 144, 145.
- Mezentius*, King of *Etruria*, loses his Life in a Battle with *Eneas*, iv. 312.
- Midas*, the Son of *Cybele*, King of the greater *Phrygia*, ii. 402, 403. His Avarice; the Fable of his converting what-

I N D E X.

- whatever he touched into Gold, 403, 605, 606. His Concern for Religion with the Assistance of *Silenus*, 606. The Fable of his Asses Ears, upon what founded, i. 77. ii. 402, 607.
- Migonitis*, a Name given to *Venus*, why, ii. 313.
- Miletus*, the Father of *Caunus* and *Byblis*, iii. 390. In what Age he lived, 392.
- Miletus*, a City in *Caria*, by whom founded, iii. 390.
- Militia*. See *Mylitta*.
- Milo*, punished for the Murder of *Laodamia*, i. 244, 245.
- Mimallonides*, the Surname of the Bacchanals, ii. 449.
- Mineides*, transformed into Bats, ii. 450.
- Minerva*, five Goddesses of that Name, ii. 295. The Fable about her Birth, the various Explanations given of it, 296, &c. The Etymology of her Name, 299. Of the *Minerva* of *Egypt*, *ibid.* Her several Names among the *Greeks*, 301. Her Worship in *Libya*, at *Sais*, at *Athens*, at *Rhodes*, i. 109, 582. ii. 301. The Dispute between *Minerva* and *Neptune* about *Athens*, ii. 304. Explained, *ibid.* Her Contest with *Arachne*, 307. Her Adventure with *Vulcan*, 308. Her various Names, *ibid.* How she was represented, 309.
- Egis* of *Minerva*. See *Egis*.
- Minetra*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Ming-Ti*, the Emperor of *China*; The Sect to which he gave Rise, i. 135.
- Ministers of the Temples. See *Priests*.
- Minopene*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Minos*, the first of the Name, his Genealogy, ii. 169. iii. 395, 402, 482, 514. He is the first Judge of Hell, iii. 22, 26, 42, 489. The Time when he lived, ii. 169. iii. 489, 490. His History, iii. 483. Why said to be the Son of *Jupiter*, 484. His Death; his Tomb, 488.
- Minos* the Second, the Grandson of the first, iii. 482, 512. His Reign, his Exploits, 493. That the *Greeks* had a Mind to render him odious, iii. 493, 497. His Death, and Burial, 511.
- Minotaur*, the Fable of that Monster, how the Poets paint it, iii. 497. The Origin of this Fable, 498, &c.
- Minutius*, a God worshipped at *Rome*, iii. 194.
- Mipbelctzeth*, or *Mepheletzeth*, the same with *Beelphegor*; the Signification of the Name, ii. 55.
- Mirtle*, a Plant consecrated to *Venus*, i. 264. ii. 332, 333. and to the *Graces*, 351.
- Misfrain*. See *Mcfrain*.
- Asseltse* of Oak, the Ceremony of that Plant; its Description;

I N D E X.

- tion ; the Use that the *Druids* made of it. How they gathered it, and in what Place, iii. 239, 240. The Origin of these Words, *the new Year to Misseltoe*, which are still used in several Provinces of *France*, 241.
- Mitia*, the Name of *Urania* among the *Persians*, ii. 96.
- Mitras*, or *Mithras*, the God of the *Persians*, i. 188. ii. 94, 102, &c. His Worship introduced into *Rome*, ii. 103, 104. Signified the Sun, ii. 102. How he is represented, 103. His Symbol explained, 107, &c. Why said to be born of a Stone, 122. To have stole Oxen, *ibid.* The Mysteries of *Mithras*, *ibid.* The Preparations for his Mysteries, 124. His principal Festival, 126. The Progress of his Worship, 127. That he was worshipped in the *Gauls*, iii. 276. Names that were given to the Priests and Priestesses of *Mithras*, i. 289. ii. 110, 123, 124.
- Mnasinous*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433.
- Mnemosyne*, whose Daughter she was, i. 113. The Mother of the nine Muses, i. 117. ii. 170, 289. Inventions attributed to her, ii. 290.
- Mnestheus*, King of *Athens* after *Theseus*, his Genealogy, iv. 145, 271. Commands the *Athenians* at the Siege of *Troy*, 216. His Death, 246.
- Mnevis*, King of *Egypt*, attributed his Laws to *Mercury*, iii. 484.
- Moabites*, their Divinities, i. 188.
- Moazim*, a Divinity of whom the Prophet *Daniel* speaks, ii. 63.
- Moazin*, an Idol, whose Worship *Antiochus* restored, *ibid.*
- Modesty*, her Temples and Altars at *Rome*, i. 199. iii. 134. A Distinction made between the Modesty of the *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Ladies ; the Origin of the Distinction, *ibid.*
- Mæragetes*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 226.
- Mæris*, King of *Egypt*, i. 220. ii. 2.
- Moloch*, the great Divinity of the *Ammonites*, i. 145, 188. ii. 2, 48. The Sacrifice that was offered to him, i. 145, 188. He is the *Saturn* of *Carthage*, i. 575. ii. 48. How he was represented, ii. 50.
- Molossians*, a People in *Epirus*, iv. 280.
- Molossia*, the Name of a Country in *Epirus*, *ibid.*
- Molossus*, a Surname of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Molossus*, the Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromaché*, iv. 241, 280.
- Molus*, the Son of *Minos* the second, iii. 514.
- Moly*, the Plant which *Mercury* gave to *Ulysses*, why, iv. 298.
- Momus*, who this God is ; his Origin ; the Etymology of his Name, i. 66, 113, 199. iii. 153.

I N D E X.

- Moneta*, the Goddess of Money, her Temple at *Rome*; how she was represented, i. 199. ii. 243. iii. 200.
- Monitoria*, what Sort of Sights so called, i. 400.
- Money*. See *Moneta*.
- Monkies*, worshipped in *Egypt*, i. 544.
- Moon*, one of the great Divinities of *Egypt*; under what Names she was adored, i. 103, 104, 190, 485. ii. 7. Her Genealogy, i. 114. The Origin of the Worship paid to her, 181, 185, 188. The Worship that the *Gauls* paid to her; she had an Oracle among them, iii. 283.
- Moors*, what Gods they worshipped, i. 582.
- Mopsus*, one of the *Argonauts*, his Death; his Worship; his Oracle, iv. 25, 26, 351.
- Mopsus*, the Son of *Manto*, a famous Soothsayer during the Siege of *Thebes*, his Worship; his Oracle, i. 581. iv. 25. Was more skilled than *Calchas*; his Death, 351.
- Morpheus*, the Son of Sleep, his Functions; what his Name imports, iii. 100.
- Moschtara*, the Name of *Jupiter* among the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Moses*, whether he was the Model of the Pagan Gods, i. 11. The Parallel between him and *Bacchus*, ii. 441, 442.
- Most-high*, a Name given to *Acmon* at the Time of his Deification, ii. 171.
- Mot*, or *Mod*, who he was among the *Phenicians*; the Explanation of this Term, i. 90.
- Netber-Goddesses*, what Sort of Goddesses those were; the Worship that was paid to them, and in what Country, iii. 291, &c.
- Mother of the Gods*. See *Great Mother*.
- Mountains*, by whom formed, i. 112. Nymphs of the Mountains, ii. 527.
- Mourning-women*, hired for Funerals by the *Americans*, as by the *Romans*, i. 142.
- Mouth*, the Son of *Chronos*, i. 98. *Pluto* adored under that Name; what it imports, iii. 45, 304.
- Moyé*, the *Indian* Fable relating to her, i. 136.
- Mucareus*, one of *Lycaon's* Sons, iii. 354.
- Mundus*, a *Roman* Knight, his Adventure with *Paulina*, i. 75.
- Murder*, the Expiation of that Crime, i. 418, 419.
- Murcia*, the Goddess of Sloth, i. 198. iii. 130, 140, 194.
- Murtia*, one of *Venus's* Epithets, ii. 333.
- Musagetes*, an Epithet of *Apollo*, ii. 429. Of *Osiris* and *Hercules*, ii. 431, 433. iv. 119.

Muscarius,

I N D E X.

- Muscarius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 217.
- Musæa*, Feasts in Honour of the Muses, i. 303, 309.
- Muses*, their Genealogy, i. 117. ii. 170, 429, 430. Their Number, 430. Their Origin; their Names; their Functions; their Symbols, *ibid.* & 431. Why ranked among the warlike Goddesses, and represented with Wings, 433, 434. Their Challenge given to the Daughters of *Pierus*, 434. Epithets given to the Muses, 435, &c.
- Musica*, a Surname of *Minerva*, ii. 308.
- Music*, its Origin in *Greece*, ii. 213.
- Muyades*. See *Myagrus*.
- Myagrus*, or *Myagron*, Gods of Flies or Fly-Hunters, i. 199. ii. 57. An Epithet given to *Hercules*, iv. 120.
- Mycenæ*, a Kingdom in *Greece*, its Foundation; its Kings, iii. 364. iv. 74, 75. *Atreus* seizes upon that Crown, iv. 127, 256. His Successors, 257. The Period of that Kingdom, 265.
- Mycone*, one of the *Cyclades* Islands; its Union with *Delos*, ii. 397.
- Mydas*. See *Midas*.
- Mylitta*, the Name of *Venus Urania*, i. 568. ii. 96, 424.
- Mynians*, a People, their Origin; they are driven from *Lefbos*; where they go and settle, iv. 53. See *Thera*.
- Myrmidon*, his Genealogy; his Descendants, iii. 391.
- Myrmidons*, their fabulous Origin from *Pismires*, i. 71. iv. 270.
- Myrrha*, transformed into the Frankincense Tree, i. 32. ii. 8, 11. Her Crimes, ii. 8.
- Myrtilus*, *Oenomaus's* Charioteer, his Treachery; his Punishment, iv. 254.
- Myrtle*. See *Mirtle*.
- Mysteries of Bacchus*. See *Bacchus*. *Eleusinian Mysteries*. See *Eleusis*. Of *Cybele*. See *Galli*. Of *Mythras*. See *Mithras*.
- Mystæ*, the Name given to the initiated, iii. 64.
- Mythology*, the Necessity of being acquainted with it, *Preface* 5, 6. The Signification of the Name, i. 3. Analysis of several Treatises of Mythology, *ibid.* 6, 7, 8.
- Mythologist*, what Method he is to take in Order to be exactly informed; what he is to shun, i. 3, 8.

N.

- N** *ABAHAS*, or *Nibbaz*, a God of the *Heveans*, what the Word imports, ii. 61, 62.
- Nabo*. See *Nebo*.
- Nænia*, the Goddess of Funerals, iii. 101.

I N D E X.

- Nabalennia*, or *Nebalennia*, a Goddess of the People of *Germany*, how she was represented, iii. 323.
- Naharvales*, or *Naharvali*, a People in *Germany*, their Religion, iii. 311, 333.
- Naiads*, Nymphs, their Destination, ii. 474, 527. Their Worship, their Festivals, 486.
- Names*, Plurality and Variety of Names, one Source of Fables, i. 44, 45. The Origin of the Names of Countries, 60. And of those of the Gods, 501.
- Nanus*, one of the Descendants of *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia*, iii. 343.
- Napææ*, Nymphs, their Functions; their Worship, ii. 474, 527, 528.
- Narcissus*, his History; he is transformed into a Flower, iv. 365.
- Nasamones*, what Country they inhabited; their Religion, i. 581.
- Nascio*, or *Natio*, a Goddess invoked for Children, i. 197. iii. 191.
- Natalis*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 242.
- Natchez*, a Nation in *Louisiana*, that worship the Fire, i. 143.
- Nature*, adored as a Divinity, i. 195.
- Navel*, a Story about Man's Navel, i. 83.
- Nauplius*, the Father of *Patroclus*, one of the *Argonauts*; his Genealogy, iv. 26. Is the Ruin of the *Grecian* Fleet in his Return from *Troy*, i. 43.
- Nausica*, the Daughter of *Alcinous*, introduces *Ulysses* to her Father's Court, iv. 302.
- Nausinous*, and *Nausithous*, Sons of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*, i. 118.
- Nearbus*, torn in Pieces by Dogs; why, iv. 166.
- Nebo*, a God of the *Babylonians*, ii. 1, 5. What is the Import of the Name, 5, 62.
- Necessity*, a Goddess, iii. 140, 180.
- Necklace*, given to *Eryphile*. See *Eryphile*.
- Nebalennia*. See *Nabalennia*.
- Neith*, a Name of *Minerva* of *Egypt*, i. 492.
- Nelus*, the Brother of *Pelias*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 26. His Birth; retires into *Messenia*, iii. 392, 393. His Children; their Destiny, 394. iv. 26, 105.
- Nembrod*, or *Nimrod*, in what Age he lived, i. 80, 173. ii. 3. Whether he was the Founder of Idolatry, i. 173. He is the *Belus* of the *Assyrians*, ii. 316. And the *Orion* of the *Persians*, 317.

Nemea,

I N D E X.

- Nemea*, a City, the Lion of the Forest of *Nemea*, i. 114. iv. 82.
- Nemean Games*, their Institution; the Prize of the Conquerors, iv. 189, 415, 435. How they were celebrated, 435.
- Nemeses*, the same with the Goddess *Nemesis*, iii. 92. Taken for the Furies, iii. 76.
- Nemesis*, an infernal Divinity, iii. 92. How she was represented, *ibid.* The Worship that was paid to her; with what Divinity she was confounded, 93. Of whom she was engendered, i. 113. iii. 76.
- Nemestrinus*, a God worshipped among the *Romans*, iii. 194.
- Nemifæa*, Feasts of the Dead, i. 305.
- Neocori*, Ministers of the Temples, their Functions, i. 285.
- Neomenia*, a Festival of the New Moon, i. 305.
- Neoptolemus*. See *Pyrrhus*.
- Nephele*, the Wife of *Athamas*, her Children, iii. 394. iv. 5. She is transformed into a Cloud; why, 7.
- Nephelim*, or *Nephilim*, a Name given to the Giants, what it signifies, i. 121, 122, 167. ii. 205. A Name given also to the *Centaur*s, iii. 537.
- Nephte*, the Wife of *Typhon*, i. 492. Her Familiarity with *Osiris*, 510.
- Neptune*, the Etymology of this Name, ii. 491. That it was from the *Libyans* the *Greeks* received his Worship, i. 18, 109, 582. ii. 152, 492. His Genealogy, ii. 494. His History, *ibid.* How he marries *Amphitrite*, 497. Why said to have built the Walls of *Troy*, 499. How he was represented, *ibid.* & 505. The Explanation of his various Symbols, 505. His various Names, ii. 497. His Worship was very extensive, 502. His various Metamorphoses, 500, 504. His Dispute with *Minerva* for the Name of *Athens*, 304. And with the Sun for the Isthmus of *Corinth*, 306.
- Nere*, a Period of Time, which the Ancients made use of in their Chronology, i. 86. in the Note.
- Nereids*, Nymphs of the Sea, ii. 528.
- Nereus*, his Genealogy, his Children, i. 97, 114. ii. 507. His Character; the Etymology of his Name, 508, 509. That he had the Gift of Prediction; why he often changed Shapes, *ibid.*
- Nereids*, what Divinities they were, ii. 510. Of whom they were said to be born, i. 114. Their Names and Number, ii. 508. How they were represented, ii. 512. The Worship that was paid to them, 512, 527, 528.

I N D E X.

- Nergel*, a God of the *Cutbeans*, who this God was; the Import of the Name, ii. 161, 62.
- Nero*, the Emperor, his high Estimation of Magicians, i. 429.
- Neso*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Nesrock*, a God of the *Babylonians*, i. 1.
- Nessus*, the *Centaur*, punished by *Hercules* for offering Violence to *Dejanira*, iv. 107, 541.
- Nestor*, his Genealogy; how he became King of *Messenia*, iii. 392. iv. 105, 106, 151. The Troops which he led to the Siege of *Troy*, 216. He retired into *Italy*, 246. His long Life; the Fable of the Poets about it, 59.
- Neso*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- New Year* to *Misseltoe*. See *Misseltoe*.
- Nibbas*, a *Syrian* Divinity, ii. 62.
- Nibechan*, or *Nibhaz*, a God of the *Heveans*, ii. 1.
- Nice*, the Daughter of *Pallas* and *Styx*, brought to the Assistance of *Jupiter*, i. 115.
- Niella*, a Goddess of the *Latins*, ii. 591.
- Night*, by whom procreated; her Union with *Erebus*; her Children, i. 112, 113. ii. 428. iii. 96. How she was represented, ii. 429.
- Nile*, a River in *Egypt*, taken into the Number of the great Gods of the *Egyptians*; why, i. 492. ii. 475, 479. Festivals in Honour thereof; Sacrifices offered to it, ii. 476, 477. The *Nile* called Ocean, 475.
- Ninus*, the first King of the *Assyrians*. The Idolatry which he introduced, i. 173.
- Niobe*, the Daughter of *Tantalus*, her History; her Children; her Transformation into a Rock, i. 13. ii. 409, &c.
- Nisbe*, the Daughter of *Pheroneus*, *Jupiter's* first Mistress; her Children, ii. 170, 409, 410.
- Nisa*, a City in the Neighbourhood of *Athens*, iii. 494.
- Nisæa* and *Nise*, Names of Nymphs, ii. 532.
- Nijus*, King of *Nisa*, his Genealogy, he is transformed into a Hawk, iii. 494, 495.
- Niſſes*, an Island, how it was formed, ii. 168, 169.
- Nitocris*, Queen of *Egypt*, the Signification of her Name, ii. 299.
- Nixii Dii*, Gods of Women in Child-bed, i. 197.
- Noah*, whether he is the same with *Bacchus*, ii. 443. He is the *Xixutrus* of the *Phenicians*, i. 86. Whether the Division of the World among the Sons of *Saturn* is imagined upon that of the Sons of *Noah*, i. 18. ii. 214, 215.
- Nadatus*,

I N D E X.

Nodotus, a God who presided over the Corn, i. 198. ii. 591.

Nome, an *Egyptian* Term, what it imports, i. 492, 545.

Nomus, a Surname of *Mercury*, ii. 374.

Nondina, a tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.

Notus, the Wind *Notus*, whose Offspring he was said to be, i. 116.

Novella, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 242.

Novemfides, who those Gods were at *Rome*, iii. 193.

Nuċtulus, the God of Night, how he was represented, iii. 98.

Numa Pompilius, prohibits making Statues of the Gods, i. 208. His Books burnt, *ibid.* His Regulations of Religion, 430, 431. iii. 185, 186. From whom he received the Laws he made, iii. 484.

Numeria, the Goddess of Arithmetick, iii. 195.

Numitor, King of *Alba*, Father of *Rhea Sylvia*, ii. 316. Grandfather of *Romulus*, iv. 313.

Nycteus, the Father of *Antiope*; his Aversion to her; his Death, iii. 415, 417. The Alliance of the Families of *Cadmus* and *Nycteus*, 421.

Nyctilea, a Festival in honour of *Bacchus*, i. 307.

Nyctileius, a Surname of *Bacchus*, ii. 461.

Nyctimene, the Daughter of *Epepeus* King of *Lesbos*, transformed into an Owl, iv. 393.

Nyctimus, the Son of *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia*: His Successor, iii. 355.

Nyctis, the Mother of *Laius*, iii. 415.

Nymphs, their Origin, i. 113, ii. 528. Their Number and various Species; Names whereby they were distinguished, ii. 482, 529, 531. How long they lived, 530. Metamorphoses into Nymphs explained; the Worship that was paid to them; the Victims that were offered to them, 486, 528.

Nysa, the City where *Bacchus* was educated, ii. 438.

O.

O*AK*, a Tree consecrated to *Rhea*, i. 264. The Veneration which the ancient *Gauls* had for the Oak, iii. 221.

Oannes, or *Oes*, who he was in the Theogony of the *Chaldeans*, the Etymology of his Name, i. 81, 84, 85.

Oaths, the Origin of Oaths, i. 423. The Form and Ceremony of Oaths; to what Use they were applied, and the Abhorrence they had to Perjury, *ibid.* 424. What God presided over Oaths, 423. Of the Oath of the Gods by *Styx*, i. 115, 423.

Obodan,

I N D E X.

- Obodan*, one of the *Arabian* Gods, i. 569.
- Obolus*, that was put into the Mouth of the Dead, iii. 30.
- Occasion*, a Divinity among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, iii. 134.
- Ocean*, reckoned a God, and the Father of the Gods, i. 106. ii. 486 and 487. Whose Son he was, i. 112, 113. ii. 172, 487. The Children he had by *Tethys*, i. 114. ii. 482, 487, 490. The frequent Visits which the Gods paid to *Oceanus*, ii. 489. How he was represented, *ibid.* The Etymology of his Name, 488.
- Oceanides*, Daughters of the *Ocean*; their Number, ii. 482.
- Ostavia*, her famous Temple, iii. 435.
- Ocypete*, one of the *Harpies*. See *Harpies*.
- Ocyroe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Odin*, King of *Thrace*, is the Hyperborean *Mars*, ii. 316.
- Odyssey* of *Homer*, the Analysis of that Poem, i. 48.
- Oeagrus*, the Father of *Orpheus*, ii. 405, 432. iv. 158.
- Oebalus*, the Father of *Icarus*, iv. 405.
- Oebalus*, a Heroe of *Greece*, iii. 431.
- Oebazus*. See *Plestorus*.
- Oedipus*, the Son of *Laius*, his Genealogy; his History according to the Poets, iv. 179. His true History, 182. Condemned to *Tartarus*, iii. 23.
- Oeneus*, King of *Phocis*, Son of *Cephalus*, iv. 379.
- Oeneus*, of the Family of the *Eolidæ*, the Father of *Meleager*, iii. 391. iv. 173. Became King of *Calydon*. See *Calydon*. His Death; his Tomb, iv. 173, 288.
- Oeneus*, or *Ænea*, a Town upon the Confines of *Attica*, iii. 494. Another Place of that Name, iv. 288.
- Oeneus*, the natural Son of *Pandion*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 431.
- Oeno*, or *Æno*, the Daughter of *Anius*, transformed into a Pigeon, iv. 321.
- Oenoe*, Queen of the *Pygmies*, transformed into a Crane, iv. 376.
- Oenomaus*, King of *Pisa*, Father of *Hippodamia*; his Death, iii. 422. iv. 253, 254.
- Oenone*, a Shepherdess of Mount *Ida*, beloved by *Paris*, iv. 341. The Death of her Son, *ibid.* *Oenone's* Skill, *ibid.* Her Death, 342.
- Oenopion*, the Son of *Ariadne* and *Theseus*, iii. 505. iv. 145, 146.
- Oenophoria*, a *Greek* Festival, i. 305.
- Oenstrians*, a People in *Italy*, ii. 262, 268.
- Oenstrus*, the first Name of *Janus*, ii. 268.
- Oenobrus*, the Son of *Lycæon* King of *Arcadia*, settled in *Italy*, iii. 355.

I N D E X.

- Oes, Oen.* See *Oannes*.
- Oeonus, Hercules's Uncle* ; his Death avenged by his Nephew, iv. 106.
- Oeta*, a Mountain, its Situation, iii. 392.
- Og, King of Bashan*, his enormous Size, ii. 202. Whether he is the same with *Typhon*, i. 507.
- Ogenus*, the God of old Men, iii. 138.
- Ogga*, or *Onka*, a Name given to the *Egyptian Minerva*, the Etymology of the Name, ii. 300.
- Ogmios*, or *Ogmios*, the Name of the *Gallic Hercules*, iii. 262. iv. 124. How they represented that God, 263, 264.
- Ogoa*, a God worshipped in *Caria*, iii. 172.
- Ogyges*, at what Time he lived, iii. 345, 371. His Wife, his Children, 370. A Phenomenon in the Heavens under his Reign, 371, 372. The Deluge that happened in his Time, i. 62. iii. 345, 368, 371.
- Ogygia*, the Isle where *Calypso* reigned, iv. 300. Where they placed it, 301.
- Oicles*, the Father of *Amphiaraus*, iv. 193.
- Oileus*, the Father of *Ajax*, iv. 20. Whether he was one of the *Argonauts*, 26, 27.
- Oinotrus*, the Son of *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia*, iii. 243.
- Okki*, or *Areskoui*, the chief God of the *Hurons*, i. 142.
- Olaimi*, a Mountain in *Florida*, where the People come to sacrifice to the Sun, i. 144.
- Old-age*, by whom engendered, i. 113. The Divinity who presided over it, i. 199.
- Old Woman of Gold*, an Idol worshipped by the People who dwelt near the River *Obi* ; how they consulted her, ii. 146.
- Olenus*, transformed into a Rock ; why, iv. 394.
- Olive*, to whom it was consecrated, i. 264. ii. 234. The Olive which *Minerva* made to spring out of the Earth, ii. 304.
- Olla*, a Vase used in Sacrifice, i. 278.
- Olympiad*, the Establishment of the Olympiads, i. 62, 63. When the Way of computing by Olympiads began, 64. iii. 372. iv. 427. Which was the first Olympiad, iii. 371. iv. 427. The Time from one Olympiad to another, iv. 411, 425.
- Olympia*, a City where *Saturn* had a Temple, iv. 425.
- Olympic Games*, at what Time instituted, i. 63. ii. 213. iv. 424. When renewed, ii. 213. iv. 423, 427. How they became famous, Honours therein paid to the Conquerors, iv. 411, 412, 431. The Punishment inflicted on those who used Fraud to obtain the Victory, iv. 430.

I N D E X.

430. Women were prohibited to be present at them, 429.
And all who were not the Descendants of *Hellen*, 431. See *Games*.
- Olympius*, one of *Jupiter's* Appellations, ii. 220.
- Olympus*, a Mountain in *Thessaly*, taken for Heaven, ii. 176, 205. There the Giants besiege *Jupiter*, 214.
- Omanus*, or *Amanus*, a God of *Cappadocia*; what Divinity he represented, ii. 98, 99, 131.
- Omoroca*, who this Woman was in the System of the *Chaldeans*, i. 81.
- Omphale*, Queen of *Lydia*, the Wife of *Hercules*, who spun by her, iv. 111.
- Onarus*, Priest of *Bacchus*, who ravished *Ariadne*, iii. 504, 505.
- Ontogonia*. See *Eternity*.
- Onuava*, a *Gallic* Divinity; the Description of her Head, iii. 286,
- Opalia*, a Festival in honour of *Ops*, i. 314. ii. 557.
- Opas*, a Surname of *Vulcan*, ii. 354.
- Opigenia*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 243.
- Opis*, the Name of a Goddess for Children, i. 197.
- Opis*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Ops*, a Name under which the Earth was worshipped; what it imports, i. 196. ii. 552. iii. 137.
- Ops*, the Goddess of Riches, i. 198. *Ops*, the same with *Cybele*, ii. 552. See *Opalia*.
- Optimus Maximus*, Epithets of *Jupiter*, ii. 216.
- Ora*, the Children she had by *Jupiter*, ii. 170.
- Oracles*, what we are to understand by the Word, i. 325. That all idolatrous Nations have had their Oracles, 326. Whether Oracles were nothing but the Effect of Priestcraft, 327, 350. Who were the Gods of Oracles, 328. Oracles of *Dadana*, 329. Of *Jupiter Ammon*, of *Jupiter Phlius*, 332, 334. Of *Apollo* at *Heliopolis*, 333. Oracle of *Delfi*, 334. Oracle of *Trophonius*, 340. Other Oracles, 344. Various Manners of delivering Oracles, 352. Oracles delivered by Lots, 354. The Oracle of the Ox *Apis*, 352, 519. Oracles of the *Egyptians*, 556.
- Orators*, the Divinities whom they invoked, i. 200.
- Orbona*, a Goddess worshipped at *Rome*; what was her Office, i. 197. iii. 140.
- Orchomenos*, the Father of the *Orchomenians*, his Genealogy, iii. 354.
- Orchone*, the Daughter of *Peleus*, beloved by *Hercules*, iv. 112.
- Orcus*, whose Son he was, i. 114.
- Orcades*, what Nymphs they were, ii. 528.

Ordrysius,

I N D E X.

- Ordrysus*, in honour among the *Thracians*, ii. 148.
- Orestes*, the Son of *Agamemnon*, iii. 365. iv. 259. His History, 260.
- Oresteus*, the Son of *Lycaon*, the Founder of a City of his own Name, iii. 354.
- Oresthasium*, a City built by *Oresteus*, iii. 354.
- Orgiastæ*, the Name of the Women who presided over the *Orgies*, i. 282.
- Orgies*, the Festival of *Bacchus*, i. 282, 289, 307. Their Origin, ii. 457. When they were suppressed, 463. How they were celebrated by the *Gallic Women*, iii. 281.
- Orgiophantæ*, the Name of the Men who presided over the *Orgies*, i. 282.
- Oriental*s, their Genius leads to Fiction, i. 25, 26. Their giving several Names to the same Person, a Source of many Fables, 44.
- Orion*, the Name of *Mars* among the *Parthians*, ii. 317.
- Orion*, the Son of *Hyrieus*, Fables delivered about him, iv. 385. Forms a Constellation in the Heavens, 388, 389.
- Orithya*, the Daughter of *Eretheus* King of *Athens*, carried off by *Boreas* King of *Thrace*, iv. 21, 166.
- Orithya*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Ornithomancy*, a Kind of Divination, i. 396.
- Oromazes*, or *Oromasdes*, a *Persian* Divinity, i. 178. ii. 94. His Origin; his Worship, ii. 101.
- Oropians*, a People in *Attica*, iv. 196.
- Orpheus*, his Genealogy, ii. 405, 432. iv. 158. His History blended with Fables, iv. 156, 157. Explained, 162. The Story of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, 163. His Death, 160. His Works, 161. His Cosmogony, i. 110, 111. Inventions that are ascribed to him, 110, 432. The Worship paid him by the *Thracians*, ii. 147. Why said to have charmed the Tygers and Lions, i. 77. iv. 163, 164.
- Orseis*, the Wife of *Hellen*, iii. 390.
- Orthione*, an Epithet given to *Diana*, ii. 424.
- Orthona*, a Divinity worshipped at *Athens*, iii. 175.
- Orus*, a God of *Egypt*, i. 16, 105, 492. His Birth, 495, 527. His Wars with *Typhon*, whom he destroys, 510, 527. His Death; he is raised again to Life, and becomes immortal, 527, 528. How he was represented in the *Isiack Table*, 529.
- Oscillæ*, what Sorts of Victims, i. 261.
- Osiris*, an *Egyptian* God, i. 16. He is the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, 69, 71. The Sun adored under that Name, 103, 104, 185, 485, 496. The Etymology of the Name,

I N D E X.

- Name, 104, 496. Other Names of *Osiris*, 105. What meant by the Persecutions of *Typhon* against *Osiris*, 178. *Osiris* worshipped through all *Egypt*, 489, 492. The History of *Osiris*, 494, and 521, 522. Worship paid to *Osiris*, 516. The Sentiments the People had of that God, 522.
- Oschor*, or *Chon*, the Name of *Egyptian Hercules*, iv. 74, 123.
- Offa*, a Mountain in *Theffaly*, ii. 205.
- Offilago*, a tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Otiartes*, who he was, according to the Theogony of the *Chaldeans*, i. 86.
- Otus*. See *Ephialtes*.
- Owl*, a Bird consecrated to *Minerva*, i. 264. Why, ii. 297.
- Oxen worshipped in *Egypt*, i. 202. Oxen of *Apollo* stole by *Mercury*, ii. 371. Oxen of *Geryon*. See *Hercules*.
- Oxilus*, an *Etolian*, the Chief of the *Heraclidæ*, who re-entered the *Peloponnesus*, iv. 129.
- Oxyrinchian*, a Canton of *Egypt*, i. 545.

P.

- P***ACIFICUS*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 221.
- Paetolus*, a River in *Lydia*, which rolled Gold with its Sand, ii. 403, 605. See *Midas*.
- Pæan*, a Song in honour of *Minerva*, ii. 304.
- Pageans*, a People described under the Name of *Pygmies*, iv. 372.
- Pagod*, the *Indian* Idol, i. 136.
- Painters*, that they invented and propagated many Fables in the World, i. 37, &c. 44, 201.
- Palestes*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 225.
- Palamedes* invented the Game of Dice at the Siege of *Troy*, iv. 224. *Ulysses* destroyed him, 289. Worship'd as a Heroe, iii. 433.
- Palemon*, who this God was among the *Greeks*, i. 15. See *Pertumnus*.
- Pales*, the Goddess of Shepherds, i. 313. ii. 585. Her Worship; her Festival, *ibid.* 586.
- Palici*, who those Gods were; their Origin; their Worship, ii. 89, &c. Basins that were by their Temple; the Virtue of the Water that was therein, 91. Prophecies delivered by them, 93.
- Palilia*, what Festival it was, i. 313, 314.

Pal-

I N D E X.

- Palladium*, the Statue of *Pallas*, its History, iv. 227, 287, 290, 306.
- Pallantium*, a City built by *Pallas*, iii. 354.
- Pallantides*, the Sons of *Pallas* Brother to *Egeus*, conspire against *Egeus*, iv. 131. Are defeated by *Theseus*, 136. Oblige *Theseus* to quit *Athens*, 144.
- Pallas*. See *Minerva*.
- Pallas*, the Son of *Creius*, i. 114.
- Pallas*, one of the Giants who made War upon *Jupiter*, fled by *Minerva*, ii. 169, 295, 296.
- Pallas*, the Brother of *Egeus*, iii. 494. See *Pallantides*.
- Pallas*, the Son of *Evander*, the Bigness of his Body, ii. 200.
- Pallas*, the Son of *Lycaon*, the Founder of a City called *Pallantium*, iii. 354. One of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 432.
- Palmyra*. See *Tadmor*.
- Pallor*. See *Fear*, *Pavor*.
- Pamphagus*, an Epithet given to *Hercules*, iv. 120.
- Pan*, one of the great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 536. 'Tis in *Egypt* we are to seek for his Origin, 537. His History according to the *Greeks*; he invented the Flute, 538. His Worship, 195, 539. The Origin of the panic Terror, 539, 540. Whether he is the same with *Faunus* and *Sylvanus*, 540. The Etymology of his Name. What the *Egyptians* adored under the Name of *Pan*, *ibid*. Of the Voice that intimated the Death of the great *Pan*, 541. That several went by the Name of *Pan*, 538.
- Panacea*, one of the Divinities of Medicine, iii. 159, 165.
- Panathenea*, a Festival distinguished into the greater and less, i. 306. ii. 302, 303. iv. 137.
- Pancrace*, one of the Exercises in the Games; what it was, iv. 418.
- Pancratis*, the Daughter of *Aloeus* and *Iphimedia*, her Adventures, iii. 119.
- Panda*, a Goddess worshipped among the *Romans*, iii. 195.
- Pandarus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 433.
- Pandarus*, the Son of *Merops*, his History, iv. 360, 361.
- Pandareus* of *Ephesus*, his History, iv. 361.
- Pandemos*, one of *Venus's* Epithets, ii. 333.
- Pandion*, the second of the Name, King of *Athens*, the Father of *Philomele* and *Progne*, iii. 376. iv. 357.
- Pandora*, and her Box, ii. 280.
- Pandrosos* the Daughter of *Cecrops*, her Temple at *Athens* near that of *Minerva*, iii. 376.
- Pangea*, a Mountain in *Thrace*, where a golden Mine was found, ii. 212.

I N D E X.

- Panompheus*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 225.
Panope and *Panopea*, two Nymphs, ii. 532.
Panthea, or *Pantbean* Figures, what they are, 526.
Pantbeon, a Temple built at *Rome* in honour of all the Gods; its Description, i. 231.
Pantibibla, a City of *Chaldea*, i. 85. in the Note.
Paphian Goddess, a Name given to *Venus*, ii. 333.
Paphos, a City founded by *Paphus* in the Island of *Cyprus*, iv. 319. in the Note.
Paphus, the Fable of his Birth, *ibid.*
Pappeus, an Epithet given to *Jupiter* by the *Scythians*, ii. 163.
Papremis, a City in *Egypt*, where was celebrated a singular Festival in Honour of *Mars*, i. 559.
Parasites, Ministers of the Temples, their Rank; their Functions, i. 283.
Parasites. See *Nero*.
Parcae, their Genealogy, i. 113, 116, 117. iii. 83. The Origin of the Name, *ibid.* Their Functions and Power, *ibid.* Their Names; what the Import of them is, iii. 86, 87, 88. The Worship that was paid to them; how they were represented, 89, 90.
Paris, the Son of *Priam*, his Birth; his Amour with *Oenone*, iv. 340. His Judgment between the three Goddesses; the Foundation of this Fiction, iv. 209, 210. How *Priam* knew him to be his Son, 342. How he carried off *Helen*, *ibid.* His Adventure in *Egypt*, ii. 518. He wounded *Achilles*, iv. 276. His Death; his Character, 240, 342.
Parnassus, a Mountain in *Beotia*, the Seat of the Muses, ii. 435. Whence it derived its Name, i. 60.
Parnassides, an Epithet given to the Muses, ii. 435.
Parthenope, the Daughter of *Stymphalus*, iv. 112.
Partenopeus, the Son of *Atalanta*, one of the Leaders of the Army of the *Argives*; his Death before *Thebes*; his Character, iv. 203.
Parthenia, or *Parthenos*, an Epithet given to *Minerva*, ii. 302, 308. A Name also given to *Juno*; why, ii. 245.
Partition of the World among the Sons of *Saturn*, i. 17, 18. ii. 214.
Partians, their Religion, ii. 135.
Parts of the Body, a Divinity that presided over each, i. 200.
Partunda, a Goddess worshipped at *Rome*, her Ministration, iii. 191.
Pasiphae, the Daughter of *Minos* King of *Crete*, Mother of the *Minotaur*; the Foundation of this Fable, i. 29. iii.

I N D E X.

- 497, &c. Passed for the Daughter of the Sun, iii. 500.
- Pasithea*, a Heroine of Greece, iii. 433.
- Pasithoe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Pasoemon*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Orchonoe*, iv. 112.
- Pataici*, or *Patarchæ*, who those Gods were ; their Origin ; the Etymology of their Names, ii. 87, &c.
- Patilina*, or *Patilena*, a Goddess of Corn, i. 198. ii. 591.
- Patellarii Dii*, Gods worshipped by the Romans, iii. 193.
- Pater*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*, ii. 216.
- Pater Sacrorum*, who so called, i. 289.
- Patera*, an Instrument of the Sacrifices, i. 277.
- Patriarchs*, whether their History gave Rise to the History of the *Argonauts*, iv. 3. Whether the Gods of Paganism were derived from their History, i. 16, 51, 52. ii. 180, 293, 294, 372, 373, 441, 442.
- Patrica*, Mysteries of *Mythras*, so called, i. 289.
- Patroclus*, the Friend of *Achilles*, his Genealogy, iii. 391. His Death, iv. 233.
- Patrous*, the Statue of *Jupiter Patrous*, which had three Eyes, ii. 215, 216.
- Patuleius*. See *Clusius*.
- Paventia*, a tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Paulina*. See *Mundus*.
- Pausanias* dies of Famine, i. 244. Statues which the *Lacedæmonians* erected to him to expiate their Cruelty, 245.
- Pausania*, a Festival in honour of *Pausanias*, i. 303.
- Peace*, a Divinity, i. 199. iii. 129, 130. Distinct from *Concord* ; her Temple at *Rome* ; how represented, *ibid*.
- Peacock*, consecrated to *Juno*, ii. 246. See *Argos*.
- Pechinians*, a People characterised under the Name of *Pygmies*, iv. 374.
- Pecunia*, a Goddess worshipped at *Rome*, iii. 200.
- Pegasus*, (the Horse) his Origin, i. 114. iii. 438. The Fables delivered concerning this winged Horse, with the Explication of them, iii. 439, 441, 451, 453.
- Pegas*, a Cape in *Magnesia*, whence the *Argonauts* embarked for *Colchis*, iv. 13.
- Pegomancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 394.
- Pelasgi*, the most ancient People of Greece, their Origin, iii. 352, 353. By them were the Worship and Mysteries of the *Cabiri* introduced into Greece, ii. 70, 151, 152.
- Pelasgia*, one of *Juno's* Names, ii. 244.
- Pelasgus*, King of *Arcadia*, the Father of *Lycaon*, iii. 353. His Qualifications of Body and Mind ; what he taught the *Arcadians*, *ibid*. His Descendants, 354, &c.

I N D E X.

- Pelasgus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, ii. 170.
- Peleus*, the Father of *Achilles*, his Genealogy, iv. 134, 271. Marries *Thetis*, 208, 272. His History, 271, &c.
- Pelias*, the Brother of *Neleus*, his Birth ; his History, iii. 394. iv. 8, 9. Whether he was actually assassinated by his Daughters, iv. 64, 65.
- Pelion*, a Mountain in *Thessaly*, ii. 205.
- Pellene*, an Epithet of *Diana*, ii. 425, 426.
- Pellonia*, a Goddess invoked at *Rome*, i. 199. iii. 194.
- Pelopæa*, the Daughter of *Thyestes* ; how she became Mother to *Egythus* ; her Death, iv. 257.
- Pelopia*, a Festival of *Pelops*, i. 303.
- Peloponnesus*, a Peninsula of *Greece*, iii. 422. How the *Heracliidæ* settled there, iv. 128, &c.
- Pelops*, the Son of *Tantalus* King of *Lydia*, iii. 422. The Fable of the Entertainment given to the Gods by *Tantalus*, and of *Pelops's* Ivory Shoulder, 113, 114. The *Palladium* made of *Pelops's* Bones, iii. 114. iv. 227. His History, iii. 422. iv. 253, 254. His Children ; his Death, 256.
- Peloria*, what this Festival was, i. 305. iii. 383.
- Peloris*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Pelorus*, from whom the Festival *Peloria* was derived, iii. 383.
- Penates*, Gods of the Hearths, i. 193. That they are to be distinguished from the *Lares* ; how many Sorts of *Penates*, ii. 609. 613. Their Origin, their Statues, 614, 615. Sacrifices that were offered to them, 615. The Veneration of the *Romans* for those Gods ; whence they received them, 617.
- Peneleus*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 27.
- Peneus*, the Son of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, his Posterity, iii. 526.
- Peneus*, a River in *Thessaly*, the Worship paid to it by the *Thessalians*, ii. 479. The Rivers that it receives ; its Canal formed by *Neptune*, iii. 381, 382, 383.
- Penelope*, the Character given of her by the Poets, i. 38. Her Genealogy ; how she became the Mother of *Pan*, 537. Her Marriage with *Ulysses*, iv. 304. Whether she was really a Model of conjugal Duty, 305.
- Penia*, the Goddess of Poverty, i. 199. And Mother of Love, ii. 338.
- Peninus*, or *Penin*, a God of the Inhabitants of the *Pennine Alps* ; what he represented, iii. 274.
- Pentathlon*, a Name given to certain Exercises in the Games, iv. 417.
- Pentheus*, the Son of *Cadmus*, torn in Pieces by the *Bacchanals*, i. 157. ii. 440, 456, 457. iii. 412.
- Pepbredo*, the Daughter of *Phorcys*, i. 114. iii. 448.

Peplus

I N D E X.

- Peplus* of *Minerva*, what it is, ii. 304.
- Perasia*. See *Castaballa*.
- Perdix* or *Perdrix*. See *Talus*.
- Perseus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 221.
- Pergamus*, the Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, founds the City *Pergamus* in *Asia*, iv. 241.
- Perrhebi*, a People in *Thessaly* whence *Janus* came, ii. 261, 268.
- Peribea*, marries *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*; her Genealogy; her Children, iii. 391. iv. 173.
- Peribæa*, a young *Athenian* Slave sent to *Crete*, and delivered by *Theseus*, iii. 506.
- Periclymenus*, or *Periclymenes* the Son of *Neleus*, assumed all Sorts of Shapes; how he was slain by *Hercules*, i. 76. iv. 26, 105, 106.
- Perieres*, the Son of *Eolus*, iii. 390. Became King of *Messene*; his Descendants, 392.
- Perigone*, the Daughter of *Sinius*, her Adventures, iv. 133.
- Perilaus*, Tyrant of *Argos*, iii. 436.
- Perimedes*, the Daughter of *Eolus* the Wife of *Achelous*; her Children, iii. 390, 391.
- Periphetes*, a Robber slain by *Theseus*, iv. 133.
- Peristera*, a Nymph transformed into a Pigeon, ii. 332, 333.
- Perone*, the Daughter of *Neleus*, the Wife of *Bias*, their Descendants, iii. 394.
- Peru*, People of *Peru*, their Religion, their Morals, i. 140, 141.
- Perfa*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Persephone*, the Daughter of *Chronus*, i. 95.
- Perfes*, the Son of *Creius*, his Children, i. 114, 115.
- Perseus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, ii. 170. iii. 364. 435. His Birth, 436, 437. The Fable of *Medusa* and the *Gorgons*, 437. How he delivers *Andromeda*, 441. Where this Event happened; how it is to be understood, 461, 462. He slew his Grandfather *Acrisius* by Mistake; he built the City *Mycenæ*, 463. Worship that was paid to him after his Death, 463, 464. In what Age he lived, 477, 478.
- Perseis*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532. The Children whom she had by the Sun, i. 117.
- Persians*, their Religion; Changes introduced into it successively, ii. 94, &c. Worshipped the Fire, 95.
- Pertunda*, a Goddess worshipped at *Rome*, i. 197.
- Phaeton*, the Son of the Sun and *Clymene*; His History, ii. 384. His Fable explained, 385. Monuments representing his History, 388.

I N D E X.

- Phaeton*, the Son of *Aurora* and *Cephalus*, i. 117. Or their Grandson, according to some Authors, ii. 384.
- Phallopberi*, Ministers of the *Orgies*, ii. 460.
- Phallus*, what it was; its Origin among the *Egyptians*; what it signified, i. 503, 517. Its Origin among the *Greeks*, ii. 446, 457.
- Phaneus*, the Father of *Acmon*, ii. 171.
- Phaneus*, or *Phanæus*, an Epithet given to *Apollo*, ii. 419.
- Phantasia*, the Name of one of the *Dreams*, iii. 100.
- Pharfis*, a People in *Asia* among whom *Sabism* still prevails, i. 190.
- Pharygea*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 244.
- Phaya*, the Name of a mischievous Sow slain by *Theseus*, iv. 134.
- Pheacians*, a People who inhabited the Island of *Corcyra*; their Manners when *Ulysses* landed there, iv. 302.
- Phedra*, the Daughter of *Minos* the Wife of *Theseus*; her History, iii. 516, &c.
- Phenicia*, the Gods of *Phenicia*, the same with those of *Egypt*, i. 102. That these are the two Countries where Idolatry took its Rise, 174. And that from *Phenicia* it spread itself through the World, 175. Colonies come from *Phenicia*, 48, 65, 72, ii. 151, 162.
- Phenicians*, that they were the first who carried on Commerce and Navigation, i. 10. Their Cosmogony and Theogeny, 88. The Model of that of the *Greeks*, 101.
- Phenix*, the Son of *Agenor* and Brother of *Cadmus*, where he settled, iii. 404.
- Phenix*, a Bird consecrated to the Sun, i. 264.
- Phesr*, or *Chamos*, a God of the *Moabites*, ii. 2.
- Pherephata*, the Name of *Proserpine*, what it imports, iii. 47.
- Pheres*, the Son of *Medea* and *Jason*, whether his Throat was cut by his Mother, iv. 67.
- Pheres*, the Son of *Cretheus*, Uncle to *Jason*; his Children, iii. 394. iv. 8, 10.
- Pherusa*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Phoenia*. See *Callipatira*.
- Phialus*, the Son of *Bucolion*, communicated his Name to the City *Phialia*, iii. 354.
- Phigalus*, built the City *Phigalia*, iii. 354.
- Philacus*, whose Oxen were kept by Mastives, iii. 394.
- Philammen*, the Son of *Kione*. See *Kione*.
- Phileus* the Son of *Jupiter* and *Garamantis*, ii. 170.
- Phileni*, two Brothers raised to Divinities by the *Carthaginians*; why, i. 577.
- Phileto*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278:

Philip,

I N D E X.

- Philip*, King of *Macedon*; his Chapel; his Statue, iii. 432.
- Philistines*, their Divinities, ii. 2, 6, 18.
- Phillis*, the Daughter of *Lycurgus* King of the *Daulians*; her Metamorphosis into an Almond-Tree, iv. 400.
- Phillyra*, *Chiron's* Mother transformed into a Linden-Tree, iv. 398.
- Philoctetes*, the Companion of *Hercules*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 27, 351. One of the *Grecian* Leaders at the Siege of *Troy*, 216. Was left in the Island of *Lemnos*, then brought back by *Ulysses* before *Troy*, 226, 290, 352. Repaired to *Calabria* after the Siege of *Troy*, 352.
- Philomele*, surnamed *Thetis* the Daughter of *Aëon*, the Wife of *Peleus* and Mother of *Achilles*, iii. 391, 210.
- Philomela*, the Wife of *Tereus*; her History and Metamorphosis into a Nightingale, iv. 357, 358.
- Philosophers*, what their Sentiments were of Idolatry, i. 1, 2. ii. 156. And of the Nature of the Gods, i. 437, 438, 480.
- Philosophy*, Ignorance of Philosophy one Source of Fables, i. 45, 47. And the Origin of Physical and Astronomical Gods, *ibid.*
- Phine*, one of *Mercury's* Names, ii. 374.
- Phineus*, the Son of *Phenix* King of *Salmydeffa*, was struck blind, and then tormented by the *Harpies*, iv. 33. The *Argonauts* deliver him from them, 34, 35.
- Phincus* petrified by *Perseus*; why, iii. 457, 461.
- Phia*, an Island in the Lake *Tritonis*, by whom inhabited, iv. 50.
- Phlegeton*, one of the infernal Rivers, iii. 22.
- Phlegon*, one of the Horses of the Sun, ii. 383.
- Phlegyas*, his Punishment in *Tartarus*, iii. 109. His History, 110, 111.
- Philammon*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 27.
- Phlias*, one of the *Argonauts*, his Genealogy, iv. 23.
- Phliasia*, a Country that had its Name from *Phlias*, *ibid.*
- Plox*. See *Phos*.
- Phobetor*, one of the Dreams, the Signification of the Name, iii. 100.
- Phocis*, a Country in *Greece*, iv. 273.
- Phocus*, the Son of *Eacus*, i. 117, 118. Slain by *Telamon* his Brother, iv. 270. Gave Name to *Phocis*, 273.
- Phæbades*, Priestesses of *Apollo* at *Rome*, i. 296.
- Phæbe*, the Daughter of Heaven and Earth, i. 113. Her Children, 115. ii. 418.
- Phæbe*, *Phaeton's* Sister, her Transformation, ii. 390.
- Phæbe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.

I N D E X.

- Phæbus*, the Surname of *Apollo*, ii. 418.
- Pholoe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Pholus*, one of the Centaurs, whom *Hercules* exterminated, iii. 539. His Death lamented by *Hercules* himself, 541.
- Phorbas*, one of the Descendants of *Inachus*, iii. 358.
- Phorbas*, a Robber slain by *Apollo*; the Explanation of this Adventure, ii. 416.
- Phorcys*, or *Phorcus*, his Genealogy; his Children; becomes a Sea-God, i. 114. ii. 313, 522. iii. 438.
- Phroneus*, one of the Heroes of Greece, iii. 430.
- Phroncus*, the Son of *Inachus* King of *Argos*, iii. 358.
- Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, who they were among the *Phenicians*, i. 91.
- Phrastor*, King of *Argos*, his Genealogy, iii. 343.
- Phrentis*, one of the Sons of *Phryxus*, iv. 7.
- Phryxus*, the Son of *Atamas* and *Nephele*; his History, iii. 394. iv. 4, &c. How he was transported to *Colchis*, iv. 5. His Death; his Children, 7.
- Phtha*, a God of the *Egyptians*, the *Vulcan* of the *Greeks*, i. 104, 493.
- Phylacus*, one of the Herces of Greece, iii. 432.
- Phyllidæce*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Phyllira*, a Nymph beloved by *Saturn*, the Mother of the Centaur *Cbiron*, iii. 531.
- Physicians*, what Gods they invoked, i. 200.
- Physicus*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Picumnus*, what Sort of Divinity he was, i. 197. ii. 590.
- Pickpockets*, had their Gods, i. 197.
- Picus*, the Son of *Sterces*, King of the *Aborigines*, ii. 261, 269. Succeeded *Janus*, ii. 600. His History; his Metamorphosis into a Magpie, 601. The Explanation of this Metamorphosis, *ibid.*
- Pielus*, the Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*; he reigned in *Epirus*, iv. 241.
- Pieria*, a Country of *Macedonia*, ii. 430, 431, 435, 436.
- Pierides*, their Challenge to the Muses, ii. 434.
- Picrides*, an Epithet of the Muses, ii. 430, 435.
- Pierus*, the Son of *Magnes* in *Pieria*, which he called after his own Name, iii. 392.
- Picty*, a Divinity, i. 199. iii. 126.
- Pigeons*, consecrated to *Venus*, i. 264. ii. 332. Pigeons that fed *Jupiter*, ii. 208. The Worship which the *Assyrians* and Inhabitants of *Ascalon* paid to Pigeons, i. 202. ii. 33, 34. Why, *ibid.*
- Piliars of Hercules*, ii. 303. iii. 450. iv. 95, 112.

Pilumnus,

I N D E X.

- Pilumnus*, what God he was, i. 197. ii. 590. His Genealogy, ii. 170.
- Pinarii*, Priests of *Hercules* in *Italy*; at what Period of Time their Priesthood was abolished, i. 294, 295.
- Pirithous*, his Genealogy, iii. 527. His Marriage disturbed by the *Centaur*s, 538. Undertakes with *Theseus* to carry off *Proserpine*; his Death, 544, 545. iv. 140, 141.
- Pisidice*, the Daughter of *Eolus*, married to *Myrmidon*; her Children, iii. 390, 391.
- Pismires*, Divinities of the *Thessalians*, i. 203. Why the *Greeks* derived their Origin from the *Pismires* of the Forest of *Egina*, 71.
- Pistor*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*, ii. 218.
- Pitheus*, King of *Trezene*, his Genealogy, iii. 422. iv. 130. in the Note. Takes Care of the Education of *Theseus*' his Grandson, iv. 131.
- Pitho*, the Goddess of Orators, i. 200. An Epithet given to *Diana*, ii. 425. The Goddess of Persuasion; her Temples, iii. 138.
- Pitho*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Pixius*, one of *Jupiter*'s Epithets, ii. 224.
- Placida*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 243.
- Planets*, adored by the *Egyptians*, i. 103. Their Origin according to the *Greeks*, 112. Their Worship among the *Persians* and other Nations, 175, 190, 485. By whom inhabited, 493, 494. ii. 158.
- Plants*, that several of them were consecrated to the Gods, i. 263, 264.
- Pleiades*, a Constellation, the Daughters of *Atlas*, i. 108. ii. 273, 276.
- Plestorus*, worshipped among the *Thracians* as a Heroe, ii. 148.
- Pleuron*, the Son of *Endymion*, his Ancestors; his Descendants, iii. 390, 391.
- Plexaura*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Plexippus*, the Son of *Phineus*; his Father makes his Eyes be put out, and is punished by him, iv. 33, 34.
- Plexippus*, the Brother of *Altheus*. See *Toxeus*.
- Plione*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Plisthenes*, the Brother of *Atreus*; whether he was the Father of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, iv. 257, 258.
- Plotæ*, an Island in the *Ionian Sea*, named the *Strophades*, iv. 35.
- Plusios*, one of *Jupiter*'s Epithets, ii. 225.
- Pluto*, the Son of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, i. 115. iii. 42. What Country

I N D E X.

- Country fell to his Lot, i. 19. ii. 214. iii. 42, 43. Why he passed for the God of Riches, iii. 44. Why made the God of Hell, *ibid.* The various Names which he had; 45. His Worship; how he was represented, 46. Carries off *Proserpine*, *ibid.* The Fable explained, 53. Why *Pluto* and the infernal Gods were hated; Why they were worshipped, 102, 103. The Worship paid to him by the *Gauls*; upon what this Worship was founded, 279.
- Plutus*, the God of Riches; whose Son he was, i. 117. iii. 70. His Origin, 71. Why said to be blind and lame, 72.
- Pluvius*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*; how this *Jupiter* was represented, ii. 218.
- Plynteria*, a Festival of *Minerva*, how it was celebrated, i. 306.
- Podalirius*, the Brother of *Machaon*, his History, iii. 158, 159. One of the *Grecian* Heroes, iii. 430.
- Podarces*, the first Name of *Priam*. See *Priam*.
- Poetry*, ancient in the East, i. 72. Its Origin in *Greece*, ii. 213. Games wherein the Prize of Poetry was disputed, ii. 303. iv. 417, 433.
- Poets*, were the first Historians, i. 21. Authors of most of the Fables, i. 37, 38. Their Theology, i. 148, 475.
- Pogwid*, one of the Gods of the *Sarmatians*, ii. 145.
- Polemocrates*, the Son of *Machaon*, a Heroe of *Greece*, iii. 430.
- Polidora*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Polignus*, the Son of *Proteus*, slain by *Hercules*, ii. 515.
- Polijo*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278.
- Polinchos*, or *Polias*, a Name given to *Minerva*, ii. 309.
- Polyboies*, one of the Giants who made war upon the Gods; The Island which was formed of his Body, ii. 168, 169.
- Polydectes*, King of the Island of *Seriphus*, gave *Danae* a favourable Reception; took Care of *Perseus*, iii. 392, 437. He is petrified by *Perseus*; why, 439, 454, 455.
- Polydorus*, the Son of *Alcamenes* King of *Sparta*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 432.
- Polydorus*, the Son of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia*, i. 117. iii. 411. Is banished from the Kingdom of *Thebes*; why, 415. His Descendants, *ibid.*
- Polydorus*, the Son of *Priam* and *Hecube*, iv. 139. Sent when yet a Child to the Court of *Polymnestor* King of *Thrace*, who put him to Death, 243, 244.
- Polydora*, the Daughter of *Meleager* and *Cleopatra*. See *Protesilaus*.

Polydora,

I N D E X.

- Polydora*, the Daughter of *Peleus* and *Antigone*; the Mother of *Mnestheus*, iv. 271.
- Polyhymnia*, one of the *Muses*; the Signification of the Word; how she was represented, ii. 433.
- Polymnestor*, King of *Thrace*, his Avarice, iv. 243, 244.
- Polynices*, the Son of *Oedipus* and *Jocasta*, one of the illustrious Personages condemned to *Tartarus*, iii. 23. See *Etheocles*.
- Polyphagus*, an Epithet given to *Hercules*, iv. 120.
- Polyphemus*, one of the *Cyclops* in *Sicily*, his Adventure with *Ulysses*, iv. 292, 293. Who this Cyclop was, 293. His Amour with *Galatea*, *ibid*.
- Polytechnes*, the Son-in-law of *Pandareus*. See *Pandareus*.
- Polytheism*, by whom introduced, i. 112.
- Polixena*, the Daughter of *Priam*, sacrificed to the *Manes* of *Achilles*, iv. 240. Why and by whom, 276, &c. 350.
- Pomona*, the Goddess of Gardens and Orchards, i. 198. ii. 579. The Amours of *Pomona* and *Vertumnus*; what we are to understand by them, ii. 579, 580. How she was represented; whence she had her Name, 582.
- Pomus*, a God of Gardens, i. 197.
- Pontifs* of the *Romans*, their Preheminence over the other Priests; their Functions, i. 291.
- Pontus*, who he was according to the *Chaldeans*, his Children, i. 97, 114.
- Poplar-Tree*, consecrated to *Hercules*, iv. 116.
- Populifugia*, a *Roman* Festival; why instituted, i. 312.
- Populonia*, a rural Divinity, ii. 590. iii. 192, 195. Also a Name given to *Juno*, ii. 243.
- Porevith*, a God of the *Germans*; how he is represented, iii. 331.
- Porphyryon*, one of the *Giants* who made war upon the Gods, his Death, ii. 168. Offered Violence to *Juno* in the Presence of *Jupiter*, 205, 206.
- Portugal*, the Origin of the Name, i. 60.
- Portumnus*, or *Portunus*, this is the *Palemon* of the *Greeks*, and the *Melicerta* of the *Phenicians*, i. 15. ii. 523. He is transformed into a Sea-God, *ibid*.
- Porus*, the God of Riches, the Father of Love, ii. 338.
- Posëidon*, the Name of *Neptune*, its Etymology, ii. 214, 504.
- Posidonia*, a Festival in Honour of *Neptune*, i. 304.
- Postularia*, what Signs so called, i. 400.
- Postverta*, a *Roman* Goddess, i. 197. iii. 191.
- Pothos*, the Son of *Chronos* and *Astarte*, i. 96.
- Potitii*. See *Pinarii*.
- Potina*, a tutelary Goddess of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Potniades*,

I N D E X.

- Petniades*, who those *Greck* Goddesses were; the Origin of the Name, iii. 177.
- Poverty*, a Goddess, i. 199. Her Worship joined with that of the Arts, iii. 181.
- Prædator*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 218.
- Prayers*, Divinities, how represented, iii. 181. The Fable of *Ate* the Sister of these Goddesses, i. 31.
- Praxidicians*, who those Goddesses were, iii. 370.
- Prefericulum*, a Vase for the Sacrifices, i. 277.
- Præma*, a Goddess invoked in Marriage, ii. 252. iii. 192.
- Prencste*, a City in *Italy*, how the Lots were consulted there, i. 354.
- Presages*, of how many Kinds, i. 409, &c. Superstitions of the Pagans in relation to them, 410, 411.
- Preugones*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 434.
- Priam*, the Son of *Lacmedon*, the Origin of the Name; how he was called at first, iv. 104. The Source of the Enmity between his Family and that of *Agamemnon*, 213. His History, 215, 220. His Interview with *Achilles* in the *Grecian* Camp, 276. His Death, and the dismal Fate of his numerous Family, 278.
- Priapus*, the God of Gardens, i. 198. ii. 583. His Original; Fables delivered concerning this God; his Worship; how he was represented, 584, 585.
- Priestesses*, Women who presided over Religion, in high Veneration among the *Greeks*, i. 282, 283, &c. And among the *Romans*, 294.
- Priests* of the Gods, the Authors of several Fables, i. 45. Their Impostures, 75, 76, 220, 458. How they prepared themselves for the Sacrifices, 270, 271, &c. How they were chosen, 281.
- Priests* of the *Greeks*; the Princes of the Priests of *Delphos*, i. 281, 282. Three Sorts of Priests common to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, 286. Priests peculiar to the *Romans*, their Privileges, 290, 291. The Establishment of several Orders of Priests at *Rome*, iii. 186. Usages of the Priests of *Egypt*, i. 488, 489.
- Principles*, the Opinion of two Principles; the Antiquity of this Opinion, i. 176, 177, 495.
- Proas*, a God of the *Germans*, his Functions; his Statue, iii. 330.
- Procas*, King of *Alba*, the Father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, iv. 313.
- Processions*, those that were made in Honour of *Isis* and *Osiris*, i. 556. In Honour of *Mais* and *Papremis*, 559. In Honour of *Jupiter* of *Heliopolis*, 559, 560. Processions of

I N D E X.

- of the *Hebrews* imitated by those of the *Egyptians*. Processions in Use among the *Germans*; among the *Gauls*, 560, 561.
- Procris*, the Wife of *Cephalus*, her History; her Husband puts her to Death by Mistake, ii. 318. iv. 378, 379. Whose Daughter she was, 379, 380.
- Procustes*, the Appellation of a Giant, iv. 135.
- Procyon*, the Name of a Constellation, iv. 408.
- Prodice*, one of the *Hyades*, ii. 278.
- Prodigies*, two Classes of Prodigies, i. 411, 412. The Relation of several Prodigies, 412, &c. What we are to think of those whereof we cannot assign a natural Cause, 415, 416.
- Prodomei*, Gods of the *Megareans*, iii. 177.
- Prodromia*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 245.
- Proerosia*, a Festival of *Ceres* in *Attica*, iii. 62.
- Prætides*, the Daughters of *Prætus*, who believed themselves transformed into Heifers; the Foundation of this Fable, iii. 464.
- Prætus*, his Genealogy; he is the *Jupiter* in Love with *Danae*, ii. 164. iii. 364, 435. His Death, 462.
- Profanus*, an Epithet given to *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Progne*, the Daughter of *Pandion*, her History; her Metamorphosis into a Swallow, iv. 357, 358.
- Promacos*, an Epithet given to *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Promachus*, a Name given to *Hercules*, iv. 125.
- Prometheus*, why said to have formed Man, i. 49, 50. ii. 283. He invented the Art of Statuary, *ibid.* & i. 209. Whose Son he was, i. 115, 116. ii. 279. How he imposes upon *Jupiter*; how he steals Fire from Heaven, 280. Explained, 284. The Punishment to which he is condemned, 280. *Hercules* delivers him from it, 281. iv. 96. Sir *Isaac Newton*'s Opinion of him, ii. 287. Worship paid to him after his Death, *ibid.*
- Prometheus*, one of the Gods of the *Egyptians*, in what Class, i. 492.
- Prometheia*, the Festival of Lamps, i. 304. See *Lamps*.
- Promethæa*, a Festival in Honour of *Prometheus*, i. 304.
- Pronuba*, an Epithet of *Juno*, ii. 242, 249.
- Propetides*, debauched Women of the Island of *Cyprus*, iv. 395.
- Prophets*, what Sort of Ministers they were in the Temples, i. 281.
- Prorsa*, or *Prosa*, a Goddess, by whom invoked, i. 197. iii. 191.

Prosclystius,

I N D E X.

- Prosclystius*, an Epithet given to *Neptune*, what it imports, ii. 307, 501.
- Proserpina*, a Goddess for Corn, i. 198.
- Proserpina*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, i. 117. ii. 170. Carried off by *Pluto*, iii. 47. The Explanation of this Fable, 53, 56. She was in Veneration among the *Gauls*, 280.
- Prosymma*, one of *Juno*'s Epithets, ii. 244.
- Proteus*, a Sea-God; why said to assume various Shapes, i. 25. ii. 517, 520. The Explanation of this Fable, *ibid.* why said to be the Son of *Neptune*, 521. The Etymology of his Name; in what Age he lived, 521, 522.
- Protesilaus*, the Son of *Iphiclus*, the first who was slain at the Landing of the *Greeks* upon the *Trojan* Shore, iv. 20, 174, 221, 348. His History, 348, &c.
- Protesilaia*, a Festival in Honour of *Protesilaus*, i. 304.
- Protegenia*, one of *Jupiter*'s Mistresses, ii. 170.
- Protegnus*, the Name of the first Man in the System of the *Phenicians*, i. 91. His Posterity, 94.
- Protegenia*, beloved by *Jupiter*; her Children, ii. 170.
- Providence*, a Divinity, how represented, iii. 136.
- Psalachas*, a Nymph in Love with *Bacchus*, her Death; her Transformation into a Plant of her Name, iii. 507.
- Psamathe*, the Wife of *Æacus*, i. 117, 118. Her Genealogy; her Son, iv. 270.
- Psammeticus*, King of *Egypt*, re-established upon his Throne by brazen Men sprung from the Sea, iii. 406.
- Psaphos*, a God worshipped in *Libya*; to what Stratagem he owed his Divinity, iii. 172.
- Psilas*, an Epithet given to *Bacchus*, ii. 448.
- Psyche*, her Birth; her Amours with *Cupid*; her Adventures; she is carried up to Heaven, ii. 342. How represented, 348.
- Pycomancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Pteras*, the Architect of the Temple of *Delphos*, the Origin of his Name, i. 68.
- Pterelas*, the Son of *Taphius*, his Ancestors, iv. 74. The Death of his Children, 75. His Death owing to the Treachery of his Daughter, 76.
- Ptolemy Philadelphus* ranked among the Heroes Eponymes, iii. 434.
- Pure*, the Pure Gods, worshipped by the *Arcadians*, iii. 177.
- Purple*, by whom the Art of staining Purple was invented, iv. 113.

Putæ,

I N D E X.

- Putā*, a Goddess who presided over those who pruned Trees, iii. 198.
- Pygas*, Queen of the *Pygmies*, transformed into a Crane; why, iv. 376.
- Pygmalion*, King of *Tyre*, the Brother of *Eliza* or *Dido*, his Avarice; his Cruelty, iv. 319.
- Pygmalion*, King of *Cyprus*, who fell in Love with a fine Statue, *ibid.* in the Note.
- Pygmies*, what the Poets and Historians have related of their Existence, their Size, Manners and Battles with the Cranes, iv. 369. The Explanation of these Fables; what People designed under that Name, 374, 375. Who the *mygmies* are, whom the Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks of, 377.
- Pylades*, the Son of *Strophius* King of *Phocis*, the Cousin of *Orestes*, and his intimate Friend, iv. 260. The generous Struggle of Friendship between those two Friends, 263. he marries the Sister of *Orestes*; the Children he had by her, 264. His Ancestors, *ibid.*
- Pyramus* and *Thisbe*, their Amours; their Death, iv. 365.
- Pyreneus*, the Tyrant of *Phocis*, who persecutes the Muses, ii. 434.
- Pyrenean* Mountains, whence their Name derived, i. 60.
- Pyriphlegeton*, or *Phlegeton*, a River in *Epirus*, whereof they made an infernal River; the Etymology of the Name, iii. 10. ii. 35, 36.
- Pyritheus*, one of the Heroes of *Greece*, iii. 432.
- Pyromancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Pyrous*, the Name of one of the Horses of the Sun, ii. 383.
- Pyrrha*, the Wife of *Deucalion*; her Genealogy, ii. 280. iii. 376.
- Pyrrhifous*, the first Name of *Achilles*, iv. 274.
- Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, was led to the Siege of *Troy*, though very young; why, iv. 59, 278. How he distinguished himself there, 278. The Children he had by *Andromache*, 241. He marries *Hermione* already betrothed to *Orestes*, who is the Mean of his being assassinated at *Delphos*, 264, 278, 279. Where his Descendants reigned, 280.
- Pythagoras*, his Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*; whence he borrowed this Notion, i. 71, 554. See *Metempsychosis*. From whom he said he had learned his Doctrine, iii. 484.
- Pythia*, the Priestess of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, i. 283. How she was chosen; how she delivered her Oracles, 337, &c. Her Responses put into Verse; turned to Ridicule, 339, 360. The Cause of the Declension of the Oracle, 360.
- Pythian Games*, their Institution; the Prize of the Conqueror

I N D E X.

- ror at those Games; what the Exercises therein were, ii. 408. iv. 432, &c. When they were celebrated, iv. 434. under what Name the *Romans* adopted them, *ibid.* 435.
- Pythius*, the Surname of *Apollo*, ii. 419.
- Python*, a Serpent, whose Offspring the Poets make him, i. 504, 512. He is overthrown by *Apollo*; the Origin of the *Pythian* Games, ii. 408, 419. That the *Typhon* of the *Egyptians* is the Model of the Fable of *Python*, i. 504, 512.
- Pytocampes*, a Freebooter slain by *Theseus*, iii. 107.

Q.

- Q**UADRATUS, one of *Mercury's* Epithets, ii. 375.
- Quail*, was offered in Sacrifice to *Hercules*, iv. 116. The Quality ascribed to the Smell of that Fowl, *ibid.* *Latona* transformed into a Quail. See *Latona*.
- Queen*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 241.
- Queen*, by Way of Eminence, the same with *Rhea* and *Pandora*, i. 107. Her History according to the *Atlantides*, *ibid.*
- Queen* of the Sacrifices at *Rome*, *Regina Sacrorum*, i. 294.
- Querron*, a Lake in *Egypt*, whence the *Greeks* formed their *Acheron*, iii. 26, 27.
- Quies*, a *Roman* Goddess, her Temples, iii. 194.
- Quindecimvirs*, Ministers established for keeping the *Sibylline* Books, i. 296, 374, 375.
- Quinquatria*, a Festival of the Scholars at *Rome*, i. 314.
- Quirinalia*, another Festival celebrated at *Rome*, i. 314. iii. 204.
- Quirinus*, a Name given to *Mars*; the Distinction between the Name *Quirinus* and that of *Gradivus*, ii. 319.
- Quirinus*, a Name given also to *Romulus*; why, i. 314. ii. 319. iii. 186, 204.
- Quirita*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 242.

R.

- R**ABDOMANCY, a Kind of Divination, i. 393.
- Race*, one of the Exercises practised in the Games, iv. 417.
- Rachel*. See *Teraphims*.
- Radagaisus*, the Heroe of the *Heruli*, iii. 333.
- Rainbow*. See *Iris*.
- Ram* with the Golden Fleece. See *Golden Fleece*, *Argonauts*. Another *Ram* with a Golden Fleece, that was the Cause of all the Calamities of the *Pelopidae*, iv. 254, 258, 267.
- Raven*, consecrated to *Apollo*, ii. 417.

Regifugium,

I N D E X.

- Regifugium*, a Festival so called by the *Romans*; why, i. 315.
- Reidanus*, a River in *Prussia*, ii. 391. See *Cygnus* and the *Heliades*.
- Religion*, how many ancient Religions are distinguished, i. 161. That the Substance of all Religions was ever the same, 169. What was the Religion of the Learned in the Pagan World, 171. See *Idolatry* and *Theogony*.
- Remmon*, or *Rimmon*, a God of the *Syrians*, ii. 1.
- Rempham*. See *Kiun*.
- Remus*. See *Romulus*.
- Rescintus*, one of *Juno's* Appellations, ii. 244.
- Retheum*, a Promontory, near which was erected a Tomb to *Ajax*, iv. 285.
- Rex Sacrificulus* or *King-Priest* at *Rome*, i. 294.
- Rhadamanthus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europe*, ii. 169. iii. 402, 482. One of the Judges of Hell, iii. 22. His History, 42, 489, &c. That there were several Persons of this Name, 492.
- Rhadina*, a Heroine, by whom worshipped, iii. 435.
- Rhampus*, a City in *Attica*, the Worship of *Nemesis* established in that City, iii. 93.
- Rhamsinitus*, King of *Egypt*, what he did to the Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, i. 220, 221. His Descent into Hell, iii. 41.
- Rhamnusia*, the Surname of the Goddess *Nemesis*, iii. 94.
- Rhapsodists*, who they were, ii. 304.
- Rhea*, one of the eight great Divinities of *Egypt*, i. 105, 492. Her Children; her History according to the *Greeks*, 113, 115. ii. 165. How she was delivered of *Jupiter*, ii. 165. the Earth worshipped under the Name of *Rhea*, i. 196. ii. 552.
- Rhea Sylvia*, the Mother of *Remus* and *Romulus*, i. 75. Who was the God *Mars*, by whom she was got with Child, ii. 316. iv. 313, 314.
- Rhea*, the Daughter of *Uranus*, becomes *Chronos's* Concubine; her Children, i. 96.
- Rheo*, the Daughter of *Staphilus*, the Mother of *Anius*; to whom she had a Child, iv. 321.
- Rhesus*, King of *Thrace*, comes to the Relief of *Troy*, iv. 220. He is slain before he enters *Troy*, and his Horses are stole; why, 229.
- Rhine*, a River in Veneration among the *Gauls*, why, iii. 221. How they tried the Fidelity of their Wives by that River, 248.
- Rhodea*, a Nymph, ii. 532.

Rhodes,

I N D E X.

Rhodes, an Island, whence its Name derived, i. 60. The Worship it paid to *Minerva*, ii. 301. The Fable of the golden Shower having fallen in that Island ; why *Minerva* quitted it, and repaired to *Athens*, 302. The Transformation of the *Rhodians* into Rocks, iv. 397.

Riches, Divinities who presided over them, i. 198.

Ridiculus, a *Roman* Divinity, his Origin, iii. 197.

Ring, the Origin of the first Ring that was worn, ii. 281.

A Ring that was thrown into the Sea by *Minos*, and given back to *Theseus* by *Amphitrite*, iii. 506.

Risus, the God *Risus*, or Laughter, a Divinity ; his gay Festival, iii. 180.

Rivers, of whom they are said to be propagated, i. 114.

Their Number, *ibid.* Every River had a tutelar Divinity, i. 45. ii. 280. The Worship paid to Rivers was universal, ii. 479. Whereupon it was founded, 480. How Sacrifice was performed to them, ii. 97, 485. Infernal Rivers, iii. 34. The Foundation of their Fable, 37.

Robigalia, a Festival so called, i. 315.

Robigus, a God of Corn ; the Etymology of his Name, i. 198, 315. ii. 589.

Rodigast, a Divinity of the *Germans*, how they represented him, iii. 331.

Romans, their Religion, i. 124. That they added several Divinities to those of other Nations, 199, 201.

Rome, raised to a Divinity ; her Worship ; how she was represented, iii. 202.

Romulus, his Birth, i. 75. The Care he took of Religion, iii. 182, 183. Was ranked among the Gods ; his Worship ; his Temple ; his Pontif, 186, 202, &c. A Festival instituted in his Honour ; under what Name he was worshipped, 204.

Rose, a Flower consecrated to *Venus*, why, ii. 332.

Rotunda, the modern Name of the *Pantheon*, i. 231.

Routren, one of the principal Gods of the *East Indies*, i. 12.

Rumilia, a Goddess ; why invoked, i. 197.

Rumina, or *Rumia*, a Goddess ; why invoked, i. 197. iii. 192.

Runcina, a Goddess of the Harvest, ii. 591.

Rusina, or *Rutina*, a Goddess of the Fields, ii. 591. iii. 199.

S.

SABASIA, a Festival so called, i. 306.

Sabastus, one of *Bacchus's* Names, ii. 447.

Sabath, to go by Night to *Sabbath* ; the Origin of that Notion, iii. 247, 248.

I N D E X.

- Sabeans*, an *Arabic* Nation ; a Sacrifice which they offered every Day to the Sun, i. 571, 574.
- Sabism*, what Sort of Religion it was ; the Object of that Religion, i. 162, 177, 190, ii. 2.
- Sacæ*, a Name of the *Scythians*, ii. 130.
- Sacrifice*, what it is ; the Simplicity of the first Sacrifices, i. 254. When bloody Sacrifices began, 256. And the barbarous Sacrifices of human Victims, 258. Who were at first the Ministers of the Sacrifices, 261. Their necessary Qualifications, 262. Different Sorts of Sacrifice, *ibid.* Different Sacrifices allotted to different Gods, *ibid.* and 263. Prayer, and other Ceremonies used at them, 271. Instruments of Sacrifice, 276. Ministers of Sacrifice, 280 to 297. See *Priests*. What was meant by the Sacrifices of the Dead, ii. 54.
- Sadid*, the Son of *Chronos*, who put him to Death, i. 95.
- Sagaritis*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Sagittarius*, a Constellation, how it was formed, iii. 540. iv. 407.
- Sain*, the Island of *Sain*, situated upon the Coast of *Britain* ; what Divinity was adored there ; the Reputation of the *Druidesses* of that Island, iii. 284.
- Sais*, a City in *Egypt*, whence it derived its Name, i. 60. What Animals were worshipped there, 202, 545. The singular Temple built there by *Amasis*, 221. The Festival that was celebrated there in honour of *Minerva*, 559.
- Sails*, of Ships, to whom the Invention of them is attributed, iii. 509, 520.
- Sakea*, a Goddess, the same with *Anaitis*, ii. 128.
- Seasons*, by whom they were brought forth, i. 116.
- Salacer*, a Divinity of *Rome*, iii. 196.
- Salacia*, the Goddess of Tempests, i. 199. The Wife of *Neptune*, ii. 498.
- Salamis*, a City in *Cyprus*, its ancient Name ; what Sacrifices were offered there, iii. 375.
- Salentum*, a City in *Italy*, by whom built, iii. 354, 355.
- Salii*, Priests of *Mars* at *Rome*, by whom instituted, and why, ii. 320, 321.
- Salisubulus*, an Epithet given to *Mars*, ii. 320.
- Salmacis*, her Passion for *Hermaphroditus* ; the Foundation of this Fable ; a Fountain of the same Name, iv. 367.
- Salmoneus*, the Son of *Eolus*, iii. 390. His History, 393. Condemned to *Tartarus* ; why, 23.
- Salus*, the Goddess of Health, her Worship at *Rome*, iii. 167.
- Samia*, one of *Juno's* Appellations, ii. 244.

I N D E X:

Samos, an Island; the Worship that was paid there to *Juno*, ii. 235, 244, 246.

Samothæi, a Name given to the *Druids*, iii. 227.

Samothrace, an Island; what Gods were worshipped there, ii. 70, 71. The Renown of the Mysteries of *Samothrace*, iv. 149, 150.

Salmydeffa, a City in *Thracia*. See *Phineus*.

Salt, by whom the Use of it was found out, i. 94. Salt employed in Sacrifices, 255, 257, 269.

Sanchoniathon, the ancient Historian of the *Phenicians*; in what Age he lived, i. 58. Fragments of his History, 86, &c. Why he has mentioned only the Descendants of *Cain*, 93.

Sangaris, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.

Sangus or *Sanctus*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter* by the *Sabines*, ii. 224.

Sanctus, one of *Hercules's* Epithets, iv. 122.

Sares, the Custom of reckoning Years by *Sares*; how many Years a *Sare* denoted, i. 86. in the Note.

Sarmates, their Gods, ii. 145.

Saron, the God of Seamen, ii. 522. His History, *ibid.* and 524.

Sarpedon, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Laodamia*, iii. 475. The Troops which he commanded at the Siege of *Troy*, 479.

Sarpedon, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, iii. 402, 482. His History, 483, 492.

Sarnides, Ministers of Religion among the *Gauls*, their Functions, iii. 226.

Sarug, the Father of *Abraham*. See *Abraham*.

Saturnalia, *Roman* Festivals, how they were celebrated, i. 306, 307. ii. 256. Why instituted, ii. 184.

Saturn, the Etymology of the Name, ii. 257. His Genealogy according to the Tradition of the *Atlantides*, ii. 254. According to the *Greeks*, i. 112, 113. ii. 165, 172. His History, ii. 165, 253. The Age wherein he lived, ii. 292. What meant by the Stone he is said to have swallowed, ii. 189. Why said to devour his Children, 165, 166, 173, 257. To be bound with Fetters of Wool in his Prison, ii. 182. To be thrown down to *Tartarus* by *Jupiter*, 184. The Worship paid to *Saturn*, 258, 263, 279. He was one of the great Gods of the *Egyptians*, i. 105, 492. How he was represented, i. 253. ii. 182, 260.

Saturn, the Planet, what the Philosophers have said of it, ii. 257.

Saturnia, the ancient Name of *Italy*, ii. 256.

Satyres, Rural Gods, how represented, ii. 592, 596. Their Origin, 592, 593. Whether they were Men. Stories

I N D E X.

- of several Satyres, 594, 595. The Etymology of the Name, 596. The Mourning of the Satyres for the Death of *Osiris*, i. 539, 544.
- Saw*, who was the Inventor of that Instrument, and what was the Model of it, iii. 521.
- Scamander*, the King of *Phrygia*, iv. 249.
- Schylinide*, a Nymph beloved by *Jupiter*; her Children, ii. 170.
- Seia*, a Goddess for Corn, i. 198.
- Sciomancy*, a Sort of Divination, i. 396.
- Sciron*, a Robber slain by *Theseus*; his Villanies; his Memory justified by the *Megarians*, iv. 134.
- Sculptors*, that they gave Rise to several Fables, and to several Divinities, i. 44, 169, 193, 201.
- Sculpture*, the Antiquity of that Art; Artists who signalized themselves therein in *Greece*, i. 246, 247.
- Scuvac*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Scylla*, the Daughter of *Nisus*; she betrayed her Father, and was transformed into a Lark, iv. 294, &c.
- Scylla* and *Charybdis*, fabulous Monsters; the Origin of this Fable, i. 29, 74. iv. 294, 295.
- Scythe* of *Saturn*, i. 113. ii. 180, 181. Why represented with a Scythe in his Hand, 182.
- Scythians*, a Northern Nation, their Religion, i. 192, 193. ii. 135. Their first Gods, ii. 138. Their Superstitions, 140. Their Origin; Monuments of their Religion, 141. The Country which they inhabited, 170, 171.
- Scythism*, what Religion it was, i. 162.
- Sea*, worshipped as a Divinity, i. 196. ii. 474, 475. See *Ocean*, *Water*, *Neptune*. The *Egyptians* looked upon the Sea with Abhorrence; why, i. 516. ii. 478. The *Chinese* Way of accounting for the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, i. 147.
- Sebasius*, an Epithet of *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Sebrus*, one of the *Grecian* Heroes, iii. 434.
- Secespita*, an Instrument for Sacrifice, i. 278.
- Security*, a Divinity of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, how she was represented; Gods who procured Security, iii. 137.
- Seia* and *Segetia*, Goddesses of Corn, i. 198. ii. 588.
- Seed-time*, the Holy-days of Seed-time, a Festival in honour of the Earth, ii. 553.
- Selamanes*, ii. 221. See *Mahdachus*.
- Selago*, a Plant, otherwise called *Black Hellebore*; the Use which the *Druids* made of it, iii. 235, 236.
- Scelene*, the Daughter of *Hyperion* and *Rhea*; her Death; her

I N D E X.

- Worship under the Name of *Isis*, or of the Moon, i. 105, 107.
- Sem*, the Son of *Noah*; whether he preserved in his Lifetime the Worship of the true God, i. 167, 169. Whence his Descendants received Idolatry, 177.
- Semele*, the Daughter of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia*, i. 117. iii. 411. The Mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter*; her Death, ii. 170, 436, 444. iii. 413. Was ranked among the Goddesses, iii. 449.
- Semiramis*, her Birth; the Etymology of her Name, ii. 33. Her Death; her Metamorphosis into a Pigeon, 34.
- Semixas*, the Head of the Rebel Angels, i. 121.
- Semnothei*, a Name of the Druids, iii. 227.
- Semo Sangus*, the Divinity of the *Sabines*, iii. 207.
- Semonia*, a Goddess of the *Romans*, iii. 193.
- Senani*, a Name given to the Druids, iii. 253.
- Sentia*, a Goddess over good Thoughts, iii. 199.
- Sentinus*, a Divinity who inspired with Thought, iii. 191.
- Senuius*, a God who presided over old Age, i. 198.
- Septimontium*, a Roman Festival, i. 315.
- Serapis*, one of the great Gods of *Egypt*; whether he is the same with *Osiris*, i. 492, 524, 525. The Origin of this God, 524. A Law forbidding to say that *Serapis* had been a Man, 530. That he is the same with *Pluto*, 527.
- Scriphus*, an Island, the Inhabitants whereof petrified by *Medusa's* Head, iii. 439. The Foundation of this Fable, 454.
- Serpent*, the Symbol of the Divinity among the *Egyptians*, i. 104. In Veneration in several Countries, 203. Serpents slain by *Hercules* in the Cradle, iv. 82.
- Serpent*, a Constellation; of what God said to be the Residence, i. 195. iv. 407.
- Serpentarius*, a Constellation, of what it is formed, iv. 407.
- Sesac*, a Divinity named in the Prophet *Jeremiah*, ii. 128, 129.
- Sesak*, a God of the *Babylonians*, ii. 1.
- Seth*, one of the Names of *Typhon*, i. 492.
- Severus*, the Emperor honoured with divine Worship, i. 582.
- Shades*, distinguished from Souls, what we are to understand by that Word, i. 142, 432. The Destiny of the Shade after Death, iii. 13, 14. Shades wandering upon the Banks of the *Cocytus* and *Acheron*, iii. 21, 38. The Origin of the Notion, *ibid.*
- Shcep*, a City in *Egypt* where they were worshipped, i. 545. The Origin of that Worship, 553.

I N D E X.

- Ship Argo*, the Origin of the Name, iv. 12, 14. Whereof it was built, i. 65, 66. iv. 13. Its Form, 14. Its Destiny after the Return of the *Argonauts*, iv. 55. See *Argo*.
- Ships*, *Æneas's* Ships transformed into Sea-Nymphs; the Origin of this Fable, i. 14, 42. Ship of the *Argonauts*, why said to have spoke, i. 65, 66. Ship built by *Xixutrus*, to save himself from the Deluge, i. 86, 87. *Theseus's* Ship, what became of it, iii. 508, 509. The various Forms of the *Grecian* Ships, iv. 14. The Ships of the *Greeks* for the Siege of *Troy*, 216. The Custom of giving Names to Ships, ii. 89.
- Sibyls*. Whether there were *Sibyls*, i. 361. Their Number, 364. Whether they had the Gift of Prediction, 369. The Collection of the *Sibylline* Verses, 372. How they delivered their Oracles, 382. The Longevity that was attributed to them, 385. Of the Worship paid to the *Sibyls*, 387.
- Showers* of Stone; of Ashes; of Fire; what those Showers were, i. 413, 415.
- Sicharbas*, or *Sichæus*, *Dido's* Husband, assassinated by *Pygmalion*, iv. 318.
- Sicily*, an Island consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, iii. 46, 47, 50, 51, 61.
- Sicyon*, King of *Sicyon* to which he communicated his Name, iii. 362.
- Sicyon*, a City and Kingdom in the *Peloponnesus*; in what Period of Time that Kingdom was founded; the Series of its Kings; it was united to the Kingdom of *Argos*, iii. 358, 360, 361, 362.
- Sidon*, the Daughter of *Pontus*, the first who composed Odes, i. 97.
- Sidonians*, who was their principal Divinity, ii. 2.
- Sigalion*, the God of Silence, i. 199.
- Silenus*, the Foster-father of *Bacchus*; the various Characters given of him by the Ancients; his History, ii. 602, 603. The Explanation of the Fables that are blended with it, 605. The Worship that was paid to him, 609.
- Sileni*. See *Satyres*.
- Simpulum*, or *Simpurium*, an Instrument of Sacrifice, i. 277.
- Sinistra*, what Sort of Signs so called, i. 403.
- Sinius*, a Giant surnamed the *Pine-bender*, his Death, iv. 133.
- Sinon*, the *Greek*, his Artifice for surprizing the *Trojans*, iv. 236.
- Sippara*, the City of the Sun, i. 85. See the Note.
- Sirens*, the Origin of the Name, i. 65. Who the *Sirens* were;

I N D E X.

- were; the Idea given of them by the Poets, ii. 539. The Explanation of the Fables delivered about them, 542. Whether there ever were *Sirens*, 544. Who are the *Sirens* mentioned by *Job*, 545.
- Sisyphus*, the Son of *Eolus*, iii. 390. Built the City *Corinth*; his Children, 392.
- Sisyphus* the second, the Descendant of *Eolus*, the Successor of *Medea* in the Kingdom of *Corinth*, iii. 104. His History; Fables delivered in relation to him; his Punishment in *Tartarus*, iii. 23, 104, 106, 107. His Descendants, 107. His Piety towards *Melicerta*, *ibid*.
- Six*, the Number Six in Veneration among the *Druids*, iii. 241.
- Siwa*, a Goddess of the *Germans*; how she is represented, iii. 331.
- Sleep*, by whom procreated, iii. 98. Why invoked; how he was represented, 99. *Dreams*, the Children of *Sleep*; where *Sleep* had his Residence, 100. Who was *Eternal Sleep*, 101.
- Sminthian*, an Appellation given to *Apollo*, ii. 420.
- Smyt*, one of the Names of *Typhon*, i. 492.
- Sneezings*, the Presages that were drawn from thence, i. 410.
- Sogdiana*, a Country of *Asia* possessed by the *Scythians*, ii. 171.
- Sohail*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 570.
- Solymi*, a People of *Lycia*, on whom *Belierophon* made War, iii. 473.
- Somnialis*, an Epithet given to *Hercules*, iv. 121.
- Somniales Dii*, Gods who presided over *Dreams*, *ibid*.
- Soraetes*, an Epithet given to *Apollo*, ii. 420.
- Soranus*, a God of the *Sabines*, the same with *Pluto*, iii. 45.
- Sorceresses*, who drew down the Moon to the Earth; the Origin of this Fable, i. 46. See the Note, iii. 33.
- Sortilegi*, Ministers of the Temples, i. 282.
- Sose*, the ancient Practice of reckoning by *Soses*, i. 86. in the Note.
- Sesipolis*, a God of the *Eleans*, his History, iii. 169.
- Seipita*, a Goddess of Women in Child-bed, i. 197. One of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 241.
- Sejus*, one of the *Egyptian* Demi-Gods, i. 493.
- Soul*, universal, that animated the whole Universe, imagined by the Poets and Philosophers, i. 171, 206, 439, 443, 444. The Worship that was paid to Souls, i. 179, &c. The State of Souls after Death; the Opinion of the *Americans*, i. 142. Of the *Ancients*, 182, 194, 494, ii. 528, 529. Of the *Egyptians*, iii. 2. Of the *Greek* Phi-

I N D E X.

- Philosophers, 6. Of the Poets, 8. The Distinction between the Soul and Shade, 13. See *Elisean*.
- Sow*, the white Sow that shewed *Eneas* where he was to settle in *Italy*, iv. 233.
- Spain*, whence the Name derived, i. 60. A Country once abounding with Gold and Silver Mines, iii. 43. *Pluto* established his Kingdom there, 44. The Religion of the ancient *Spaniards*, 301.
- Speculatrix*, one of *Venus's* Epithets, ii. 333.
- Spermo*, *Ancus's* Daughter, transformed into a Pigeon, iv. 321.
- Sphinx*, whose Offspring they make this Monster, i. 114. iv. 181. The History of the Sphinx of *Oedipus*, iv. 180. The Explanation of the Fable, 181. How the Sphinx of *Egypt* is represented ; that it is different from that of *Thebes*, 182. in the Note.
- Spider*, the *Indians* believed the World to be spun out of that Insect's Bowels, i. 139.
- Spinusius*, a God of the *Romans*, ii. 591.
- Spio*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Spirit*, universal, diffused through the Universe, i. 171.
- Spirits*, the Idolatry of Spirits ; the Causes of that Idolatry, i. 179.
- Sponsor*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 224.
- Stabilitor*, one of *Neptune's* Epithets, i. 500.
- Stadium*, the Place where the Olympick Games were exhibited ; its Extent ; the Trials of Skill that were performed there, iv. 427.
- Stag*, with the brazen Horns, taken by *Hercules*, iv. 86, 87.
- Staphila*, a Nymph transformed into a Vine, ii. 453.
- Stars*, various Sentiments about their Origin, i. 82, 90, 103, 112, 115. The Worship that was paid to them, 165, 181, &c. See *Sun*, *Moon*. The Ancients believed the Stars to be animated, i. 184. See *Constellations*. The Care which *Moses* took to abolish the Worship of the Stars, 185.
- Stata*, a Goddess of the *Romans*, iii. 197.
- Statanus* and *Statilinus*, Gods of Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Stator*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 217.
- Statues*, that the *Egyptians* were Masters of the Art of Statuary Time immemorial, i. 246. Who was the first that applied himself to the Improvement of Statues, 247. What those were which they called *Terms*, or *Hermes's*, 248. Of what Matter the Statues were, 249. Of Colossal Statues, 250. Statues charged with Symbols of the Gods, 252. What induced to the Adoration of Statues, 169, 252. Statues prohibited at *Rome* in the Beginning ; when they were introduced thither, 208, 250, 251, 289. Statues

I N D E X.

- tues of the Temple of *Babylon*, 219. Statue of *Jupiter Ammon*, how it delivered its Oracles, 333.
- Semmutius*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 433.
- Stenclus*, King of *Argos*, his Genealogy, iii. 358, 365.
The Father of *Euristheus*, 365.
- Steno*, the Name of a *Gorgon*, i. 114. iii. 438.
- Stenobæa*, the Wife of *Prætus*, who has a Mind to destroy *Tellerophon*, iii. 367, 467.
- Stephanophori*, Priests so called, iii. 186.
- Sterces*, King of *Italy*, the Father of *Picus*, named *Saturn* after his Death, ii. 269.
- Stephanophorus*, one of the Priests in the Festival of *Ceres*, iii. 62.
- Sterculus*, a Surname of *Saturn*; why, ii. 590.
- Stercutius*, the God of Ordure, i. 199.
- Sterope*, one of the *Cyclops*, i. 113.
- Sterquilinius*, the Surname of the God *Pilumnus*, ii. 590.
- Sthenius*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Stilbia*, the Daughter of *Peneus*, beloved by *Apollo*, iii. 526.
- Sthenias*, one of *Minerva's* Epithets, ii. 309. Her Children, *ibid.*
- Stimyclerus*, one of the *Grecian* Heroes, iii. 434.
- Stons*, swallowed by *Saturn*, i. 115. ii. 166, 188. Became the Object of religious Worship, i. 203. ii. 189. How it was called; the Explanation of this Fable, ii. 189, 190.
- Stones Bætili*. See *Bætili*.
- Stones* (shapeless) worshipped as Divinities, i. 208.
- Strenua*, a Goddess, who she was, iii. 130, 140, 194.
- Strophæus*, King of *Phocis*, the Father of *Pylades*, iv. 260.
Also *Pylades's* Son of the same Name, iv. 264.
- Stymphalus*, the Son of *Elatus*, communicated his Name to a City built in *Greece*, iii. 355.
- Stymphalus*, a Lake in *Arcadia*; the Fable of the Birds *Stymphalides*, iv. 83.
- Styx*, her Offspring, i. 115.
- Styx*, a Fountain in *Arcadia*, whose Water is mortal; the Origin of the Fable of the infernal River, iii. 36. What *Styx* imports, 28, 37. The fabulous History of the *Styx*. Why the Oath taken by *Styx* was to be inviolable; the Punishment of Perjurers, i. 115, 123. iii. 36. 37.
- Styx*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Suada*, the Goddess of Orators, i. 200.
- Swan*, consecrated to *Venus*, ii. 331. And to *Apollo*, ii. 417.
- Suantowith*, a God of the *Germans*, how he was represented, iii. 331.

I. N D E X.

- Succoth-Benoth*, a God of the *Babylonians*, ii. 1, 61. The Signification of these Terms, 61.
- Suevi*, a People in *Germany*, iii. 308. Their Religion, 311, 325, 327.
- Sumanus*, the Surname of *Pluto*, i. 44. iii. 45. The Origin of the Name, iii. 45.
- Sumatians*, from whence they came, iii. 355.
- Sumes*, a Name which the *Carthaginians* gave to *Mercury*, ii. 374.
- Sun*, the great Divinity of the *Phenicians*, i. 91. Of the *Egyptians*, i. 103, 493. Of the *Atlantides*, 109. Of the *Americans*, who sacrificed to him their Children, 144, 145. That Idolatry commenced with the Worship of the Sun, 182, &c. A Custom among the Pagans of turning towards the rising Sun to pray, and of directing that Way the Portals of their Temples, 187. The Foundation of the Worship of the Sun, 45, 165, 185. Under what Names he was adored among the several Nations, 188. How he was represented, ii. 381, &c. *Apollo* often confounded with the Sun, ii. 378, &c. Whose Son the *Greeks* made him, i. 114. Princes who assumed the Title of Sons of the Sun, i. 141, 145, 188, 189.
- Superstitions* authorized by Idolatry, i. 325. *Superstitions* of the *Druids*, iii. 235, &c. Of the *Gauls*, 246, &c.
- Supplications* publick and private, on what Occasions they were performed, i. 317.
- Syca*, a Nymph beloved by *Bacchus*, transformed into a Fig-Tree, ii. 453.
- Sword*, the Symbol of the God *Mars* among the *Scythians*, i. 209. ii. 317, 319. The Sword of *Mars* stole by *Mercury*, ii. 370.
- Sydic*, surnamed the *Free*, the Father of the *Dioscuri*, i. 94. Is the same with *Shem*, the Son of *Noah* or *Uranus*, 96.
- Sylla*, or *Scylla*, her History, iii. 494.
- Sylvanus*, a Divinity, the Terror of Children, i. 197. The Origin of that God; how he is represented, ii. 599. His Worship in great Vogue at *Rome* and in the *Gauls*, 600. He is confounded with *Pan*, i. 540.
- Sylvestris*, an Epithet given to *Mars*, ii. 320.
- Sylvius*, the posthumous Son of *Eneas*, King of *Alba*, iv. 313. The Duration of his Reign, *ibid.*
- Symplegades*. See *Cyaneæ*.
- Syrinx*, a Nymph transformed into a Reed, i. 538.

I N D E X.

T.

- TAAUT**, or *Tbaut*. See *Thot*.
Tabernacle, built by *Moses*, whether this was the first Temple raised to the Deity, i. 210.
Table Iliac. See *Iliac*.
Table Ifiac. See *Ifiac*.
Tadmor, or *Tanor*, or *Palmyra*, the Etymology of the Name; Gods who were adored there. The Temple of *Belus* that was there, ii. 64, 65.
Tages, he who first taught the *Tuscans* the Science of the *Auspices*. His History, i. 397, 405, 406.
Talapains, the Disciples of *Fo* among the *Siamese*, i. 136.
Talaus, the Son of *Bias*, King of *Argos*, and his Successor, iii. 364.
Talismans, Magical Figures very much in Use among the Ancients, and with which the Orientals are still infatuated, ii. 42, 43.
Talus, the Nephew of *Dedalus*, and his Scholar in Statuary; the Instruments which he invented; his Genius excites the Jealousy of *Dedalus*, who puts him to Death, iii. 520. He is transformed into a Partridge, iii. 318. iii. 521.
Tancis, a Divinity peculiar to the *Armenians*, iii. 175.
Tanga-Tanga, the Idol of *Peru*, what is the Import of the Name, i. 12.
Tantalus, the Misrepresentations which the Poets have given of him, i. 39. His Genealogy, iii. 111. iv. 213. Made War upon *Tros* King of *Troy*, iii. 114. iv. 213. Why he is said to be condemned to *Tartarus*, iii. 23, 111. The Explication of this Fable, iii. 113, 114.
Tantalus, the Son of *Thyestes*, the first Husband of *Clytemnestra*, iv. 258.
Tao-se, a Sect introduced into *China*, i. 134.
Taphius, who built *Taphos*, iii. 365.
Taranus, the Epithet of *Jupiter* among the *Gauls*, ii. 222, 266, 267.
Taras, the Son of *Neptune*, Founder of *Tarentum*; how he is represented, ii. 506.
Taraxippus, a Genius, whose Figure was placed in the Stadium of *Olympia*; for what End: worshipped as a God by the *Eleans*, ii. 503, 504. iii. 178.
Tartack, a God of the *Heccans*, and of the *Syrians*, his Festival, ii. 62.
Tartarus, its Origin, i. 116. ii. 185. iii. 2. Where the Poets have placed it, iii. 9. The Pains of *Tartarus*, 15, & sequ.

I N D E X.

- & sequ. a Description of *Tartarus*, 22, 23, 103, &c.
 & sequ.
- Tartessus*, a River in *Spain*, iii. 9. *Pluto* settled on the Con-
 fines of that River, gave Rise to the *Tartarus* of the In-
 fernal Regions, 44.
- Tauris*, or *Chersonesus Taurica*, where it is situated. The
 Religion of its People, ii. 141.
- Taurobole*, or *Tauropolium*, a Sort of Sacrifice; its Descrip-
 tion, i. 273.
- Tauros Trigaranus*, the Explication of these Words on a
 Bas-Relief discovered, iii. 260, 261.
- Taurus*, the Prince who carried off *Europa*, ii. 402.
- Taurus*, a young Lord of *Minos's* Court, his Intrigue with
Pasiphae, iii. 499.
- Taygete*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, i. 108. ii. 273.
- Tchu-Mong*, his Birth and Adventures, i. 146.
- Tebrus*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 434.
- Technites*, his History according to the *Phenicians*, i. 92.
- Tegeas*, the Son of *Lycaon*, who founded the City of *Tegæa*,
 iii. 354.
- Tegæa*, a City in *Arcadia*, *ibid.*
- Telamon*, the Father of *Ajax*, iv. 16, 104, 214. His Ge-
 nealogy, 134, 135, 270. He is banished his Coun-
 try, 270, 271. He gains the Kingdom of *Megara*, 273.
 Revenges upon *Ulysses* the Death of his Son *Ajax*, 290.
- Telchines*, Inhabitants of the City *Talisus*, the Significa-
 tion of the Name, iv. 397.
- Telchinians*, a Sort of Priests; whether they are to be con-
 founded with the *Cabiri*, ii. 81, 82.
- Telcboans*, People of the Colony that was planted in the Isle
 of *Taphos*. What is the Import of the Word, iv. 74.
- Telechus*, the Son of *Archelaus*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 431.
- Telegonus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, iv. 298. How he
 slew his Father, 302, 303.
- Teleia*, an Epithet given to *Juno*, ii. 245.
- Telemachus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Penelope*, his History, iv.
 303.
- Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules* and *Augé*, iv. 112. Drawn
 to the Siege of *Troy*; his History, 230, 231.
- Telephus* receives the Honours of Sacrifice at *Pergamus*, iii. 432.
- Telesphorus*, one of the Gods of Physicians, i. 200. How
 represented, iii. 165.
- Tellumo*, what God this was, ii. 552.
- Tellus*, one of the Names of the Earth, i. 196. ii. 551.
- Temenes*, one of the *Heraclidæ*; what City he had for his
 Lot in the *Peloponnesus*, iv. 129.

Temerus,

I N D E X.

- Temerus*, a Robber slain by *Theseus*; whence came the Proverb of the *Temerian Evil*, iv. 134.
- Temesius* of *Clasemenos*, worshipped as a Heroe among the *Thracians*, ii. 147, 148.
- Tempest*, a Divinity among the *Romans*, iii. 140.
- Temples*, the Origin of Temples, i. 210. Various Names given to the Temples; their Etymology, 212. How the Temples of the Ancients were divided, 213. The Consecration of Temples, 214. The Veneration which the Pagans had for Temples, 216. A Description of some of the most celebrated ones. The Temple of *Belus*, 217, &c. The Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, 220. The Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, 222. The Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, 225. The Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, 229. The Temples of *Rome*, 231. Temples of the ancient *Gauls*, iii. 217, 221, &c. 280, 281. Temples of the *Americans*, i. 143.
- Tenarus*, a Promontory, where, according to the Poets, was the Gate of Hell, iii. 12, 32. iv. 99.
- Tenes*, the great Divinity of the Island of *Tenedos*, iii. 178.
- Tereus*, the Husband of *Progne*. See *Progne* and *Philomele*.
- Terminus*, the God of the Fields and Land-Marks, i. 198. ii. 571. His Worship, ii. 573. The Veneration for that God heightened by an Event, 574.
- Terminalia*, a Roman Festival, i. 315.
- Terpsichore*, one of the nine Muses, her Attributes; what is the Import of her Name, ii. 433.
- Terra*. See *Earth*.
- Terribilis*, or *Terrible*, an Epithet given to *Mars*, ii. 320.
- Terror*, whose Offspring, i. 117.
- Terror Panick*, The Origin of the Name, i. 539, 540.
- Tetbis*, the Daughter of Heaven and Earth, i. 113. Her Children, 114. ii. 482, 490. The Wife of the Ocean; the Service which she did to *Jupiter*, ii. 489.
- Teucer*, the Father-in-law of *Dardanus*, left the Island of *Crete*, and came and settled in the lesser *Phrygia*, iv. 249, 250.
- Teucramus*, the Son of *Dorus*, the first King of *Crete*, his Descendants, iii. 395.
- Teutamus*, King of *Suzza*, sends a Supply to *Priam*, iv. 326.
- Teutates*. See *Theutat*.
- Teuthis*, a Village in *Arcadia*; the Statue of *Minerva* that was there, ii. 310.
- Tentbis*, Leader of the *Arcadians* to the Siege of *Troy*; the Fable of the Wound which he gave *Minerva*, ii. 311.
- Thalassius*, the God of Marriage, i. 197. ii. 249.

Thalessa,

I N D E X.

- Thaleſſa*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Thalia*, *ibid.*
- Thalia*, one of the three Graces, i. 117. See *Graces*.
- Thalia*, the Mother of the Gods *Palici*, ii. 170.
- Thalia*, one of the nine Muses, her Attributes; what is the Import of her Name, ii. 432.
- Thamimaſdes*, the Name of *Neptune* among the *Scythians*, ii. 497.
- Thamiras*, the Son of *Philammon*, a celebrated Poet and Muſician. His Adventure with the Muses, iv. 382, 383.
- Thamus*, his Relation concerning the Death of the great *Pan*, i. 541.
- Thaon*, one of the Giants, who made War upon *Jupiter*; his Death, ii. 169.
- Thaphius*, his Genealogy, communicates his Name to the Island of *Cephalenia*; his Descendants, iii. 365. iv. 74.
- Thargelia*, what Festival it was, i. 306.
- Tharſes*, the Son of *Javan*, founded the City *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, iii. 351.
- Tharſus*, one of *Jupiter*'s Epithets, ii. 225.
- Tharſus*, the Name of an Island and City where *Hercules* was peculiarly worſhipped, iv. 118.
- Thaſius*, the Surname of *Hercules* under which he was worſhipped by the *Tyrians* and *Thaſians*, iv. 73, 118.
- Thaumas*, the Father of *Iris*, i. 114.
- Thaut*. See *Tbot*.
- Thea*, the Daughter of Heaven and Earth, her Children, i. 113, 114.
- Theagenes* of *Thaſus* received divine Honours, why, iii. 431.
- Thebe*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Iodame*, the Wife of *Ogyges*, iii. 370.
- Thebes*, a City in *Egypt*, how *Jupiter* was there represented, i. 202.
- Thebes*, a City in *Bæotia*, built by *Cadmus*, iii. 404, 405. Why its Walls ſaid to have been built by the Muſic of *Amphion*'s Lyre, i. 77. iii. 416. The Hiſtory of the Wars of *Thebes*, iv. 178, & *ſequ.* The *Æra* of thoſe two Wars, 205.
- Thelſinea*, the Daughter of *Ogyges*. See *Praxidician*.
- Thelxiopè*, one of the Muses, ii. 430.
- Themis*, the Daughter of Heaven and Earth, i. 113. ii. 289. Her Children, i. 116, 117. ii. 291. She preſided over Juſtice; her Hiſtory, *ibid.* The Worſhip that was paid to her; her Oracles, 291, 292. A Divinity unknown in *Egypt*, ii. 152.

Themis,

I N D E X.

Themis. See *Carmenta*.

Theogonies of the *Chaldeans*, i. 80, & sequ. Of the *Phenicians*, 88. Of the *Egyptians*, 102. Of the *Atlantides*, 106. The several *Theogonies* of the *Greeks*, 109. That which was attributed to *Orpheus*, 110. That of *Hesiod*, 112. That of *Plato*, 118. That of *Ovid*, 125. Reflexions upon the *Theogonies* of the *Greeks*, 127. *Theogonies* of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, 130. Of the *Indian Brachmans*, 138. Of the *Americans*, 140.

Theology Pagan, especially that of the Poets, i. 148, & sequ. 475, & sequ.

Thene, the Daughter of *Thestor*. See *Thestor*.

Thesphane, transformed into a Sheep by *Neptune*, iv. 6.

Thesphy, or the Vision of the Gods, ii. 223.

Thesria, the Import of the Name, iii. 508.

Thera, an Island where the *Mynians* came and settled, iv. 53.

Theraphims, worshipped by the *Syrians* and *Chaldeans*, ii. 1, 39, 45. *Laban's* *Theraphims*, *ibid.* The Explanation of the Word *Theraphims*, 39, 42, 619. The Extent of this Superstition, 43. The Manner of making them, *ibid.* & 44. What they were, 47.

Therimachus, the Son of *Hercules* by *Megara*, iv. 112.

Thero, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.

Thero, the Name of *Odin's* Mother, ii. 316.

Theron, King of *Spain*, attempted to pillage the Temple of *Hercules* near *Cadiz*, iv. 96.

Thersander, the Son of *Polynices*, set upon the Throne of *Thebes*, iv. 192. His Death; a Monument raised to his Honour, *ibid.*

Theseus, his Genealogy; his Birth; his Education, iv. 130, &c. His first Adventures, 133. Makes himself known at *Athens*, 135, 136. His Expedition into *Crete* to vanquish the *Minotaur*, iii. 501. He abandons the fair *Ariane*, 504. His Return is the Cause of his Father's Death, *ibid.* The Festival he instituted in the Island of *Delos*, 508. He united in one Body politick all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, iv. 137. He renews the *Isthmic* Games, 138. His other Expeditions, 139. He carries off the fair *Heien*, 140, & sequ. His Misfortunes, 144. His Children; his Wives; his Death, 145, &c. His Apotheosis; the Worship that was paid to him, iii. 519. iv. 146. Whether he was in the Number of the *Argonauts*, 27, 28, 135, 136. Why condemned to *Tartarus*; His Punishment, iii. 23.

Theseia, a Festival of *Theseus*, i. 304.

Thesmophoria,

I N D E X.

- Thesmophoria*, a Festival in Honour of *Ceres*, i. 307. iii. 62. Celebrated at *Athens* and *Eleusis*, 61, 62.
- Thesmophoros*, an Epithet given to *Ceres*, iii. 51.
- Thesmophoros*, a Surname of *Isis*, i. 105.
- Thespia*, a City in *Boeotia*, ii. 435. Thence *Thespeades*, an Epithet of the *Muses*, *ibid*.
- Thespia*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Thesprotia*, the Situation of that Country, ii. 185.
- Thessala*, the Daughter of *Hercules* and *Epicaeste*, iv. 111.
- Thessaly*, Fables delivered concerning that Country, i. 46. See the Note, iii. 33.
- Thessalians*, the first *Greeks* who broke Horses, iii. 535.
- Thetor*, the Father of *Calchas*, one of the *Argonauts*, iv. 27, 60. His Adventure at the Court of the King of *Caria*, 405.
- Thetis*, the Wife of *Peleus*, whose Offspring she was, i. 118. Her Marriage with *Peleus*, iv. 208, &c. 272. How she made *Achilles* invulnerable, 274. Would gladly have hindered him from going to the Siege of *Troy*, 275.
- Theurgy*, a Kind of Magic, wherein it consisted; the high Estimation it was in among the Learned, i. 276, 427. Rigid Terms of being initiated into it, 427, 429. The Power that was ascribed to it, 430, 467.
- Theutates*, or *Teutates*, a God of the *Gauls*, what he was among the other Nations, i. 16, 44, 70. ii. 367, 375. He is the *Mercury* of the *Gauls*, iii. 268. He was also worshipped among the *Spaniards*, 269.
- Thiphis*, the Pilot of the Ship of the *Argonauts*, iv. 15, 18. His Death, 18, 38.
- Thiras*, one of the Descendants of *Japhet*, where he settled, iii. 351.
- Thireus*, the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*, and of *Althea*, iv. 173.
- Thisbe*. See *Piramus*.
- Thoas*, King of *Lemnos*, the Husband of the *Venus* who was *Aeneas*'s Mother, ii. 326, 356. How he was saved from the Massacre of the Men of the Island, iv. 30. He reigned in the Island of *Chios*, 188.
- Thoe*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Thorebia*, *ibid*.
- Thornax*, a Mountain stiled the *Cuckow Mount*, ii. 236.
- Thot*, or *Thaut*, a God of the *Egyptians*, i. 16, 44, 70, 94. ii. 156. Reckoned the Inventor of the first Letters, i. 88, 94. His Genealogy, 94. *Chronos* gives him all *Egypt*, 99. That he is the most ancient *Mercury*, ii. 363. His

I N D E X.

- His Talents; the Arts which he invented, 363, 364. The Books he composed, 364, 365.
- Thracians*, whence they derived their Name, i. 60. The Gods whom they adored, ii. 147.
- Thunder of Jupiter*, forged by the *Cyclops*, i. 113. Given by *Cælus*, 115. Gods who had the Power of darting the Thunder, ii. 247. How it is represented, 228. *Jupiter* invoked under the Name of *Fulgora* against Thunder and Lightning, iii. 195.
- Thundering and Fulminating*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 222.
- Thuribulum*, or Censer, i. 277.
- Thuriferi*, Ministers of the Temples, i. 282.
- Thurius*, one of *Mars's* Epithets, ii. 319.
- Thyades*, a Name given to the Bacchanals, ii. 449.
- Thycha*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Thyche*, ii. 532.
- Thyella*, *ibid.*
- Thyestes* condemned to *Tartarus*, iii. 23. His Genealogy, 422. See *Atreus*.
- Thymetes*, King of *Athens*, dethroned; why, i. 300.
- Thysneus*, an Appellation of *Bacchus*, ii. 448.
- Thyone*, the Name of *Semele*, when she was taken into the Number of the Goddesses, ii. 449.
- Thyrea*, a City and Gulph of the Country of *Argos*, founded by *Thyreas*, iii. 354.
- Thyrs*, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Thyrus*, a Kind of Weapon that is given to *Bacchus* and the Bacchanals, ii. 449, 454, 456.
- Thyrsea*, a City of *Greece*, founded by *Thyrus*, iii. 354.
- Tien*, the Name given by the *Chinese* to their great God, what it signifies in their Language, i. 131.
- Time*, a Divinity, how represented, iii. 125. The Parts of Time also deified, *ibid.* The Divisions of the Times, i. 61, 62, 86, in the Note, iii. 336. The Duration of the Heroic Times, 345.
- Timor*. See *Fear*.
- Tiresias*, a celebrated Soothsayer, his History blended with Fables, iv. 203, 204. *Ulysses* goes to Hell to consult the Ghost of *Tiresias*, iii. 11, 13.
- Tisamenes*, the Son of *Thersander* King of *Thebes*, the Descendant of *Oedipus*, iv. 193.
- Tisiphone*, one of the Furies, iii. 78.
- Titaia*. See *Titea*.
- Titans*, their Origin according to the *Atlantides*, i. 106, 107. According to the *Greeks*, 113. ii. 170. Their History, i. 19,

I N D E X.

i. 19, 116. ii. 165, 170, & sequ. 214. Why said to have been condemned to *Tartarus*, 185. Whether they are to be distinguished from the Giants, ii. 170, 206, 207. The *Titans* known to the Orientals; 253. In what Age the *Titans* lived; that divine Honours were paid to them, 292, &c.

Titan, the eldest Son of *Uranus*, the Brother of *Saturn*; on what Condition he resigned the Empire to him, ii. 165.

Titan, a Name of the Sun, i. 296.

Titanides, the Name given to the seven Daughters of *Chronos*, i. 96.

Totania, the Festival of the *Titans*, i. 304.

Titea, the Wife of *Uranus*, her Children; her Apotheosis, i. 106. ii. 170. What is the Import of her Name, ii. 351.

Tithois, one of the *Egyptian* Demi-Gods, i. 493.

Tithonus, the Children he had by *Aurora*; his Genealogy; his History, iv. 326, 333. He was transformed into a Grasshopper, 327, 331.

Tityus, the Son of the Earth, his enormous Size; his Death; his Punishment in *Tartarus*, iii. 23, 107.

Tlepolemus, the Son of *Hercules* and *Astioche*, iv. 112.

Imolus, the Judge between *Apollo* and *Pan*, ii. 402. His History. A Mountain that bore his Name, 404.

Tochnus, Founder of the City *Tochnia*. His Genealogy, iii. 354.

Tombs of great Men turned to public Temples, i. 193, 194. What the Ancients understood by the Tombs of the Heroes, iii. 427.

Torcularius, one of *Bacchus*'s Epithets, ii. 447.

Toredia, a Nymph beloved by *Jupiter*, her Children, ii. 170.

Tortoise, the Veneration of the *Troglodytes* for that Animal, i. 137. A Nymph transformed into a Tortoise; that it is the Symbol of Silence, ii. 236, 237.

Tosarthrus, iii. 155. See *Esculapius*.

Toxeus, the Brother of *Althea*, slain by *Meleager*; the Revenge of *Althea*, iv. 171, & sequ.

Toxus, the Son of *Oeneus* King of *Calydon*: who put him to Death, iv. 173.

Tranquillity, a Divinity, her Temple at *Rome*, iii. 129, 130.

Trapezeus, the Son of *Lycaon*, iii. 354.

Travellers, the Authors of several Fables, i. 36.

Trees, were the first Temples of the Gods, i. 207. See *Sacred Groves*. Trees consecrated to certain Divinities, 264.

I N D E X.

- Triambes*, an Epithet of *Bacchus*, ii. 447.
- Tripod* of *Jason*; the Fable about that Tripod, iv. 50, 51.
See *Euritus*.
- Tripods*, that were in the Temples, their Use; of how many Sorts, i. 279. The Tripod of the Temple of *Delphos*, 337.
- Triceps*, a Title given to *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Tricolonus*, from whom the *Tricolons* came, iii. 355.
- Triclaria*, an Epithet given to *Diana*; The Temple of *Diana Triclaria*, ii. 425.
- Trident* of *Neptune* forged by the *Cyclops*, ii. 166, 499. Stole by *Mercury* when but an Infant, 370.
- Trieterica*, Feasts of *Bacchus*, i. 305. ii. 456.
- Trinity*, whether there are any Vestiges of that Mystery in the Pagan Divinities, i. 12.
- Triformis*, an Epithet of *Diana*; what it implied, ii. 423.
- Trigla*, a Divinity of the *Germans*, how she is represented; Her Worship, iii. 331.
- Triopas*, one of *Inachus's* Descendants, iii. 358.
- Triptolemus*, instructed by *Ceres* in Agriculture, his History; the Fables blended with it, iii. 49, 55, 58, 61.
- Triptolemus*, one of the *Egyptian* Gods, i. 492.
- Triptolemus*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 434.
- Trismegistus*. See *Mercury Trismegistus*.
- Triton*, who appeared to the *Argonauts*, iv. 51.
- Triton*, the Son of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*, i. 117. ii. 511.
The Relation of several *Tritons* seen and fished, ii. 511, 512.
- Tritonia*, or *Tritogenia*, a Name given to *Minerva*, ii. 308.
- Trivestper*, one of *Hercules's* Epithets, iv. 122.
- Troilus*, the Son of *Priam*, slain by *Achilles*; his Life was one of the Fatalities of *Troy*, iv. 230, 239.
- Tropæa*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 243.
- Tropæuchus*, an Appellation of *Jupiter*, ii. 219.
- Trophonia*, the Festival of *Trophonius*, i. 304.
- Trophonius*, his Birth; his Talents; his Death; his Oracle, i. 340, &c.
- Trophonius*, an Epithet given to *Jupiter*, ii. 220.
- Tros*, King of *Troy*, the War which he had with *Tantalus*, iii. 114. iv. 213. His Genealogy; his Descendants 250, 251.
- Troy*, its Walls built by the Gods, i. 42. iv. 250. This City taken twice, i. 62. The Origin of the War of *Troy*, i. 154. iv. 207, & sequ. The History of the Siege of *Troy*, 220, & sequ. Fatalities annexed to the City *Troy*, 225. The Taking of the City, 232, & sequ. The Æra of that Event, 247. The History of that City, 248, & sequ.

Trumpet,

I N D E X.

- Trumpet*, used in Sacrifice, i. 278.
- Truth*, a Divinity, her Original; her Genealogy, iii. 128.
 Why said to lie hid in the Bottom of a Well, i. 129.
 That Truth has had often need of Ornaments to appear, *ibid.*
- Tubal-Cain*, the most ancient of the *Vulcans*, and the Original of all the rest, ii. 354.
- Tubilustrium*, a Festival instituted by the *Romans*; why, i. 316.
- Tuiston*, a God of the ancient *Germans*, his Origin; his History and Worship, iii. 308, 328.
- Twins*, a Sign in the *Zodiac*, i. 195. iv. 407.
- Two*, the Number Two reckoned in *Italy* misfortunate, iii. 46.
- Turnus*, King of the *Rutuli*, and *Eneas's* Rival, iv. 311, 312.
- Turning-wheel*, an Instrument in Mechanics, by whom invented, iii. 521.
- Tutilina*, or *Tutelina*, a Goddess of Corn, i. 198. ii. 589.
- Tutela*, a Goddess worshipped at *Bourdeaux*. The Temple which she had there, iii. 289.
- Tyberinus*, King of *Alba*, his Genealogy; his Death, iv. 313.
- Tyber*, worshipped as a God, ii. 479, 480.
- Tyber*, a River of the *Latin* Country; the Origin of the Name, iv. 313.
- Tychon*, a Divinity worshipped at *Athens*, iii. 175.
- Tydeus*, the Son of *Oeneus*, and Father of *Diomedes*, iii. 391. iv. 173. He died in the first *Theban* War, 187. His Encomium, 203.
- Tyllinus*, a God peculiar to the City *Brescia*. A Description of his Statue, iii. 208.
- Tyndarus*, King of *Sparta*, his Genealogy and Children, iii. 379. iv. 148, 149.
- Tyndaridæ*, the Name of *Castor* and *Pollux*; the Festival of the *Tyndaridæ* at *Rome*, iv. 151.
- Typhis*, the Pilot to the *Argonauts*, iv. 18.
- Typhon*, the Brother of *Osiris*, one of the great Gods of *Egypt*, i. 493. His History, 503, 507, &c.
- Typhon*, his Offspring by *Echidna*, i. 114.
- Typhon*, a Monster imagined by the *Greeks*, i. 116, 503, 505. Makes War upon the Gods, *ibid.* 506. The Explanation of the Fables delivered concerning *Typhon*, 511, & sequ. How he perished, 513, & sequ. How he is represented, 511, 512.
- Tyrinthius*, one of *Hercules's* Epithets, iv. 118.
- Tyro*, the Daughter of *Salmones*, iii. 393. iv. 8. Her Children, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

V.

- VACANA*, a Goddess among the *Romans*, iii. 195.
- Vagitanus*, a God invoked for Children, i. 197. iii. 192.
- Vaison*, a City deified by the *Gauls*, iii. 288.
- Vallonia*, a Goddess who presided over Vaileys, i. 199. iii. 198.
- Vandals*, a People of ancient *Germany*, their Origin; their Religion, iii. 308, 329, 333.
- Vanity*, one Source of Fables, i. 32, 47.
- Water*, the Worship paid to the Water, ii. 474. Among the ancient *Persians*, 475. Among the *Egyptians*, *ibid.* & *sequ.* Among the *Indians*, and the People to the North of the *Palus Mestis*, 478. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, 479. The Grounds of this Worship, 480, &c. Sacrifices offered to the Gods of the Waters, 483.
- Lustral* or *Holy Water*, its Use, i. 285.
- Way*, the *milky Way*, how it is said to have been formed, iv. 93.
- Zeile*, a Word found upon a Bas-relief; what it signifies, iii. 253.
- Vesuvius*, or *Vesupiter*, how *Jupiter* was represented under that Name; the Worship paid to him then, ii. 232, 234.
- Venafini*, a People of *Cappadocia*, their Religion, ii. 134, 135, in the Note.
- Venetians*, from whom descended, iv. 307.
- Venus*, her Birth according to the *Egyptians*, i. 105. According to the *Greeks*, i. 68, 97, 98, 113. ii. 170, 324. How many *Venus's* they reckoned, 325. That several Persons bore that Name, 327. The Origin of the Fable of *Venus*, *ibid.* The Explanation of the Fables delivered about *Venus*, 329, & *sequ.* Her Worship; Birds, Plants, and Flowers that were consecrated to her, 332. Her various Names, 333, & *sequ.* How she was represented, 335. Her Marriage with *Vulcan*; her Gallantries with *Mars* and *Mercury*, i. 117. ii. 325, 329. The Virtue of her Girdle, ii. 330. Her Commerce with *Anchises*, i. 117. ii. 326, 331, 332. The *Gauls* ranked her among the infernal Goddesses, iii. 280.
- Venus Urania*. See *Urania*.
- Venus*, the Planet, worshipped in several Countries, i. 16. Gave Rise to the *Venus* of the *Greeks*, ii. 327, 328.
- Vergiliæ*, the Name of the *Pleiads*, ii. 276.
- Vergebrets*, a Sort of Magistrates among the *Gauls*, iii. 231.
- Verjes Sitylline*. See *Sibyls*.
- Verjotina*, a Divinity of the *Moors*, i. 582.
- Verticordia*, one of *Venus's* Epithets, ii. 333.
- Fertumnus*,

I N D E X.

- Vertumnus*, the God of Orchards and Gardens, i. 198. ii. 579. He marries *Pomona*, 580. The Etymology of his Name ; his History ; his Worship ; his Temple and Statue at *Rome*, *ibid.* How he was represented, 582.
- Vervein*, a Plant, its Use among the *Druids*, iii. 236.
- Vesne* or *Vichnou*. See *Vichnou*.
- Vesta*, one of the great Divinities of the *Egyptians*, i. 105. ii. 492.
- Vesta*, the Daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, i. 115. ii. 165. Two *Vestas*, the one taken for the Earth, ii. 552. The other *Vesta* the Symbol of Fire, i. 196. ii. 568. The Worship of *Vesta*, as the Symbol of Fire ; the Origin of that Worship ; by whom it was introduced into *Italy*, ii. 568, 570. The Etymology of the Name of *Vesta*, 570, 571.
- Vestals*, their Institution ; their Functions ; their Laws, ii. 568. The Temples of the *Vestals* at *Rome*, 569. *Vestals* in *America*, i. 142, 143.
- Vetula*, a Goddess who presided over Pleasures, i. 199.
- Vialis*, an Epithet given to *Mercury*, ii. 375.
- Vichnou*, a God of the *East Indies*, i. 12, 138. The Tradition of the *Brachmans* as to the Transformation of that God into a Tortoise, 137.
- Victims*, when the Use of living Victims began, i. 256, &c. And the Superstition of human Victims, 258. ii. 238. The Choice that was made of the Victims, i. 261, &c. How they were prepared, 264, 265. What Victims were offered to the Gods of Hell, ii. 103. See *Sacrifices*.
- Victor*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 217.
- Victory*, a Divinity, i. 199. ii. 322. Temples built in honour of her ; how she was represented, *ibid.* and 323. Her various Names, 323.
- Winds*, who is the God of the Winds, i. 32, 46, 65. ii. 532. The Fable of the Winds given to *Ulysses* in a Bag, i. 32. ii. 533, 534. Winds, the Sons of Gods, i. 114, 115. The Worship that was paid to them, ii. 535, 536, 538. How they were represented, 539.
- Wine*, employed in Sacrifices, i. 255, 262. That the *Egyptians* and several other People did not make Use of it, 267.
- Viminalis*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Vinalia*, a Feast so called, the Design of its Institution, i. 316.
- Violence*, a Divinity, *Jupiter's* inseparable Companion ; whose Offspring said to be, i. 115. Her Temple at *Corinth*, iii. 140, 180.
- Virginicuris*, a Goddess of Marriage, iii. 192.
- Virgo*, a Sign of the *Zodiac*, by whom said to be inhabited, iv. 404.

I N D E X.

- Viriplaca*, what Goddess this was, iii. 195.
- Virtue*, a Divinity, her Temple how represented, iii. 127.
- Vitala*, and *Viturnus*, Divinities who presided over Life, i. 199. iii. 191.
- Ulysses*, his Genealogy, iv. 289. His History and Adventures, 290. His Stay in the Island of *Circe*, 297, &c. And in the Island of *Calypso*, 300. His Return to *Ithaca*, 302, 303. His Adventure in the Island of the *Sirens*, ii. 540, 542. His Journey to Hell, iii. 11, 16, 17. He received heroic Honours after his Death, iv. 304. See *Penelope*.
- Ulor*, one of *Jupiter's* Epithets, ii. 225.
- Universe*, how it was formed according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 81. According to the *Phenicians*, 90. According to the *Egyptians*, 103. According to *Moses*, 128, 129. See *Theogonies*.
- Unxia*, one of *Juno's* Epithets, ii. 242.
- Vows*, the Practice of making private Vows; what Ceremonies were observed therein, i. 322.
- Voltumna*, or *Volturna*, a Divinity of *Etruria*, ii. 583.
- Volupia*, the Goddess of Pleasure; her Temple and Festival at *Rome*, iii. 135. Whose Daughter she is said to be, ii. 347.
- Volutina*, a Goddess of the *Latins*, ii. 591.
- Welf*, in Veneration among the *Egyptians*, consecrated to *Apollo*, ii. 417. See *Typhon*, *Lycæon*.
- Women*, of the Island of *Cos*, transformed into Heifers, iv. 397. Women excluded from the *Olympian Games*, iv. 429.
- Wood-Pecker*, a Bird consecrated to *Mars*, i. 264.
- World*, Sentiments about the Origin of the World, i. 80, 83, 84, &c. Sentiments of the *Indians* and *Americans*, 138, 140. Division of the World among the Sons of *Saturn*, 18, 19.
- Ur*, a City of *Chaldea*, by whom Idolatry was introduced thither, i. 168, 173. Reckoned the Metropolis of *Sabism*, 191.
- Urania*, a Goddess of the *Arabians*, the *Celestis* of the *Moors*, i. 568, 569, 583. ii. 433, 434. *Venus*, so called, ii. 26, 333.
- Urania*, one of the nine *Muses*; her Attributes, ii. 433.
- Uranus*, the great Divinity of the *Phenicians*, i. 92, 95. His History, 95, & seq. Who he was according to the *Atlantides*, 106. The Etymology of the Name, 171, 172.
- Urceolus*, an Instrument that was made use of in Sacrifice, i. 278.
- Wrestling*, one of the Exercises in the Games; wherein it consisted, iv. 417, 418.
- Ustal*, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 485, 568.

I N D E X.

Usons, one of the Descendants of *Cain*, i. 94.

Vulcan, one of the great Gods of the *Egyptians*, i. 105.

Vulcan, of the *Greeks*, whose Son he was, i. 117. That there were several *Vulcans*, ii. 354. The Etymology of his Name, *ibid.* The History of the *Vulcan* of *Egypt*, 355. The History of the *Vulcan* of *Greece*, 356. Why said to have fallen in the Island of *Lemnos*, 357. His Children, 358. His Worship, *ibid.* and 359. How he is represented, 360. iii. 255. Why his Temples built without Cities, i. 215, 216. His Temple at *Memphis*, 220. His Worship among the *Gauls*, iii. 255.

Vulcanalia, a Festival in honour of *Vulcan*, i. 316.

Vulcania, i. 305.

Vulcaniæ, the Name of the *Eolian* Isles, where *Vulcan's* Forges were erected, ii. 357, 358.

Vultur, a Bird consecrated to *Mars* and *Juno*, i. 264. ii. 246. Also made Use of for Augury, i. 403.

Vulturius, an Epithet given to *Apollo*, ii. 418.

Vuod, a God of the *Arabians*, i. 570.

X.

XANTHUS, the Leader of the *Beotians*, how he was slain, i. 300.

Xanthus, a River of *Troas*, it pursues *Achilles*, i. 41, 42.

Xanto, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.

Xenius, an Appellation given to *Jupiter*; what it imports, ii. 226.

Xipheus, *Janus's* Father by Adoption, ii. 261, 262.

Xixutrus, or *Sisutrus*, who he was according to the *Chaldeans*, i. 86. Whether he is the same with *Noah*, *ibid.* How he saved himself from the Deluge; his Apotheosis, 87.

Xuthus, the Grandson of *Deucalion*, iii. 390. His History, 395, 396.

Y.

YNCAS of *Peru*, the Magnificence of their Temples, i. 143. The *Yncas* take the Title of *Sons of the Sun*, 188.

Youth, Divinities assigned to it, i. 196. Games of the Youth, iv. 413, 443. See *Trojan Games*.

Yphicles, the Son of *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, *Hercules's* Twin-Brother, iv. 77.

Yphime, a Nymph, the Wife of *Mercury*, and Mother of the *Satyres*, ii. 592.

Z.

I N D E X.

Z.

- ZAMOLXIS**, the Legislator of the *Thracians* and *Getae*, and their God, i. 138, 147. iii. 173. His History ; in what Age he lived, iii. 174. To whom he attributed his Laws, iii. 484.
- Zan**, an Appellation of *Jupiter* ; what it signifies, ii. 177, 237.
- Zarax**, a great Musician, who gave his Name to the City of *Zaraxa*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 434.
- Zelus**, the Son of *Styx* ; why *Jupiter* kept him by him, i. 115.
- Zemia**, a Sacrifice at the Festival of *Ceres*, iii. 62.
- Zemebuch**, the black God, or the bad Genius among the *Vandals*, iii. 333.
- Zephrus**, the Wind, whose Issue it was, i. 116. What Worship was paid to it, ii. 536.
- Zeratucht** or **Zerducht**, the Surname of *Zoroastres*, i. 177.
- Zerynthia**, one of *Venus*'s Epithets, ii. 334.
- Zetus**, the Brother of *Amphion*, and Son of *Antiope*, ii. 170. iii. 415. See *Amphion*.
- Zetbes**. See *Calais*.
- Zcumichius**, a Name given to *Chryser* at the Time of his Deification ; what it signifies, i. 92.
- Zeus**, the Name given to *Jupiter* by the *Greeks*, ii. 293.
- Zeus Arctrius**, *Jupiter* the Tiller, i. 95.
- Zeus Belus**, the Son of *Chronos*, or *Saturn*, i. 96.
- Zeuxo**, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Zexo**, - - - - - *ibid*.
- Zilpa**, *Leab*'s Handmaid. See *Gad*.
- Zoara**, a Name given to the first Obelisks that were worshipped ; why, i. 193.
- Zodiack**, how the *Egyptians* represented the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, i. 551, 552.
- Zogonci**, what Gods they were among the *Greeks* ; what is the Import of the Word, iii. 176.
- Zones**, the Division which *Ovid* makes of them, i. 126.
- Zophazemin**, what the Word imports in the Theogony of the *Phenicians*, i. 90.
- Zoroastres**, the Legislator of the ancient *Persians*, who he was ; his Doctrine, i. 177. ii. 100. Whether he is the Author of the Idolatry of *Sabism*, 190, 191. Whether he is the first Inventor of Magic, 425. The Law of *Zoroaster* for the Worship of *Mithras*, ii. 94, 122. His Book about the Worship of Fire, ii. 570, 571. To what Divinity he attributed his Laws, iii. 484.
- Zygia**, one of *Juno*'s Appellations, ii. 242.

I N D E X.

Z.

- ZAMOLXIS**, the Legislator of the *Thracians* and *Getes*, and their God, i. 138, 147. iii. 173. His History ; in what Age he lived, iii. 174. To whom he attributed his Laws, iii. 484.
- Zan**, an Appellation of *Jupiter* ; what it signifies, ii. 177, 237.
- Zarax**, a great Musician, who gave his Name to the City of *Zaraxa*, worshipped as a Heroe, iii. 434.
- Zelus**, the Son of *Styx* ; why *Jupiter* kept him by him, i. 115.
- Zemia**, a Sacrifice at the Festival of *Ceres*, iii. 62.
- Zesmebuch**, the black God, or the bad Genius among the *Vandals*, iii. 333.
- Zephrus**, the Wind, whose Issue it was, i. 116. What Worship was paid to it, ii. 536.
- Zeratucht** or **Zerducht**, the Surname of *Zoroastres*, i. 177.
- Zerynthia**, one of *Venus*'s Epithets, ii. 334.
- Zetus**, the Brother of *Amphion*, and Son of *Antiope*, ii. 170. iii. 415. See *Amphion*.
- Zethes**. See *Calais*.
- Zeumichius**, a Name given to *Chryser* at the Time of his Deification ; what it signifies, i. 92.
- Zeus**, the Name given to *Jupiter* by the *Greeks*, ii. 293.
- Zeus Arctrius**, *Jupiter* the Tiller, i. 95.
- Zeus Belus**, the Son of *Chronos*, or *Saturn*, i. 96.
- Zeuxo**, the Name of a Nymph, ii. 532.
- Zexo**, - - - - - *ibid*.
- Zilpa**, *Leab*'s Handmaid. See *Gad*.
- Zsara**, a Name given to the first Obelisks that were worshipped ; why, i. 193.
- Zodiack**, how the *Egyptians* represented the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, i. 551, 552.
- Zogonsi**, what Gods they were among the *Greeks* ; what is the Import of the Word, iii. 176.
- Zones**, the Division which *Ovid* makes of them, i. 126.
- Zophazemin**, what the Word imports in the Theogony of the *Phenicians*, i. 90.
- Zoroastres**, the Legislator of the ancient *Persians*, who he was ; his Doctrine, i. 177. ii. 100. Whether he is the Author of the Idolatry of *Sabism*, 190, 191. Whether he is the first Inventor of Magic, 425. The Law of *Zoroaster* for the Worship of *Mithras*, ii. 94, 122. His Book about the Worship of Fire, ii. 570, 571. To what Divinity he attributed his Laws, iii. 484.
- Zygia**, one of *Juno*'s Appellations, ii. 242.